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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

314

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

VOLUME XLVIII JULY-DECEMBER, 1913

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS COMPANY:
NEW YORK: 30 IRVING PLACE

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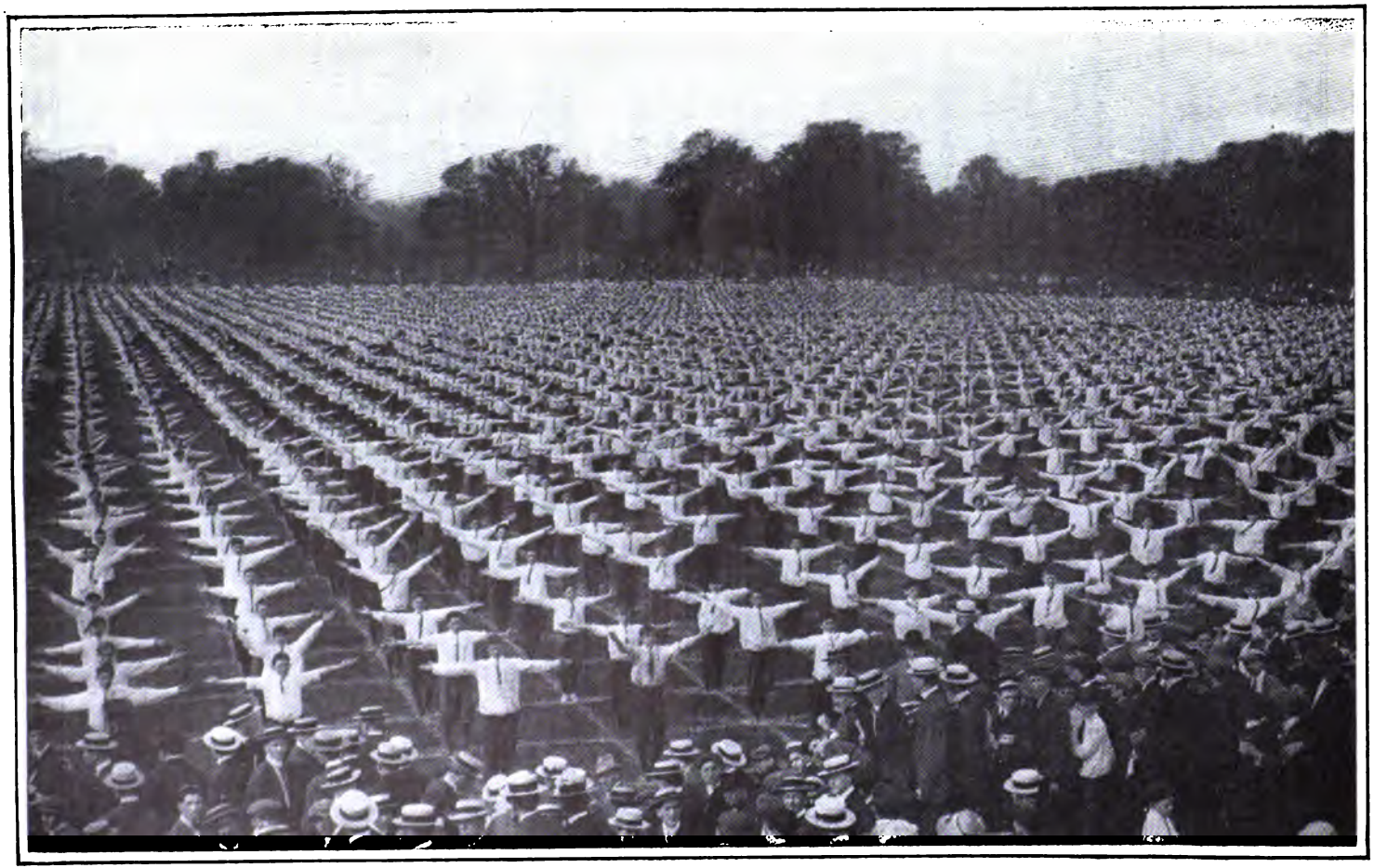
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TEN THOUSAND NEW YORK SCHOOLBOYS DRILLING IN CENTRAL PARK

This great army of schoolboys from all boroughs of the big city, attired in white shirtwaists and dark-colored knickerbockers, gave an exhibition drill in physical exercises in the city's largest park last month before a distinguished company of invited guests, relatives and friends. The purpose of this impressive demonstration, which was held under the auspices of the Public Schools Athletic League, was to show the results of physical and hygienic training in the schools. Colonel Roosevelt, who was one of the spectators, spoke of the work of the League as a great force for good not only in the city but in the nation.

34-36 C.

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Tariff Action—Rather Than Discussion

Almost everyone interested in the subject of the tariff has understood that the present extra session of Congress was not called for deliberation and debate, but for the sole purpose of passing a bill. The tariff-revision work that is culminating now has been going on continuously for four years. Any mistakes in the direction of radical change that the pending measure may be found to include have been rendered inevitable through the cumulative blunders of the Republican party. It had promised in 1908 to revise the tariff if kept in power. The country took it at its word, and elected President Taft and a Republican Congress. Whereupon the pundits of the Republican party thrust their thumbs in their cheeks and announced that they were about to spring a most excellent joke upon the American public. "We admit," they said, "that we promised to revise the high tariff. But be pleased to observe that we did not say that we would revise it downward; we may conclude, upon the whole, to revise it upward." Whereupon they proceeded to do that very thing, with consequences that clear thinkers frankly predicted, and that Republican leaders and tariff beneficiaries are now beginning to understand in their relationships of cause and effect.

Four Years of Tariff History

An honest and sensible revision of the tariff in the extra session of 1909 would have satisfied the country, and would have remained on the statute books for a considerable period of years. It would have been the last of the general tariff bills made by rule of thumb. The progressive Republican Senators proposed to keep the protective tariff, but to put real reform into the schedules, lowering the rates, simplifying the obscure and complex items, and eliminating the tricks. In addition to such revision, it was proposed to establish a non-partisan tariff commission that could devote scientific study to the subject in all its phases, and enable Congress, in future years, to construct a modern and defensible scheme of national taxation. As the discredited Republican managers look back upon the great tariff debate of only four years ago,—in which Dolliver, Cummins, Beveridge, LaFollette, Bristow, Clapp, and a number of others, made their attacks upon the textile and metal schedules and upon other parts of the Payne-Aldrich bill,—they must wonder what sort of blindness had seized them that they could so little understand the nature and force of public opinion.

The Verdict of the Country

The country would have accepted the proposals of the progressive Republican Senators at that time as satisfactory fulfilment of the promises made by the party in the campaign of 1908. Everything demanded by the group of whom the late Senator Dolliver was a worthy representative seems to all Republicans now to have been most moderate and reasonable; yet President Taft and his administration read all of those Senators out of the Republican party because of their firm adherence to the party's pledges, and their unyielding attitude against the folly of the standpat majority. The country indicated its sentiment by promptly electing Democrats to fill two or three vacant Congress seats in Republican districts—one in Massachusetts and another in New York. And in the following autumn of 1910, it elected an overwhelming majority of Democrats to the House of Representatives, and chose Democratic Governors and legislatures in many States, thus pointing to the early cer-

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FITZ WILSON'S STAND
"Come one, come all! This rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I!"
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

tainty of a Democratic majority in the United States Senate. The new Democratic House found its opportunity in the extra session of 1911. It made Champ Clark Speaker, revised the rules, gave Oscar Underwood the chairmanship of the great committee that formulates tariff and revenue measures, and instructed the committee to proceed without delay to report tariff bills.

The Underwood Bills of 1911

The committee adopted the plan of dealing with tariff schedules in separate bills, and it had no trouble in passing and sending over to the Senate its measures revising the wool schedule, the cotton schedule, and the farmers' free list, as supplementing Canadian reciprocity. These bills were carefully debated in the Senate, where the progressive Republicans united with the Democrats—then in a minority—to form a substantial working majority, which adopted the bills with amendments and modifications. Through reasonable compromises as to points of detail, in which Senator LaFollette and Chairman Underwood were most prominent, the bills were perfected, duly reported back from the conferees, and passed through both houses by substantial majorities. There are a good many men in this country who have had opportunity to observe and understand public opinion relating to such subjects as the tariff since the days of Mr. Blaine, "Pig Iron" Kelly, Roger Q. Mills, Mr. Morrison, and the leaders on both sides in the intense tariff struggles of a generation ago. These observers would all agree that no tariff bills since the Civil War had passed through Congress in an atmosphere of such general approval, regardless of party or section, as the modified Underwood bills of two years ago. If Mr. Taft had not vetoed those initial measures, they would at once have been followed by additional ones dealing with the remaining schedules of the tariff. But President Taft found what seemed to him to be a satisfactory excuse for using the veto power.

Another Lost Opportunity

It is true that the new Congress had come fresh from the people, with an overwhelming and undoubted mandate to revise the tariff. Furthermore, it had done so well that a Republican Senate had sanctioned its work, and the public opinion of all parties throughout the country had accepted it as the best thing that could be done under the circumstances. Here, for the second time, through the astounding arrogance and blindness of the dominating element in the management of the Republican party, there was thrown away an excellent opportunity to secure a moderate tariff revision that would have left business undisturbed and would have served the needs of the country for another ten years. The next two years of the Republican standpat faction were spent in forcing upon an unwilling party the renomination of



OUR INDUSTRIAL MOLLYCODDLE
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)

President Taft, with the consequence that the party was virtually obliterated in the elections of last November. Another Congress, with a still larger and more radical tariff-reforming Democratic majority, was sent to Washington; and meanwhile the slower process of change in the Senate had given the Democrats a working majority there also. A Democratic President of courage and firm purpose had been chosen to lead the party in the work of reform. For the third time, an extra session was called, with the duty and opportunity of revising the tariff. Action, not debate, was expected.

Radical Action at Last Inevitable

Public opinion had become more pronounced and radical, and there was no longer any need of compromising with the Republicans. It was quite inevitable that Mr. Underwood and his Democratic colleagues of the Ways and Means Committee, acting in full agreement with the President as directing head of the party's policies, should bring the revision of all the schedules into one general measure. Not only had they spent the preceding years in study and preparation, but they had followed up this earlier work with uninterrupted effort during the six months that elapsed between the Democratic victory at the polls last November and the introduction of the Tariff bill in the present session. In view of the somewhat dramatic course of our recent political history, it is plain that a Democratic Congress had to act rather than to deliberate. The great task was to show that under such conditions individual members could lay aside private views and preferences, and unite in accepting and following party leadership.



PRESIDENT WILSON (TO THE SENATORS OFFERING SUGAR AND WOOL AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL): "NOTHING DOING!"
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)



PEDAGOGUE WILSON AND THE SHORN LAMB
"And so the teacher turned it out"—maybe
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis)

Party Unity and Leadership

President Wilson had thus been placed in a position which might at first seem inconsistent with his most typical teachings. He seems to be engaged in jamming a tremendous and all-embracing piece of legislation through Congress by using all the prestige and authority of his party leadership, and all the power of his executive office, without tolerating amendment or encouraging debate. Yet for thirty years he has advocated government by means of open and unrestrained discussion in parliamentary bodies. The Underwood bill, including the innovation of a graduated income tax, was pushed through the Democratic caucus of the House by sheer weight of party authority. No time was allowed for real debate when the bill was put on its passage, and it was sent to the Senate within a few days. The Senate, to be sure, has acted with the appearance of more deliberation. There was bound to be several weeks of debating, for the simple reason that a minority of Senators will not be unduly restrained, and the Senate has no rule under which debate can be peremptorily cut off.



CHAUFFEUR WILSON AND THE PARTY MACHINE
(It will have to go some)
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

But the real effort at the Senate end of Congress was devoted to the task of endeavoring to bring practically all of the Democratic Senators into a preliminary agreement to abide by the action of the caucus majority. This would insure the passage of the House bill in all its parts, with no amendments unless as regards a few minor details which need not concern us at this time.

Uniting Democratic Senators

Heretofore, and until very recently, the Democratic Senators have been very far from agreeing about tariff questions. A number of them have been as radical in their tariff-reform views as the Democrats of the other house. This element has now been greatly recruited by recent accessions to the Senate. Of the older Democratic Senators, some have been more conservative on the tariff question than the progressive Republicans, while others have been strong protectionists as regards industries affecting their own States or regions. It seemed, on this account, antecedently impossible to bring the Democrats of the Senate together in support of the great measure that Mr. Underwood, with President Wilson's approval, carried through the House of Representatives. The main reliance of those interests that were most strongly opposed to the Tariff bill lay in the differences among Democratic Senators, and in the belief that individual Senators would stand firmly for particular views or interests, as against the general position taken by the Democratic party. Most of the particular industries or localities which hitherto have undertaken to write their own tariff schedules have so fully realized the changed situation that they have not thought it worth while to bring any persistent effort to bear, much less to employ the old-time lobbying methods. This is true of the iron and steel industry, and of many others. But a few interests have believed it possible, by persistent effort in the Senate, to secure some modification of the Underwood bill.

The Crucial Question of Sugar

The most conspicuous have been the opponents of free wool and especially the opponents of free sugar. The Underwood bill, as passed two years ago, left a duty of 29 per cent. ad valorem on wool. Last year a free-sugar bill, coupled with a form of income tax, went through the House, but not through the Senate. It would in any case have been vetoed by Mr. Taft. The present bill adopts free sugar as a principle, but maintains a reduced tariff rate for a period of three years, in order to allow time for various necessary adjustments. There is, so far as we can judge, an overwhelming sentiment in the United States in favor of passing the Underwood bill just as it stands, because it does not seem practicable to dissect it and change it in its details. If the tariff were in the process of being changed schedule by schedule, it would seem very doubtful about the success of those who favor the plan of putting



AH, HA! SO THERE YOU ARE!
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

sugar on the free list. But President Wilson and those responsible for the bill are proceeding in the most absolute good faith upon the conviction that, all things being considered, sugar ought to be untaxed.

A Fixed Point of Faith

The genuine tariff reformers among the leaders of the Democratic party have some historical reasons for wanting to avoid compromises in the sugar schedule. There have been ugly scandals in the past, and the complications of that schedule have helped to build up a sugar trust that has not reflected credit upon the legislation which in times past it has promoted. President Wilson and the Democratic majority have taken a position on this sugar question that is clear and uncompromising, even though it does not seem conclusive to a great many men who have definite views upon the subject and whose opinions are wholly honest and disinterested. Although the tax on imported sugar has operated in times past as a revenue tax, it was so drawn as to protect the business of sugar refining in this country, while it also served incidentally as a protection to the sugar planters of Louisiana against the raw sugar of the West Indies. More recently it has also benefited our new possessions—Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines—by giving them an open and highly favorable market. The strongest pressure at Washington against free sugar has come from Louisiana, and from those interested in the beet-sugar industry of our Western States.

Attacking the "Sugar Lobby"

On May 26, President Wilson challenged the situation by making an attack so unusual and remarkable that it is well to quote it in its entirely. He gave the following careful statement to the press:



PATROLMAN WILSON: "SEE THAT GANG"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



READY FOR BUSINESS
From the *World* (New York)

I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead the judgment of public men not only, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the Tariff bill.

It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

The Government in all its branches ought to be relieved from this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be released from this unbearable situation.

Finding the Lobbyists

President Wilson's characterization of the methods pursued by particular interests to control the writing of tariff schedules came at a time when the different subcommittees were about completing their study of the several parts of the Underwood bill, and when they were supposed to be on the eve of reporting to the Finance Committee as a whole, in



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SENATOR LEE S. OVERMAN OF NORTH CAROLINA
(Chairman of the committee of five that has been investigating President Wilson's charges regarding tariff lobbyists at Washington)

order that the caucus of Democratic Senators might pass upon the measure. The strategic object of the President was plain enough. He desired to give sufficient added impulse to party sentiment to carry the measure without change through a caucus attended by all of the Democratic Senators, with the understanding that the minority would acquiesce in the opinion of the majority. The efforts of the so-called "wool lobby" and "sugar lobby" had been directed towards securing separate consideration for two schedules. It was against this that the leadership of the party was aroused. The President's statement, however, met with an unexpected response from the Republican side of the Senate. Senator Cummins of Iowa, on the following day, introduced a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee of five Senators "to investigate the charge that a lobby is maintained at Washington or elsewhere to influence proposed legislation now pending before the Senate." The resolution proceeded to instruct the committee of five as follows:

> The committee is instructed to report within ten days the names of all lobbyists attempting to influence any such pending legislation and the methods which they have employed to accomplish their ends, and in giving the names of the lobbyists to give the particular bill on which they are working and if it be the Tariff bill the item they are seeking to change.
>
> The committee is further instructed to take the statement under oath of all Senators as to the names of all persons who have made any representations to them during the present session concerning pending legislation and especially concerning the Tariff bill, and the inquiry shall include the character of the representation and the circumstances under which it was made, in order to ascertain whether it was a proper or improper attempt to influence legislation.
>
> It is resolved that the President be and he is hereby requested to furnish said committee with the names of the lobbyists to whom he referred in the public statement issued by him on the 26th of May and any other information about them and their efforts to bring about changes in legislation now before the Senate which will promote the general welfare.

An Inquiry and Its Methods

Senator Cummins, in presenting his resolution, referring to the high authority of the President, said that if the lobby charge were not at once looked into, the public might believe that any changes made in the pending Tariff bill would be due to improper influence. The Democrats, being taken off their guard, objected at first to the resolution. But a few hours' consultation made it clear that the Cummins resolution could not be safely



SEARCH ME!
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

opposed, and on May 29 it was adopted unanimously, though with certain amendments supported by the Democrats and resisted by the Republicans. As finally adopted, the requirements of the resolution were less specific as regards the giving of information by Senators and by the President, but remained sufficiently definite to make possible a very thorough investigation. It was also decided to have the inquiry conducted by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, which named for that purpose a subcommittee consisting of Senator Overman of North Carolina, Senator Reed of Missouri, Senator Walsh of Montana, Senator Cummins of Iowa, and Senator Nelson of Minnesota. The committee began its work by summoning before it, one after another, every member of the Senate to explain his own interest, direct or indirect, in enterprises affected by possible tariff changes. Most of the Senators also disclosed very frankly the nature and extent of their investments and business connections. They told, further, of such influences as had been brought to bear upon them in the course of the present and former periods of tariff legislation. The impression made by most of the Senators was one of entire frankness and good faith, and of a sense of personal honor and public obligation.



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SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS OF IOWA

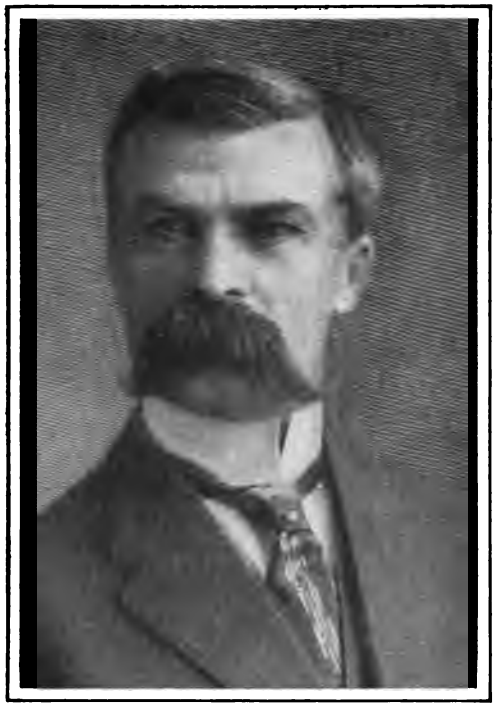
(Whose proposal to investigate lobby charges was unanimously adopted, and who was made a member of the committee of five)

A Question of Manners and Methods

During the course of the examination of Senators, the names of a good many men were brought to light who had been active in Washington on behalf of one tariff interest or another. The impression made upon the minds of those somewhat familiar with tariff lobbies in times past and gone was that of the relative insignificance of lobbyists at the present time, and the discouragements under which they pursue their labors. It has always been regarded as proper for citizens to inform their own Senators and Representatives as to the bearing of proposed legislation upon their established enterprises. But it requires intelligence and good judgment to know where to draw the line between a proper presentation of one's case and a persistent campaign that becomes offensive. The old-fashioned lobbyist was often a very insidious person; but his type is more familiar at the State capitols. There is very little comfort for men of his class in Washington. The so-called "lobbies" of recent years that have taken part in tariff fights have been almost entirely composed of groups of men selected to represent important interests with which they were connected. They have been present in times past at tariff hearings to present their arguments, and have not supposed that they were guilty of misconduct —not even of a violation of good taste. Their ways of proceeding, however, have always illustrated the fundamental evils of our old tariff-making methods. If as a matter of theory it belongs to the Government to foster one industry and to create another by setting up discriminating tariff walls, it is not strange that the interests thus favored should come to feel that they had certain vested rights to be considered, and that their presence in Washington whenever tariff changes were impending was to be regarded as a matter of course.

Our Policies at Fault

Our tariff policies, in their bearing upon private interests, should be as broad and simple as possible, and should be so shaped as to avoid either the creation of private monopoly or the destruction of established enterprise. Even the Democratic tariff bills of the past have been strongly protectionist, and have professed to consider the position of particular industries and their ability to bear tariff changes. We must not be too



SENATER THOMAS J. WALSH OF MONTANA
(One of the new Democratic members, and one of the committee of five who investigated lobby charges last month)

severe, therefore, in criticizing representatives of particular industries at the present time, in view of the fact that such industries have always been expected, heretofore, to urge their claims upon the attention of Congress. The Underwood bill, in our opinion, will have an invigorating rather than a harmful effect upon American industry and commerce in general. It retains the protective tariff upon hundreds of articles, although in most cases it reduces the rates. The sugar interests, and those concerned with wool, seem to be more deeply worried than almost any others. They sincerely believe that the Underwood bill is too drastic as respects their enterprises. They have long enjoyed the advantages of tariff protection, and they feel that it would be just and statesmanlike to reduce their degree of protection but not wholly to remove it. They have been trying to get public opinion committed to their view, and to convince statesmen at Washington that they are right. There is room for clear difference of opinion upon this subject, and President Wilson, in conjunction with a large majority of the leaders of his party, has decided in favor of free sugar and free wool from the motive of broad public welfare. While individual Democratic Senators ought to have the courage to follow their own convictions of duty, it is plain that the country expects prompt tariff action and that this can be had only through adherence to a party program formulated by the recognized majority leaders. Under these circumstances, the sugar interests and the wool interests, in our opinion, ought to have gone no further than to state their case fully and frankly, putting all their facts and arguments in the most convenient form for the President and for every member of Congress. They were ill-advised in entering upon a pestering and insistent campaign, which was not likely to be productive of results, but which was more likely to embarrass their friends than to convince or defeat their opponents.

The House of Representatives

With the Senate purging itself of complicity with tariff lobbyists, and waiting for the final report of the Finance Committee that had been taking several weeks for consideration of the Underwood bill, it became evident last month that the tariff debate, in the open and formal sense, would probably occupy several weeks of the present month of July, and that adjournment might not be possible before the middle of August. The House of Representatives, meanwhile, has had a great deal of time at its disposal, and there has been a strong feeling throughout the country that this time ought to be devoted to making as much progress as possible with a banking and currency bill. For one thing, the House had to complete its committees, this work



PROTECTED INTERESTS AND THE LOBBY VERSUS THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER
From the *World* (New York)



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MR. HENRY OF TEXAS (Rules) | MR. FITZGERALD OF NEW YORK (Appropriations) | MR. ADAMSON OF GEORGIA (Interstate and Foreign Commerce)

THREE CHAIRMEN OF IMPORTANT HOUSE COMMITTEES

being postponed until after the passage of the tariff measure. Under the new rules, the Ways and Means Committee, which had the tariff bill on its hands, is also charged with the duty of making up all the other standing committees, subject to approval by party caucus. This rule transfers to Mr. Underwood, as floor leader and chairman of that committee, much of the power that, under the old rules, would have belonged to Speaker Clark.

New Committee Chairmen

The chairmanships have gone almost entirely to the South, not for sectional reasons, but because the Southern Democrats as a rule have been longest in service and have held ranking places as minority members of the committees during Republican Congresses. Very important, in view of work to be done, is the Banking and Currency Committee, of which Mr. Carter Glass, of Virginia, is chairman. Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, is at the head of Appropriations; Mr. Henry, of Texas, Rules; Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, Judiciary; Mr. Adamson, of Georgia, Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Mr. Sparkman, of Florida, Rivers and Harbors; Mr. Flood, of Virginia, Foreign Affairs; Mr. Padgett, of Tennessee, Naval Affairs; Mr. Hay, of Virginia, Military Affairs; Mr. Moon, of Tennessee, Post Office and Post Roads; Mr. Lewis, of Maryland, Labor; Mr. Lever, of South Carolina, Agriculture; Mr. Clark, of Florida, Public Buildings and Grounds; Mr. Stephens, of Texas, Indian Affairs; Mr. Ferris, of Oklahoma, Public Lands; Mr. Jones, of Virginia, Insular Affairs; Mr. Dies, of Texas, Railways and Canals; Mr. Hughes, of Georgia, Education. There is a new Committee on Good Roads, with Mr. Shackleford, of Missouri, as its chairman, and it is expected to assume much importance.

Preparing a Currency Bill

The leisurely mood of the House has not been due to summer weather, but merely to the fact that a comprehensive banking and currency measure must go through its period of incubation in the committee over which Mr. Glass presides, before the House can accomplish anything by debating the subject. Mr. Mann, the leader of the Republican minority, early last month prodded Mr. Underwood for information as to the expected message of President Wilson on the money question, but there was no response. Mr. Lindbergh, who is the one Progressive ("Bull Moose") member of the new Currency Committee, made a strong demand for hearings and discussions that should be fully open to the public and the newspapers. Mr. Glass, however, and the Democratic major-



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MR. JAMES H. POUND OF DETROIT

(Chief counsel for Colonel Roosevelt in his suit against the editor of the *Iron Ore*)

to England. All wise men are anxious for the time to come when the great nations can agree to reduce their floating and land armaments. A majority of experienced public men do not think it safe for one great naval power to disarm, or to fall far behind, while the other naval powers are forging ahead. The question is whether the United States ought to maintain its place as the second or third naval power, while using all its influence to hasten the day when all the great powers will adopt a different policy. It is quite possible that the false talk about war with Japan may help to bring this question of naval policy to a decision, either one way or the other. There is no logic or sense in a compromise course. If we are not to have a large navy of up-to-date battleships, we might as well save money and have a small navy.

Roosevelt and the Slanderers

Among the many desperate performances that marked the national Republican campaign of the political year 1912, the most discreditable was the attempt to smirch the personal reputation of Theodore Roosevelt. It is impossible to believe that the stories charging Colonel Roosevelt with habitual drunkenness and shocking profanity were circulated from one end of the country to the other without design on the part of persons actuated by political motives. Perhaps no public man has ever lived whose acquaintanceship has been as extensive as that of Colonel Roosevelt. He has been in public life, under conditions of glaring publicity, for thirty years. He is not only a man who was never drunk in his life, but he is habitually a very abstemious man, whether as regards drinking or eating or conduct of any kind that would interfere with his health and efficiency. Furthermore, these qualities have been perfectly well known to friends and enemies alike. There have been a good many public men during the past thirty years, about whom—as regards drinking, or excessive smoking, or some personal tendency or habit—there has been talk among newspaper men or others having opportunity to be informed.

Lies for Politics Only

But there had never been any such talk about Mr. Roosevelt, on the part of newspaper men or well-informed people. The gentlemen of the press are too busy and too intelligent to bother themselves about things manifestly ridiculous. The rumors about



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WILLIAM P. BELDEN OF ISHPEMING

(Counsel for Mr. Newett, the editor who was sued for libel by Colonel Roosevelt)



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enment was increased when, on June 9, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in the so-called "Minnesota rate cases." The nature, effect, and bearing of that decision can be better stated in the REVIEW for next month, after the railroads themselves, the law authorities, and the public have digested the elaborate opinion prepared by Justice Hughes. A few words, meanwhile, to the average reader, may be of use.

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A Great Contest Decided

A conference of Governors was held at Spring Lake, N. J., two years ago, and, upon motion of Governor Harmon, of Ohio, a committee was appointed to prepare a brief on behalf of the States, holding the view that local railroad rates are within the power of State control, even upon interstate lines. Governor Harmon, of Ohio, and Governor Aldrich, of Nebraska, were appointed on the committee, and they submitted a brief in the Supreme Court. A distinguished audience, including ex-President Taft and a number of Senators and leading lawyers, heard Justice Hughes read his opinion on Monday, the 9th. The decision holds that Congress has adequate authority to maintain the freedom of interstate commerce and to regulate and control it, while the States have control over their local commerce where other States are not affected. The understanding reasonably to be derived from Justice Hughes's opinion, —which, it should be said, was the unanimous opinion of the court,—is that when Congress has exercised to the full its authority over railroad rates, from the standpoint of interstate commerce, there may remain a more limited field within which State action can be exercised.

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Colonel Roosevelt returned from this trying but necessary episode to find Governor Sulzer in the thick of his campaign on behalf of direct primaries. The Colonel had promised to help in that campaign, and he made influential speeches at Rochester and elsewhere. The extra session of the legislature was called to meet at Albany on Monday, June 16. Never had the two old party machines in the State of New York worked together more cunningly or with more determination than in their fight against Governor Sulzer. They were trying to save what they could of their practical power and of their benefits derived from the great working profession of politics. Governor Sulzer had challenged them both, with an audacity that disregarded personal tact as well as possible legislative compromise. There is, indeed, in the State of New York a good deal of honest doubt as to the value of the nominating scheme provided for in Governor Sulzer's bill. There are many who believe it best to keep the State conventions for the nomination of Governors, United States Senators, and the more important party candidates. Governor Sulzer, however, is not arguing about the mere theory of nominating methods. He is trying to give the people of the State of New York a chance to beat the bosses and the machines. He thinks that their only practical chance for the present lies in the adoption of the State-wide primary system. This is also the belief of Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressive party, allowing for some difference in the details of proposed bills. As these pages go to press, we have no way of knowing what the extra session will do. The legislature is almost completely dominated by Mr. Murphy, who heads Tammany and the Democratic machine, and Mr. Barnes, who heads the Republican machine. These leaders declare that they can hold most of their followers in the legislature. Pressure from their constituencies will change the votes of some members in both houses. But it has not seemed probable that enough of these would change their votes to pass the Governor's bill.

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cannot be accelerated beyond certain possibilities. It is not believed that Japanese laborers or farmers in California really intend or desire to become Americans. They have a wonderful country of their own, and their patriotism is their most marked trait. It is not likely that statesmen of so much intelligence and patience as the public leaders of Japan would press theoretical points but for popular agitation in Japan that is fomented by sensational newspapers and that threatens to undermine the support of those now in power. Arizona has passed an alien land law having the same motive as that of California, but so worded as to show less discrimination. The Arizona law prohibits land-owning by aliens, unless they have taken the preliminary steps to become naturalized. This would affect Mexicans, for instance, owning land in Arizona, unless they should give up their Mexican citizenship and apply for naturalization papers. Whether or not there is discrimination against Japanese immigrants in this country, the Japanese Government assumes a novel attitude when it makes demands which virtually concern the conditions of citizenship in some other country. Questions of this kind may indeed be discussed, but it is a wholly new idea that they should be regarded as involving the issues of war and peace. It may be a needless or even a foolish policy on the part of California to pass an alien land law affecting the Japanese, at the present time. The administration at Washington, indeed, urged the legislature and Governor of California to postpone such action and await developments. But if it was within the legal rights of California to pass the bill, it is not easy to see upon what ground the Government of Japan can bring objections.



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Persistent Rumors of War Plans

It is unpleasant to have the idea of a war with Japan associated with every governmental action. Yet the newspapers continue to keep the public mind stirred up on one pretext after another. For example, we are carrying out a long-standing policy of developing a naval and coaling station in Hawaii. Every movement of men and materials to that point is now attributed to nervous preparation for war with Japan. Colonel Goethals announces that he hopes to send a small vessel of the Isthmian Canal Commission through the great Panama ditch in October of the present year. Whereupon he is put in a position of seeming to intimate that if war exigencies require it, we can have enough water in the canal three or four months from now to send our largest battleships from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A dozen other things in the ordinary routine of public business have been presented in the press as preparation for a possible war. As a matter of fact, neither our government nor that of Japan is giving a thought to so unlikely a thing as an immediate armed conflict. Both governments, on the other hand, are trying to find ways by which to make the past friendship of the two countries assured for all future time.

Are We to Have a Strong Navy?

Even unpleasant things, however, have their valuable side. The people of the United States must face frankly and squarely the question whether they mean to have a strong navy or a weak one. If they are not going to have a strong one they should have practically none at all, apart from a few cruisers and vessels for transport and convenience of administration. We have many leaders of public opinion who oppose the strong navy. We have many others who favor it. We are drifting, and have now no naval policy of any kind. In Mr. Roosevelt's administration the country seemed to have agreed upon a very definite plan of building ships and maintaining our relative naval strength, with the prospect of keeping our rank next

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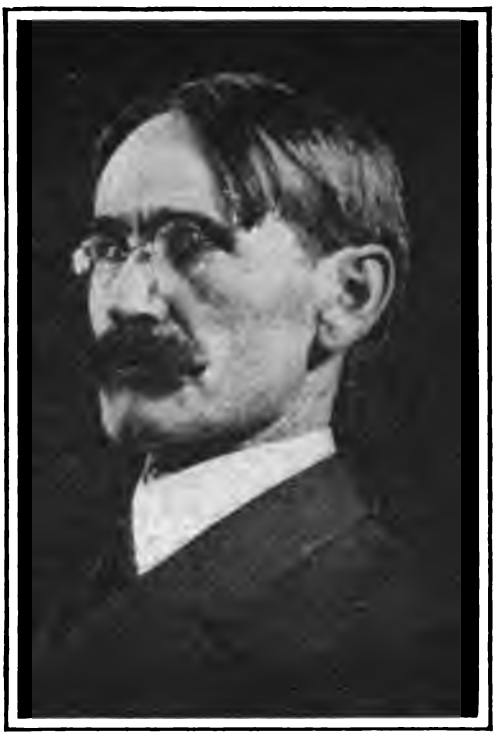
The New York Primary Campaign

Colonel Roosevelt returned from this trying but necessary episode to find Governor Sulzer in the thick of his campaign on behalf of direct primaries. The Colonel had promised to help in that campaign, and he made influential speeches at Rochester and elsewhere. The extra session of the legislature was called to meet at Albany on Monday, June 16. Never had the two old party machines in the State of New York worked together more cunningly or with more determination than in their fight against Governor Sulzer. They were trying to save what they could of their practical power and of their benefits derived from the great working profession of politics. Governor Sulzer had challenged them both, with an audacity that disregarded personal tact as well as possible legislative compromise. There is, indeed, in the State of New York a good deal of honest doubt as to the value of the nominating scheme provided for in Governor Sulzer's bill. There are many who believe it best to keep the State conventions for the nomination of Governors, United States Senators, and the more important party candidates. Governor Sulzer, however, is not arguing about the mere theory of nominating methods. He is trying to give the people of the State of New York a chance to beat the bosses and the machines. He thinks that their only practical chance for the present lies in the adoption of the State-wide primary system. This is also the belief of Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressive party, allowing for some difference in the details of proposed bills. As these pages go to press, we have no way of knowing what the extra session will do. The legislature is almost completely dominated by Mr. Murphy, who heads Tammany and the Democratic machine, and Mr. Barnes, who heads the Republican machine. These leaders declare that they can hold most of their followers in the legislature. Pressure from their constituencies will change the votes of some members in both houses. But it has not seemed probable that enough of these would change their votes to pass the Governor's bill.

"Getting Back" at the Governor

Meanwhile, the bitterness of the machines against Governor Sulzer was culminating in vicious schemes to attack him at all points. A legislative committee, made up for the most part of men exceptionally antagonistic to the Governor, had been appointed to investigate him and to attempt to find ground for charges against him on the score of misuse of his power. If the Governor has "played politics" he has at least done it in the interest of the people, and in the attempt to beat the mercenary politicians for the sake of better politics. It is charged that his veto power has been used to make support for his primary bill, and that his appointing power has been used with the same motive. But at worst this is to admit that he has used his power to advance what he regards as the measures most fundamental for the public welfare. His courses are very similar to those of President Wilson, who feels that as leader of his party he must use all his legitimate power to protect public ends against the schemes of those whose motives are private and selfish. We hoped, when Governor Sulzer was elected last fall, that he might have strength and courage for the difficult task of reform so greatly needed in the State of New York. He found conditions far worse than he had even suspected. He has made a daring, manly fight for what he has believed to be right. He has never stood so high nor deserved so well as now, because he has never before been subjected to so severe an ordeal, and he has not flinched.

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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
JUDGE RICHARD C. FLANNIGAN
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The Colonel's Suit for Libel

Colonel Roosevelt decided that the best way to meet and forever put a stop to the lies told about him was to bring an action for libel against the Michigan editor. It is sometimes a difficult thing to prove a negative, unless as to a particular act at a particular moment. Colonel Roosevelt is not a total abstainer; he occasionally drinks a glass of wine at a meal. The Michigan editor, knowing how generally the stories had been circulated, believed almost to the very last that he could prove that he was justified in what he published. The trial was at Marquette, and began on May 26, before Judge Richard C. Flannigan and a jury. Colonel Roosevelt appeared, and was accompanied by a number of men who had been associated with him as secretaries, as secret-service guards, as relatives and intimates, or as officials close in his confidence. There were also on his behalf depositions—which had been taken in New York and elsewhere—of a number of men well acquainted with his life and habits. Mr. Roosevelt himself took the stand and testified that he was never in his life under the influence of alcoholic liquor. He was sustained by the testimony of his former secretary, Mr. Loeb, of personal and official associates like Mr. James R. Garfield and Mr. Gifford Pinchot, of intimate friends like Mr. Jacob A. Riis, and many others.

Complete Vindication

This array of testimony was so completely convincing that the defendant and his excellent lawyers decided to admit themselves in the wrong and to abandon their defense. It would seem that they had been left in the lurch by those who had been most responsible for circulating the stories which Mr. Newett, the Ishpeming editor, had unfortunately believed and printed. They had scoured the country in search of testimony, and had, it would seem, obtained nothing except a lot of affidavits from political opponents of Mr. Roosevelt, who thought that he was drunk when he addressed mass meetings in Ohio and elsewhere last year. Such people attached importance to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt had a man on each side of him, supporting him as he mounted the platform. They were simply unfamiliar with the present practice of protecting such men as Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Taft, as they move through crowded places. It is enough to say to thoughtful people that the shooting of Mr. Roosevelt at Milwaukee illustrates the need of surrounding public men by guards and attendants in times of political excitement, to protect them from cranks. The statement made by Mr. Newett that he could

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University of Texas

The more recent development of the State university idea has been associated in popular thought with the Middle West and Far West, rather than with the South. We should not, however, overlook the fact that during the last few years several of the Southern State universities have seemingly entered on a new period of vigorous growth. The University of Texas, for example, which has just celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, is getting much the same kind of hold on the people of the Lone Star State that the Universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois have already obtained on their respective communities. The Texas institution has, for one thing, developed a strong "extension" department, like that of Wisconsin, and members of the university faculty are enlisted in various important activities having for their object the promotion of the general welfare. One of the university professors, during the past spring, assisted materially in the organization of the first land-credit banking association to be formed in the Southwest. Another member of the faculty and the president of the University Board of Regents are on the American commission now making a study of rural credit systems in Europe. A legislative reference bureau for the benefit of the members of the State legislature and executive departments was founded by another of the university professors.



PRESIDENT SIDNEY E. MEZES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Proposed Bond Issue

The university has greatly suffered for lack of an adequate building fund because of a provision in the State constitution that the legislature should not have the power to levy a tax or appropriate moneys from the general revenues of the State for the purpose of erecting university buildings. The income derived from the university's 2,000,000 acres of land, most of which lies in the arid region west of the Pecos River, has been quite insufficient to provide buildings as rapidly as they were needed, and the Regents have been compelled to construct temporary wooden structures to provide room for offices, classes, and laboratories. The recent session of the



TEMPORARY STRUCTURE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, MADE NECESSARY BY THE RAPID INCREASE IN THE ENROLLMENT

State legislature submitted to the people an amendment authorizing the university to issue bonds on the security of its permanent endowment, the interest and sinking fund to be provided for out of the income of the university's lands. In this way it is proposed to provide the necessary buildings without expense to the taxpayers. The people will vote on this amendment on July 19, and the chances of its adoption are regarded as good.

Dr. Jordan's Retirement

The most important change of the past month in university circles, so far as personnel is concerned, was the retirement of Dr. David Starr Jordan as president of Stanford University. Dr. Jordan's connection with the institution which he had served with such distinction for twenty-two years is not to be ended. He will henceforth occupy the new position of chancellor, in which, relieved of the burden of administrative duties, he will be able to devote his time to the broader problems of education, science, and civilization, both within and without the university. When Dr. Jordan, who was Stanford's first president, assumed his duties in 1891, and for many years thereafter, his position was a most difficult one. His remarkable success in building up the institution was wholly due to personal qualities which have made him one of the commanding figures in the intellectual life of the country. Dr. Jordan is a director of the World's Peace Foundation and much of his energies will hereafter be devoted to the spread of his gospel of international conciliation. During the present summer he will study conditions in Alsace-Lorraine and in the Balkans. Dr. Jordan's successor as president of the university is Professor John C. Branner, dean of the Geology and Mining School, who has been vice-president of the university since its founding, and whose association with Dr. Jordan dates back to college days at Cornell.

Good Crops

General crop conditions on June 1, as reported by the Department of Agriculture at Washington, averaged about one per cent. lower than the average conditions on June 1 of recent years. Crop reports received from the Southwest after that date showed a general need of rain. There had also been a period of unseasonably cool weather in many States. This had somewhat retarded the corn crop in the Middle West. The government experts estimate a record harvest of winter wheat,—492,000,000 bushels,—and a yield of 252,000,000 bushels of spring wheat. In Kansas and Oklahoma drought somewhat diminished the prospects for the wheat crop, which, earlier in the season, had been especially good. For the country as a whole crop prospects, last month, were decidedly bright.

Opposition to Arbitration Treaties

Arbitration treaties with a number of countries expire by limitation during the present summer. During the last weeks of the Taft administration, some of these were renewed by the signatures of the Secretary of State and the ambassador of the foreign country in question. These included the pacts with France, Italy, Spain and Great Britain. Those with Mexico and Japan were not signed when the Wilson administration came into office. Ratification by the Senate, a necessary procedure before a treaty becomes the law of the land, has been withheld on these agreements with European countries, chiefly as a result of a feeling on the part of some of the Senators that a renewal of the arbitration agreement with Great Britain would, in a way, officially admit that country's right to demand arbitration of the Panama Canal tolls question. On June 5, Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, in an executive session of the Senate called to discuss arbitration treaties in general, raised objection to the ratification of the renewal of the treaty with England which had expired by limitation the day before.

Settling the Nicaraguan Canal Route

Another treaty signed by the Taft administration, but not ratified until Mr. Wilson became President, was the one negotiated between this country and Nicaragua. The substance of this was that the Nicaraguan Canal route will be forever closed to every nation except



UNCLE SAM: "I sometimes wonder whether I still own my own country or not."
From the *Irish World* (New York).

the United States. The agreement also provided for the concession of a naval base to the United States on the Gulf of Fonseca, on the west coast of Nicaragua. On May 30, it was announced that the Wilson administration had decided to support this treaty, and that Secretary Bryan had asked the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to approve it. The general arbitration with Japan expires by limitation on August 24. There seems to be a strong feeling in the Senate that all these arbitration treaties should be remodeled in form so that they will not (as Senator Chamberlain puts it) "permit other nations to dictate in any way in our domestic affairs."

The Borden Naval Bill Rejected

The Naval Aid Bill of the Borden Government was rejected by the Canadian Senate on May 30. Thus ended a half-year's parliamentary campaign to carry into effect Mr. Borden's plan for a contribution of $35,000,000 by Canada for the construction of three Dreadnaughts for the British navy. One week later the session was adjourned. Just before closing, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the ex-premier and now leader of the Opposition in the Commons, asked what the Government proposed to do in view of the Senate's rejection of the bill. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Borden referred to the three Dreadnaughts which Mr. Churchill, the administrative head of the British navy, had announced would be laid down immediately and built by the Imperial Government owing to the action of the Canadian Senate. The Premier stated frankly that the Dominion Government would pay for these. "Before the Dreadnaughts are completed—by which time the Government will have a majority in the Senate—legislation will be brought about to buy the ships and place them at the disposal of the British admiralty."

To "Reform" the Canadian Senate

The Premier then went on to denounce the action of the Senate as offensively partisan, and stated that the Government would proceed immediately to "reform" it. The Conservatives claim that the Upper House of the Canadian legislature is not sufficiently responsible to the electorate, that it possesses too great power to nullify the popular will, and that such power should be curtailed. The members of the Dominion Senate, it will be remembered, are appointed for life by the Governor-General, in accordance with the recommendations of the party in power.

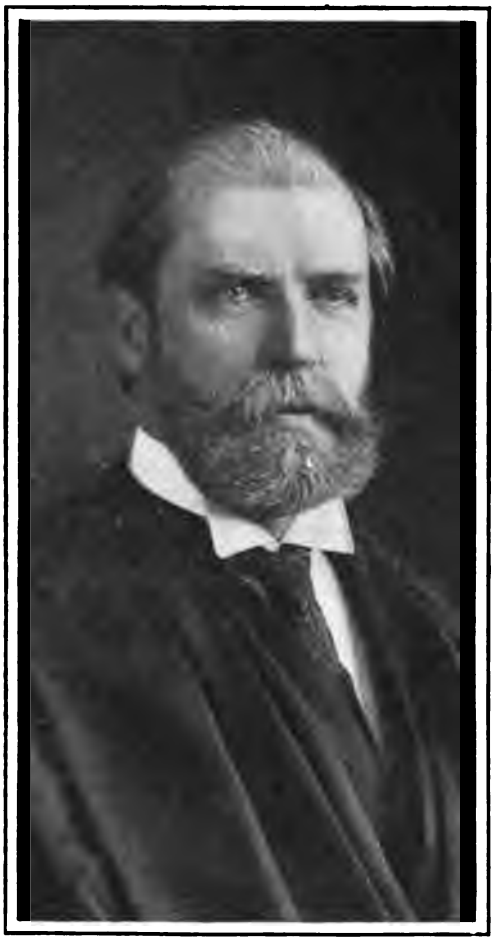


DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN
(Who retired last month from the presidency of Stanford University)

They are 87 in number, 24 from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, 10 each from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 4 each from Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, Alberta and Saskatchewan, and 3 from British Columbia. The Conservatives claim that, during Mr. Laurier's long lease as Premier (from 1896 to 1911), he secured the appointment of most of the Senators from among his own political henchmen—"now left-over favorites of a rejected administration"—and that they are not responsive to the present temper of the Canadian people.

The Liberal Attitude on the Navy

Mr. Laurier, on the other hand, insists that in its rejection of the naval bill the Senate only protected the rights of the people. The Senate did not even reject the bill, Mr. Laurier contended. "It simply refused assent to the matter until it had been submitted to the judgment of the electorate." He challenged the Premier to appeal to the country on the issue. Mr. Borden refuses to accept the challenge, maintaining that, while the Gov-



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JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES
(Who delivered the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the Minnesota rate cases)

National Control Necessary

The growing presumption is in favor of national control over railways in the fullest sense. The great network of steam highways comes to be more and more a system to be regarded as general rather than local, and to be controlled in the interest of shippers, travelers, and investors in railway securities, by Congress, working through the Interstate Commerce Commission. A railroad rate from Chicago to Davenport, Ia., is subject to revision and control by the authorities at Washington. A railroad rate from Chicago to Rock Island, falling within the State of Illinois, is subject to control of local authorities. All of the railroads going from Chicago westward are interstate roads. The journey from Chicago to Rock Island is virtually the same as to Davenport. If the Illinois authorities fix a much lower rate than one that the Federal authorities have approved, the railroads are in a serious predicament, because they are henceforth to be subjected to the varying treatment of forty-eight State governments, in the matter of rate-making, instead of the more calculable treatment of the central authorities at Washington. The decision upholds the State of Minnesota in the particular cases involved, but intimates that Congress has authority to proceed further than it has yet gone in defining the extent to which an interstate carrier may be burdened by local restrictions.

Negotiations with Japan

The questions raised by Japan as a result of California's new law prohibiting the ownership of farm lands by aliens not eligible to American citizenship continue to be a matter of diplomatic negotiation between the two governments. The California law expressly acknowledges the superiority of any rights conferred by treaty; so that if any individual believes that his rights are impaired he can take his claim into our courts as a test case, where the subject would have prompt treatment. This point of view, though fully set forth by Mr. Bryan, was not agreeable to the Japanese Government. It would seem that the real grievance of Japan has nothing to do with express violation of treaty provisions, inasmuch as nobody seems to be able to point out a single provision of any kind that has been violated. It is a more fundamental complaint, having to do with the broad spirit and intent of treaties, and of international relationships. The Japanese feel that they are entitled to the same treatment in this country as persons from European nations. At bottom, their contention is for full privileges of immigration and eligibility to citizenship. Their feeling on these points is easy to understand. If nothing were involved except the admission to citizenship, and to every other privilege in this country, of those educated and accomplished members of the Japanese race whom we meet from time to time and whose freedom of movement and association is desired by everyone, there would be no questions to raise.

Real Differences Require Patience

But, at least until very lately, the differences between the Oriental and the Western peoples have been very profound; and it has not seemed possible to assimilate laborers of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other Asiatic races in this country. History proceeds at a rapid pace in these later times, but its speed

cannot be accelerated beyond certain possibilities. It is not believed that Japanese laborers or farmers in California really intend or desire to become Americans. They have a wonderful country of their own, and their patriotism is their most marked trait. It is not likely that statesmen of so much intelligence and patience as the public leaders of Japan would press theoretical points but for popular agitation in Japan that is fomented by sensational newspapers and that threatens to undermine the support of those now in power. Arizona has passed an alien land law having the same motive as that of California, but so worded as to show less discrimination. The Arizona law prohibits landowning by aliens, unless they have taken the preliminary steps to become naturalized. This would affect Mexicans, for instance, owning land in Arizona, unless they should give up their Mexican citizenship and apply for naturalization papers. Whether or not there is discrimination against Japanese immigrants in this country, the Japanese Government assumes a novel attitude when it makes demands which virtually concern the conditions of citizenship in some other country. Questions of this kind may indeed be discussed, but it is a wholly new idea that they should be regarded as involving the issues of war and peace. It may be a needless or even a foolish policy on the part of California to pass an alien land law affecting the Japanese, at the present time. The administration at Washington, indeed, urged the legislature and Governor of California to postpone such action and await developments. But if it was within the legal rights of California to pass the bill, it is not easy to see upon what ground the Government of Japan can bring objections.



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COL. GEORGE W. GOETHALS

(The United States Army engineer who has been in charge of the construction of the Panama Canal for the last six years. Colonel Goethals was in this country last month to confer with officials at Washington regarding Canal affairs)

Persistent Rumors of War Plans

It is unpleasant to have the idea of a war with Japan associated with every governmental action. Yet the newspapers continue to keep the public mind stirred up on one pretext after another. For example, we are carrying out a long-standing policy of developing a naval and coaling station in Hawaii. Every movement of men and materials to that point is now attributed to nervous preparation for war with Japan. Colonel Goethals announces that he hopes to send a small vessel of the Isthmian Canal Commission through the great Panama ditch in October of the present year. Whereupon he is put in a position of seeming to intimate that if war exigencies require it, we can have enough water in the canal three or four months from now to send our largest battleships from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A dozen other things in the ordinary routine of public business have been presented in the press as preparation for a possible war. As a matter of fact, neither our government nor that of Japan is giving a thought to so unlikely a thing as an immediate armed conflict. Both governments, on the other hand, are trying to find ways by which to make the past friendship of the two countries assured for all future time.

Are We to Have a Strong Navy?

Even unpleasant things, however, have their valuable side. The people of the United States must face frankly and squarely the question whether they mean to have a strong navy or a weak one. If they are not going to have a strong one they should have practically none at all, apart from a few cruisers and vessels for transport and convenience of administration. We have many leaders of public opinion who oppose the strong navy. We have many others who favor it. We are drifting, and have now no naval policy of any kind. In Mr. Roosevelt's administration the country seemed to have agreed upon a very definite plan of building ships and maintaining our relative naval strength, with the prospect of keeping our rank next



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MR. JAMES H. POUND OF DETROIT

(Chief counsel for Colonel Roosevelt in his suit against the editor of the *Iron Ore*)

to England. All wise men are anxious for the time to come when the great nations can agree to reduce their floating and land armaments. A majority of experienced public men do not think it safe for one great naval power to disarm, or to fall far behind, while the other naval powers are forging ahead. The question is whether the United States ought to maintain its place as the second or third naval power, while using all its influence to hasten the day when all the great powers will adopt a different policy. It is quite possible that the false talk about war with Japan may help to bring this question of naval policy to a decision, either one way or the other. There is no logic or sense in a compromise course. If we are not to have a large navy of up-to-date battleships, we might as well save money and have a small navy.

Roosevelt and the Slanderers

Among the many desperate performances that marked the national Republican campaign of the political year 1912, the most discreditable was the attempt to smirch the personal reputation of Theodore Roosevelt. It is impossible to believe that the stories charging Colonel Roosevelt with habitual drunkenness and shocking profanity were circulated from one end of the country to the other without design on the part of persons actuated by political motives. Perhaps no public man has ever lived whose acquaintanceship has been as extensive as that of Colonel Roosevelt. He has been in public life, under conditions of glaring publicity, for thirty years. He is not only a man who was never drunk in his life, but he is habitually a very abstemious man, whether as regards drinking or eating or conduct of any kind that would interfere with his health and efficiency. Furthermore, these qualities have been perfectly well known to friends and enemies alike. There have been a good many public men during the past thirty years, about whom—as regards drinking, or excessive smoking, or some personal tendency or habit—there has been talk among newspaper men or others having opportunity to be informed.

Lies for Politics Only

But there had never been any such talk about Mr. Roosevelt, on the part of newspaper men or well-informed people. The gentlemen of the press are too busy and too intelligent to bother themselves about things manifestly ridiculous. The rumors about

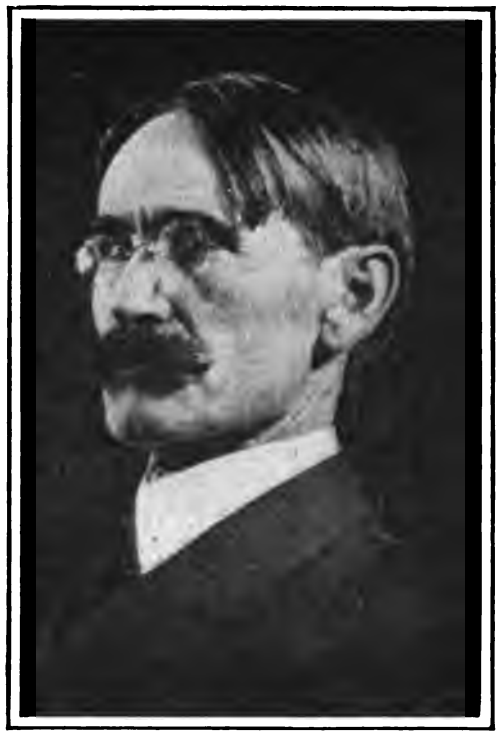


Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MR. JAMES H. POUND OF DETROIT

(Chief counsel for Colonel Roosevelt in his suit against the editor of the *Iron Ore*)

to England. All wise men are anxious for the time to come when the great nations can agree to reduce their floating and land armaments. A majority of experienced public men do not think it safe for one great naval power to disarm, or to fall far behind, while the other naval powers are forging ahead. The question is whether the United States ought to maintain its place as the second or third naval power, while using all its influence to hasten the day when all the great powers will adopt a different policy. It is quite possible that the false talk about war with Japan may help to bring this question of naval policy to a decision, either one way or the other. There is no logic or sense in a compromise course. If we are not to have a large navy of up-to-date battleships, we might as well save money and have a small navy.

Roosevelt and the Slanderers

Among the many desperate performances that marked the national Republican campaign of the political year 1912, the most discreditable was the attempt to smirch the personal reputation of Theodore Roosevelt. It is impossible to believe that the stories charging Colonel Roosevelt with habitual drunkenness and shocking profanity were circulated from one end of the country to the other without design on the part of persons actuated by political motives. Perhaps no public man has ever lived whose acquaintanceship has been as extensive as that of Colonel Roosevelt. He has been in public life, under conditions of glaring publicity, for thirty years. He is not only a man who was never drunk in his life, but he is habitually a very abstemious man, whether as regards drinking or eating or conduct of any kind that would interfere with his health and efficiency. Furthermore, these qualities have been perfectly well known to friends and enemies alike. There have been a good many public men during the past thirty years, about whom—as regards drinking, or excessive smoking, or some personal tendency or habit—there has been talk among newspaper men or others having opportunity to be informed.

Lies for Politics Only

But there had never been any such talk about Mr. Roosevelt, on the part of newspaper men or well-informed people. The gentlemen of the press are too busy and too intelligent to bother themselves about things manifestly ridiculous. The rumors about



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WILLIAM P. BELDEN OF ISHPEMING

(Counsel for Mr. Newett, the editor who was sued for libel by Colonel Roosevelt)

Mr. Roosevelt's drinking habits were manufactured out of nothing, and disseminated with horrid and calculating industry by people who desired to injure him. Just before the election last fall a country editor in Michigan, who was very close in the confidence of Republican politicians and their supporting interests, was so misguided as to print the current rumors against Colonel Roosevelt in his newspaper. Although the slanders had been circulated throughout the country, they had gone from mouth to mouth. Since all editors and publishers of important newspapers knew these charges to be false, the miserable attacks were for the most part kept out of the press, unless in the most guarded way. But the Michigan editor seems to have been gulled. It is probable that he came to believe the stories that were told him, and thought that he was serving the cause of truth and political justice in printing them. He did not realize that honest men like himself were being imposed upon in a political cause whose methods have even yet to be revealed in the full measure of their various improprieties.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
JUDGE RICHARD C. FLANNIGAN
(Who presided over the trial at Marquette)

The Colonel's Suit for Libel

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ernment does not fear any lack of the popular support, it will not be "cajoled" into a general election to suit the partisan purposes of a minority opposition." The Liberal point of view has been put succinctly by one of the party leaders. He says that the Borden proposal was simply that Canada should bear the interest charge on $35,000,000 of money to be borrowed from England, and to be spent in British shipyards, for ships to be built and maintained in England, and to be attached to some European naval base for use, at the will of the British admiralty, in wars not of Canada's seeking. The Liberal policy, in the words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself, is to "help the British Empire by taking our share in building up a Canadian navy, built in Canada, manned and maintained by Canada, and not to be used except for such purposes as Canada approves." The Liberal chieftain's idea is that the primary interests of Canada do not lie across the ocean, but on the American continent.

Canadian Tariff Banking and Parcels Post

A number of other important measures were considered by the Dominion Parliament during the session recently closed. On May 13 a bill was introduced by the government calling for a number of changes in the tariff. In accordance with Canadian procedure the new rates were made provisionally effective on that date—that is, from the day the proposal was made by a responsible minister. Most of these changes were called for by the operation of the new trade agreement between the Dominion and the British West Indies. Other changes, however, such as the reduction in duty on cement, are interesting to American business men. A parcels post bill was passed, late in May, at the urgent advocacy of Hon. L. P. Pelletier, Postmaster-General. A revision of the Canadian Bank Act also received a good deal of consideration, a bill providing for certain radical changes having been introduced early in the session by Hon. W. T. White, Minister of Finance, and sent to the Committee on Banking and Commerce. One of the reforms demanded is the creation of some supervisory court or commission similar to the Canadian Board of Railway Commissioners, and more or less similar to the American Interstate Commerce Commission. According to a report issued on June 1 by a bureau of the Department of Commerce, the United States ranks second as a customer for Canadian productions, and first as a supplier of Canadian needs. Canada buys more from the United States than from all other nations combined, and this in spite of the various "preferences" to Great Britain. Geography seems to have been too much for the tariffs.

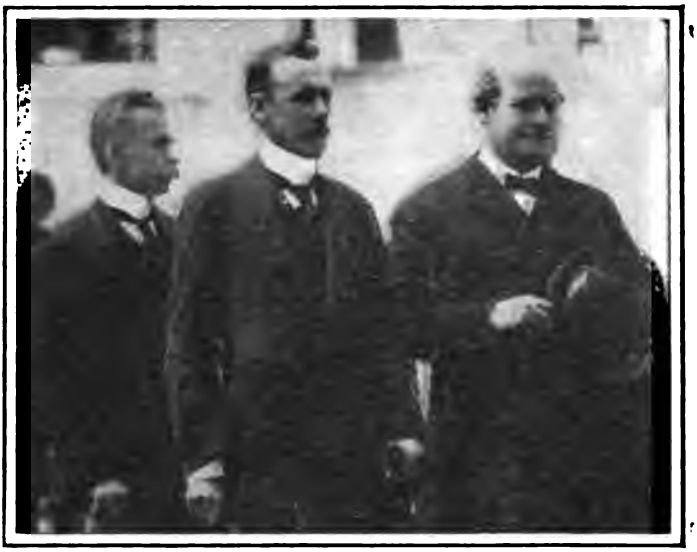
Mexico's Financial Troubles

Although there is still armed opposition to the present administration in many parts of the republic of Mexico, the chief embarrassment of the Huerta régime just now is the lack of funds with which to carry on the business of state. Several attempts were made early in May to borrow money in Europe, particularly in France. A loan of $100,000,000 was almost consummated, but the French financiers, fearing the present "disquietude of Mexico's internal affairs," finally withdrew from the negotiations. The chief difficulty in the way of placing a foreign loan has been the refusal of the United States to recognize the Huerta Government. According to a report current early last month, Secretary of War Garrison has decided that the constitutionally elected President must have taken office and the new administration be on a permanent basis "before the United States can afford to take any chances with her Southern neighbors." The need of money, particularly in the government's railway business, became so acute last month that the Mexican treasury was willing to give as security a lien on the railroad property. The National Railways of Mexico, which are controlled by the government through the ownership of a majority of outstanding stock, were said to be in need of some $27,500,000 to pay outstanding obligations, chiefly interest charges on bonds. The government also needed money immediately for its administration expenses. On June 3 a group of American bankers, in conjunction with French financiers, provided the funds, and the loan was accepted with the approval of the Mexican Congress.

An Eminent Brazilian Visitor

Last month one of the most distinguished of Brazil's public men, Senhor Lauro S. Muller, foreign minister of the republic, paid a visit to the United States to return the formal visit made by Secretary Root some years ago and incidentally to discuss with our State Department some of the questions growing out of the controversy over coffee valorization. Senhor Muller has been prominent in the history of his country for the past twenty-five years. He has been Governor of the State of Santa Catherina, has served in the national legislature, and has been

Minister of Communications and Public Works. It was due to his initiative that the Ministry of Agriculture was established at Rio Janeiro. He has been the initiator of many of the other great public works of Brazil, including the port improvements at Pará, Recife, Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, and Rio Janeiro. He originated the idea of the famous Madeiro-Mamoré railway, one of the most important lines, economically, in the world. He founded agricultural coöperative societies and commercial museums. As Minister of Communications he issued the trademark law of Brazil. Through his influence, the immigration law of his country was modified and improved. He gave the city of Rio its excellent lighting system, and it was he who created the general inspectorate of railways and public works.



Photograph by G. V. Buck, Washington, from Underwood & Underwood, New York

SECRETARY BRYAN GREETING THE SPECIAL BRAZILIAN ENVOY, DR. MULLER, IN WASHINGTON, LAST MONTH

(The Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, Senhor Domicio DaGama, is seen at the left)

British Liberals and "Politics"

In order to carry through its noteworthy and estimable reform program, the present Liberal government in Great Britain is apparently faced by the necessity for "playing politics" of the kind which British critics are wont to call "peculiarly American." The Asquith ministry has put on the statute books a great deal of progressive and wholesome legislation. There has been the curtailment of the veto power of the House of Lords, and the land and fiscal reform measures, including the various insurance and old-age pension acts initiated and engineered through the Commons by Chancellor Lloyd-George. Then there has been the white-slave-traffic legislation, which went into operation in December last, and the enactment of the minimum-wage law in the coal-mining trade. The important unfinished items on the program include Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and franchise reform. The last involves the thorny problem of "Votes for Women."

Dominance of the Irish in Parliament

The Liberal coalition, by which Mr. Asquith is enabled to carry his measures through the House of Commons, is now made up of 270 Liberals, 42 Laborites, and 84 Irish Nationalists, total 396; against an opposition of 274, giving the government a majority of 122. Without the Irish Nationalist and Labor members, the ministry could do nothing. John Redmond, the Irish leader, to whose brilliant, able statesmanship is due, more than to any other one man, the progress made by the Irish Home Rule measure, is opposed to granting the right of suffrage to women, and this in the face of the help the women have given to the Irish cause. It is impossible for the ministry, even were the Premier willing, to carry through the "Votes for Women" measure against the wishes of his allies, without whom he could not sustain his majority.

Irish "Over Representation"

The votes of the Irish are needed so badly that the redistribution of electoral districts throughout the United Kingdom is postponed, although plural voting has been done away with. In some parts of England, but particularly in Ireland, members are chosen to the House of Commons by a much smaller number of voters than in other districts. Fourteen Irish members are chosen by the same number of electors that in England only have one. If the Irish representation were reduced to the average basis of the English representation, the ministry could not carry out its pledges of Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and other reforms. Therefore,

the government is not willing as yet to accept the settlement of the whole electional problem, particularly the redistribution of seats and the enfranchisement of the women. The Home Rule bill was passed to its second reading on June 10. This bill was rejected in the last Parliament by the House of Lords, and will have to be passed three times by the Commons, under the new order, before it will become a law over the veto of the Lords. A measure for establishing a separate Parliament for Scotland — "Home Rule for the Scotch"—passed its second reading in the Commons on May 30, and was referred to committee. It follows somewhat the lines of the Irish bill.

"Marconitis" and "Militants"

Other troubles of the government arising out of the relations of cabinet ministers to government contracts with the Marconi companies, both British and American, have already been set forth in these pages. A new development, last month, was the admission that Lord Murray, better known as the Master of Elibank, the former Liberal whip, was also interested in "Marconis." Furthermore, it was shown in the parliamentary investigation that Lord Murray, in his official capacity as government whip, has invested in "Marconis" in the interest of the party treasury. The opposition has been taunting the ministry with suffering from "Marconitis." The Unionists have been using all these facts for partisan purposes, apparently believing that the nation can thereby be made to forget the splendid record in progressive legislation already made and now planned by the Asquith government. The investigating committee of the House of Commons reported, on June 14, that no impropriety could be charged against the ministry, but that the action of certain ministers had been "indiscreet." Meanwhile, the militant suffragettes have kept up their attacks on property and the persons of government officials. An attempted assault on Home Secretary McKenna, on May 21, was averted by the police. Mrs. Pankhurst, released from Holloway jail in London early in May because of her health, was rearrested on May 26, and again incarcerated. On June 4 a suffragette, Miss Emily W. Davison, rushed into the Epsom race track while the Derby was being run, and attempted to stop King George's horse by waving her arms. She was thrown and received concussion of the brain, from which she died four days later. She had for some years openly maintained that the death of a suffragette would be of immense aid to their cause, and offered herself as a martyr. Her death, according to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, speaking for the Militant Union, was "a protest against the blind, stupid cruelty of the government."



AFTER THE STORM

Head Gardener Asquith, showing Miss Erin that, although the Parliamentary storm has been very rough and rude, her plants have not suffered.

From *Lepracaun* (Dublin)

Putemayo and Coöperation

Another important item of news from London last month, which had but meager recognition in the daily press, was the finding of the committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the atrocities against the natives in the Putemayo rubber region in Peru. In this magazine for September last we described the situation in this famous rubber district. The parliamentary committee found that the reports of the atrocities were, in the main, true; it fixed responsibility largely upon the Peruvian promoter, but also severely criticized the British directors of the Peruvian Amazon Company, maintaining that "directors who merely attend board meetings and sign checks cannot escape from their share of moral responsibility when gross and cruel abuses are revealed." Evidence of the growth of coöperation, or what the English call cooperative trading, in the United Kingdom was furnished by the report of the chief Register of Friendly Societies, issued on June 1. These societies, at the end of the year 1911, aggregated in membership 2,992,590, with a

total sales account of $60,106,465, an aggregate greater than that of any preceding year.

The Royal German Wedding

An event of much human and social interest and of some considerable political significance was the marriage, on May 24, of the German Kaiser's only daughter, Princess Victoria Luise, to Prince Ernest of Cumberland. The occasion was attended by great pomp and ceremony. Czar Nicholas of Russia journeyed to the German capital in his armored train; King George and Queen Mary of England were also guests of honor, while the Czar's eldest daughter, Princess Olga, Princess Mary of England, Princess Elizabeth of Rumania, and Princess Yolanda of Italy were maids of honor. The Kaiser and Kaiserin were hosts. The Kaiser himself rejoiced in all those pompous and spectacular ceremonies that so delight him, including the preaching of a farewell sermon to his much-beloved and highly popular daughter. The political significance of the event was twofold. The marriage ends the long quarrel between the houses of Guelph and Hohenzollern, which was brought about in 1866 by victorious Prussia absorbing Hanover, after the latter had sided with Austria against Prussia. Prince Ernest is a grandson of the last king of Hanover.



THE ROYAL BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM IN BERLIN

(Princess Victoria Luise, of Prussia, the German Kaiser's only daughter, and her husband, Prince Ernest, of Cumberland, driving to the railroad station in Berlin on May 23, to meet the King and Queen of England, who were to be guests at their wedding next day)

Some Important World Results

The marriage, which has brought about a family union, seems likely to bring about a friendly political understanding, at least, between Germany and England. The cordiality with which the British monarchs were received was evidently sincere, and King George and Queen Mary were correspondingly impressed, not only by this welcome, but by the progress and resources of the country of their host. Their arrival was signalized by the escort of their train by two military airships to the capital. Then his German Majesty pardoned three English spies who had been convicted and imprisoned in the Fatherland several years ago.

Bagdad for Portuguese Africa

All during the fêtes, while these monarchs, closely bound by the ties of blood relationship, were rejoicing over the marriage of the popular young princess, rumors of a new Anglo-German understanding persisted. Some days after the ceremony, it was reported in semi-official journals that the negotiations between the British and Turkish governments regarding the proposed Bagdad Railway, from Konia, in Asia Minor, to the Persian Gulf, had been completed, in a manner "entirely satisfactory to the German Government and German financiers." We pointed out last month, in an article in these pages on "Ancient Bagdad and the Modern Railway," how important are the German interests in this railway. The understanding now reported is to the effect that Great Britain has acquired control of the terminal of the Bagdad road and is practically possessor of the very important strategic harbor of Koweit, on the Persian Gulf. Germany, for her part, says the report, is to be permitted, "without any opposition from Great Britain, to negotiate with Belgium and Portugal for the creation of a vast traffic system in Central Africa wherein the voice of the German Government shall be paramount." This, apparently, is only a diplomatic way of saying that the Kaiser is to be allowed to realize his long-cherished ambition to absorb the bulk of Portuguese Africa, and to acquire a large slice of the Belgian Congo.

Twenty-five Years of Kaiser Wilhelm

Last month, moreover, Kaiser Wilhelm II celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne. For the week from June 8 to 15 Berlin was again in holiday attire. On June 6 the Kaiser and the entire court



GERMAN KAISER AND ENGLISH KING STUDYING THE PLANS OF PRUSSIAN ARMY MANEUVERS
(From a picture taken in Berlin just after the royal wedding on May 24)

were present at the dedication of the Olympic Stadium, said to be the finest in the world, in which the Olympic Games of 1916 will be conducted. There have been, however, unpleasant problems obtruding themselves in the Empire during recent weeks. The Imperial Government has had to borrow more money for current expenses. Moreover, the French sympathizers in Alsace-Lorraine have been particularly active, the Socialists have gained in the elections to the Prussian Diet, and the Reichstag has cut down the government demands in the new army bill. The world-important phase of the great celebration of the Kaiser's accession is the fact that, with more power to bring about war than any other one monarch in the world, the Kaiser, during the twenty-five years of his reign, has been essentially a man of peace.

Lukacs, the Hungarian Cromwell

During the fourteen months in which he was Premier of Hungary, Dr. Ladislas Lukacs, by vigorous, and at times high-handed methods, solved several problems which, for a decade, had seriously interfered with the progress of the state machine. For a quarter of a century Hungarian ministries have risen and fallen upon the two questions of the Ausgleich, or agreement between the two states, and that of the suffrage. The questions of the extension of the franchise and the use of the German as against the Hungarian language in the army have forced out ministry after ministry. Factional disagreements frequently became so bitter that the Emperor-King felt compelled to suspend constitutional forms. In 1905 began a series of non-parliamentary governments, the premiers taking office without majorities. A universal suffrage bill was brought in late in 1905 and a compromise was reached which it was hoped would bring political peace. The factional differences, however, continued. Dr. Lukacs succeeded Count Khuen-Hedervery on April 22, 1912, and endeavored to overcome the obstructive tactics of the minority in the Chamber, and carry through the government's army and electoral bills.

Tisza Succeeds Him

Failing to come to an agreement with the opposition leaders, he began a course of coercion which has probably had no parallel in recent parliamentary history. He secured the election to the speakership of Count Stephan Tisza, an eminent advocate of the "Big Stick." Then he employed the military and police in putting down disorder and in expelling the obstructionists. In June, last year, the army bill regulating the military relations of the two parts of the monarchy was carried



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QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND AND THE KAISERIN OF GERMANY ON THEIR WAY TO THE WEDDING OF PRINCESS VICTORIA LUISE TO ERNEST PRINCE OF CUMBERLAND

through by the strong measures of Speaker Tisza. Great disorder occurred in the Chamber, Premier Lukacs was denounced, and Count Tisza wounded by a revolver shot from a furious deputy. On the reopening of Parliament in September, the riotous scenes were repeated. Finally the government majority voted to exclude the opposition deputies, adopted new rules of procedure, and proceeded to carry its measures through by its own preponderance. Dr. Lukacs has been called the Cromwell of Hungarian politics. Late in May one of the opposition deputies publicly accused the Premier of taking advantage of his position to sell his private property to the state at an enormous profit. Dr. Lukacs sued the deputy for libel, but the highest court of the land acquitted his accuser, and, at the same time, stated that "no proofs had been adduced to show personal corruption on the part of the Premier." On June 3, amid riotous scenes in the Chamber, Dr. Lukacs and his entire cabinet resigned. The Emperor-King then summoned Count Tisza, Speaker of the lower house, to form a new ministry. On June 9 the Tisza ministry was formally inaugurated.



COUNT STEPHAN TISZA, THE STRENUOUS PRESIDENT OF THE HUNGARIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Signing the Balkan Peace

The preliminary draft — the protocol—of the treaty of peace between Turkey and the Balkan allies was signed at St. James Palace, in London, at noon on May 30. The provisions of the agreement are, in the main, those set forth in these pages last month. It was expected, however, that certain details would be altered by a future conference. Indeed, two very important matters (as we noted in our summary), those of the exact frontier lines and of finances, are to be settled by special commissions. When the signatures of the delegates had been affixed to the compact, it was found that there was an "annexe" providing that the treaty should go into force without further ratification. This "annexe," which was reported to have been secretly drafted by the Bulgarian delegates, and the presence of which was not known to the delegates of the other countries, was not signed.

Bulgaria's Quarrel with Her Allies

Just here we begin to see the genesis of the quarrel between Bulgaria and the other allies, which has already resulted in several armed conflicts between Bulgarians and Greeks, and Bulgarians and Servians, and which, last month, seemed almost certain to result in open war unless force were applied from without. Bulgaria desired the treaty to go into effect at once, because, by the terms of the treaty of alliance, signed in March, 1912, a certain division of the territory to be conquered was agreed upon, and such division, while greatly favoring Bulgaria, is regarded by Servia and Greece as very unfair to them. At the time of this agreement between the allies, the formation of an independent Albania was not expected. It had been assumed that Servia and Montenegro would get the northern part of that country, that Bulgaria would take western Thrace, and Greece southern Albania, and that Macedonia would be given autonomy. But now Servia is barred out of Albania by the will of the great powers. Naturally enough, she seeks compensation elsewhere, and also naturally enough, she objects to seeing all the Macedonian territory she won from Turkey handed over to Bulgaria. According to the treaty between the allies, Bulgaria says she is entitled to a number of important places, including Monastir, where the Servians wrought their greatest deeds of arms.

The Servian-Bulgarian Clash

The Servian delegates abruptly left London on June 9, announcing that their government forbade their signing any other agreement



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A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF SPECTATORS AT THE NEW YORK SCHOOLBOYS' PHYSICAL DRILL AT CENTRAL PARK ON JUNE 6

From left to right: General Wingate, Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. G. T. Kirby, Mr. S. R. Guggenheim, Mr. Vincent Astor, Mr. H. J. Bingham.

the very highest type. The first game, played on June 10, resulted in a score of 5½ to 3. The second game was played on the 14th, and was decided by only a fraction of a point, the final score standing 4½ to 4¼. Likewise the contest for the Davis tennis trophy is annually bringing out more competitors, this year as many as seven countries entering the contest as against three or four within recent years. In the preliminary matches between the Australasians and the Americans held at New York City last month the home team was victorious, and as a result sailed a few days afterward for Germany, to play another preliminary match with a team from that country. Should the Americans be again successful, they will then play a final match with the English holders of the cup. The team that played in the matches against the Australians was composed of Maurice E. McLoughlin, the national singles champion; Harold H. Hackett, and R. Norris Williams. For the purpose of the European matches, Wallace F. Johnson, of Philadelphia, was added to the team, making up the quartette that crossed the water last month with the intention of wresting the Davis cup from the possession of England.

Lipton to Race Again

After some negotiation it has finally been reported that Sir Thomas Lipton's challenge for another contest for the *America's* yachting trophy had been accepted, and both England and the United States are now looking forward to another interesting international contest on the water. The magnificent new German stadium inaugurated a few weeks ago in the presence of the Kaiser, with elaborate ceremonies, is an earnest of Germany's purpose to win the next Olympian games, while here in America the splendid showing made by the New York schoolboys in athletic work (see frontispiece), and the progress of athletics in our colleges, all give promise of a deeper and wider interest in the building up of a virile, manly body of citizens. Even the girls' colleges have their athletic activities, as is shown in the picture of the Wellesley College Sophomore "first crew" on the following page.

finds a great deal of encouragement in the results of the recent census of Slavs all over the world, taken under the auspices of the Russian Philological Society. There is to-day, probably, no other racial movement so conscious and significant for the immediate future of the world as Pan-Slavism, and we regard this as justifying the space taken by the following table:

NUMBER OF SLAVS IN THE WORLD IN 1913

I. Russians	**112,750,000**
1. European and Asiatic Russia	107,500,000
2. Austria-Hungary	4,800,000
3. Other countries and America	450,000
II. Poles	**20,174,000**
1. Russia	9,521,000
2. Austria-Hungary	5,093,000
3. Germany	3,560,000
4. America	2,000,000
III. Servo-Croatians	**9,496,000**
1. Servia	2,800,000
2. Montenegro	280,000
3. Austria-Hungary	5,661,000
4. Turkey	350,000
5. South Italy	5,000
6. America and other countries	400,000
IV. Bohemians	**7,125,983**
1. Austria	6,435,983
2. Germany	125,000
3. Russia	65,000
4. America	500,000
V. Bulgarians	**5,650,000**
1. Bulgaria	3,500,000
2. European Turkey	1,800,000
3. Rumania	100,000
4. Russia	200,000
5. America	50,000
VI. Slovaks	**3,112,000**
1. Austria-Hungary	2,610,000
2. America	500,000
3. Other countries	2,000
VII. Slovenians	**1,514,488**
1. Austria	1,249,488
2. Hungary and Croatia	125,000
3. Italy	40,000
4. America	100,000
VIII. Serbs and Other Slavs	**310,000**
Total	160,132,471

These figures have never been published before. They are very impressive.

Plight of the Russian Press

Meanwhile, the struggle for the modernization of Russia goes on, the Duma and the Liberal press contending with the Council of the Empire and the reactionary sentiments all over the Czar's vast domain. After nearly eight years of "freedom" enjoyed by the press of Russia, which freedom was frequently accompanied with fines and imprisonment, the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, has introduced a bill in the Duma—the result of about six years of bureaucratic labors—designed to regulate the condition of the press and put it on a "sound" legal basis. Unfortunately, the tendency of the projected legislation is to return to the former censorship, which is not in accord with the principles promulgated in the Czar's manifesto of October 17 (30), 1905. The bill, we are informed, has many reactionary provisions, calculated to discourage any expression of liberal sentiments. Hereafter, "responsible publishers," rather than editors, are to be imprisoned or fined for objectionable opinions. The censorship of religious publications will be complete, and there will be stringent regulations concerning foreign publications, the Minister of the Interior being empowered to exclude any undesirable ones at his discretion. The difficulties surrounding the right to publish anything and the heavy penalties for any violation of the drastic rules governing the press will probably tend to reduce the press of Russia to its anterevolutionary state and to the reappearance of the "underground press." The newspapers, with the exception of the "Black Hundred" organs, are vehemently opposing the bill.



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MAHMUD SHEFKET PASHA, THE STRONG MAN OF TURKEY
(Assassinated last month in Constantinople)



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A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF SPECTATORS AT THE NEW YORK SCHOOLBOYS' PHYSICAL DRILL AT CENTRAL PARK ON JUNE 6

From left to right: General Wingate, Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. G. T. Kirby, Mr. S. R. Guggenheim, Mr. Vincent Astor, Mr. H. J. Bingham.

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if our public men, the servants of the people, are spending the taxes of the people in good, sensible and honest ways.

Let us all work for China, officials, literati, gentry, and the masses of the people. You can accomplish much; and I ask you, as one citizen to another, to make the most of your exceptional gifts and opportunities for the good of our beloved and awakened country.

Three Hundred Million Chinese

He had scarcely issued this letter (May 15) when it became known that the Chinese Government had signed a secret agreement with Russia conceding complete autonomy to Outer Mongolia. The new autonomous state, which is now virtually a Russian protectorate, covers more than half a million square miles. It is, however, very sparsely inhabited. Early last month the figures of the new census of China, the first of substantial accuracy in her history, were made known. They show that the population of China proper is approximately 320,000,000, with an average density of population the same as that of the State of New York. On the basis of these figures, an apportionment of parliamentary seats will be made, and the new system of taxation adjusted.

Japan's Two Notes of Protest

While the exact contents of the Japanese notes delivered to Secretary Bryan by the Japanese Ambassador, Viscount Chinda, in the matter of the alien land law of California, signed by Governor Johnson, on May 15, have not been made public, the general character is known to be that of a protest, not against treaty violation, but against what the Japanese are calling unfair racial discrimination. Two notes were handed to Secretary Bryan by Mr. Chinda, the first on May 9, before Governor Johnson signed the land law, and the second on June 4. Later the Ambassador paid a visit to President Wilson as the personal representative of his sovereign. The official reply of the United States Government to the first Japanese note was handed to Viscount Chinda on May 19, and it was expected that the reply to the second protest would be delivered some time during the present month. It is not improbable, however, that the question at issue will be the subject of discussion until after the September elections in Japan, on which the continuance of the present ministry depends.

The Yamamoto Cabinet in Danger

The Yamamoto Government is facing considerable opposition at home. On May 28 a resolution expressing "lack of faith in the ability of the cabinet to settle the difference with California" was adopted by the powerful opposition party, headed by ex-Premier Count Katsura. The combined opposition is undoubtedly utilizing the California question to discredit the Yamamoto ministry, although public opinion seems to be behind the present Government. The serious illness of the Japanese Emperor, late in May, drew the attention of the world to the affection with which his people regard him, to the sterling qualities of the man himself, and to the extent to which the belief in the divinity of the ruler has decreased in Japan, making way for the more modern conception of the Emperor as a human, constitutional ruler.



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TWO EMINENT JAPANESE NOW INVESTIGATING THE STATUS OF THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN CALIFORNIA

(A former member of the Diet, A. Hattori, and Senator S. Ebara, who came to California last month to investigate the effect of the alien land law)

A Visiting Japanese Commission

An interesting development of the California situation last month was the visit of a party of representative Japanese to study the conditions that brought about the alien land law to which the Japanese object. This party included Senator S. Ebara, Hon. A. Hattori, a former member of the Lower House of the Diet; Dr. J. Soyeda, former President of the Industrial Bank of Japan, and Y. Yamamoto, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of Tokyo. Both Mr. Hattori and Senator Ebara are well versed in American ways. Mr. Hattori was a student at Princeton when President Wilson was at the head of that institution. Senator Ebara was the first President of the Japanese Peace Society. It is believed that their instructions include "the possible calming and restraining of the



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THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE CANTON CHINESE WOMEN'S POLITICAL EQUALITY ASSOCIATION
(From a photograph taken in the middle of May in the garden of the residence of the Governor of Canton)

California Japanese" and the suggestion that "these might be assimilated by the civilization of America if they adapted themselves to its standards."

International Woman's Congresses

The women of the world got together in the persons of their representatives last month in three or four important congresses. Twenty-six countries, including South Africa, China, Burmah, Persia, and every European nation except Turkey, were represented at the sixth convention of the International Woman Suffrage Association, held at Budapest, from June 15 to 20. The convention was presided over by a New York woman, the international president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Discussions were held on many topics of particular interest to women. The progress of the world campaign for the suffrage right was noted, and many other interesting contributions to the literature of feminism made. We hope to say more on this subject for our readers next month. At The Hague, late in May, the International Council of Women assembled, and also discussed topics of interest to womankind. At Paris the International Congress of Women devoted a week to discussing hygiene and woman's work, the amelioration of the lot of woman workers, how women might uplift public morals in theaters and newspapers, and other subjects. While the British women still struggle in vain for the vote, full franchise has been given to the Norwegian women, the bill having been passed unanimously by the Storthing on June 11. The Illinois State law granting limited suffrage to women was passed by a large majority on the same day. This law, which goes into effect the first of the present month, will make Illinois the first State east of the Mississippi to give any considerable voting power to women.

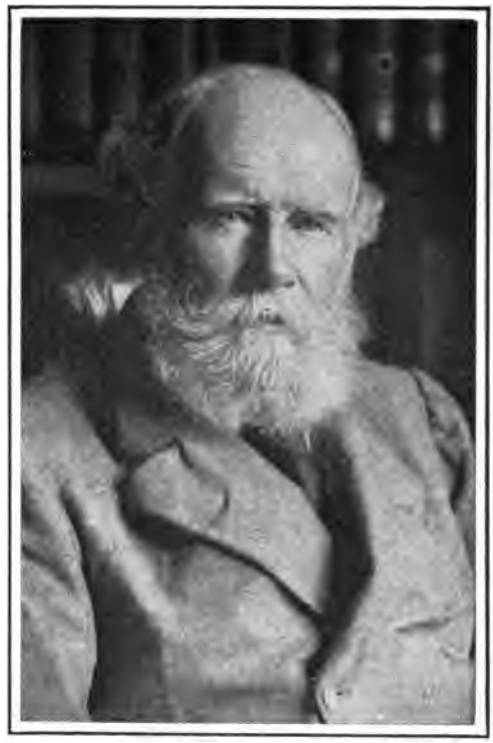
Lord Avebury, "Genius of Versatility"

Two Englishmen, eminent in what Lord Morley has called the non-contentious pursuits of life, passed away within a few days of each other recently. Lord Avebury, better known as Sir John Lubbock, died on May 28, at the age of seventy-nine. Alfred Austin, Poet-Laureate since 1896, passed away on June 2, in his seventy-seventh year. Lord Avebury was author, scientist, philosopher, and prominent worker in social and educational reform. He was a popular writer on natural history. Most Americans will remember him in connection with his book on "Ants, Bees and Wasps," read more widely, perhaps, in English-speaking countries than any other non-technical book of the kind. As Maeterlinck and Fabre did later, Lubbock, in this volume, introduced his readers in the most fascinating way to the domestic affairs, community life, and the general pursuits of the interesting little creatures about

which he wrote. Most of us will remember his gentle essay on "The Pleasures of Life." Lord Avebury was a man of remarkable versatility. In addition to his other achievements, he was astronomer, mathematician, banker, and member of Parliament.

Death of the English Poet Laureate

With the death of Tennyson, undoubtedly the greatest poet who ever filled the Laureate's post in England (except Wordsworth, who never took the position seriously), everyone expected Swinburne to be chosen. Swinburne, however, was known to have shocked Queen Victoria several times. Therefore, he was passed over, as were also Dobson, Henley, Patmore, and Watson. The great Alfred—Tennyson—was succeeded by the lesser Alfred—Austin. The late Laureate was a general literary man of moderate attainments, a journalist, and a critic. He labored conscientiously at his verse, and although it may have been that he lacked inspiration, he certainly had grace and felicity. His laureate poetry is not regarded as having had any particular distinction. His best-known poem was probably that on the death of Edward VII, which, however, one English critic was unkind enough to say was as spiritless as its subject. There is a good deal of sentiment in favor of a third Alfred for his successor—Alfred Noyes, a poet of vigor of thought and of truly metrical style. In our book department in March we had something to say about Mr. Noyes's career and his place in English literature.



LORD AVEBURY, THE LATE BRITISH SCIENTIST, AUTHOR, PHILOSOPHER AND MAN OF AFFAIRS



Photograph by "The Sphere," London

ALFRED AUSTIN, THE LAUREATE OF ENGLAND, WHO DIED LAST MONTH, IN HIS GARDEN AT ASHFORD, KENT

International Sports

Parallel with the increase in the strength of the peace movement among nations, there seems to be a growing development of athletic rivalry between representative teams from the various countries. Immense interest was shown last month in the polo tournament between English and American teams, played at Meadow Brook, Long Island. Only two games were required to decide the tournament, both being won by the Americans. The Westchester Polo Association's trophy therefore remains on this side the Atlantic. From thirty to forty thousand people witnessed the spirited matches. The weather was ideal, the ground in perfect condition, and the quality of polo playing exhibited by both the British and American teams was of



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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE AMERICAN TEAM IN THE BRITISH-AMERICAN POLO TOURNAMENT LAST MONTH

(From left to right: Lawrence Waterbury, J. M. Waterbury, Jr., Harry Payne Whitney, and Devereaux Milburn)



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MAURICE E. M'LOUGHLIN HAROLD H. HACKETT R. NORRIS WILLIAMS

THE WINNING TEAM IN THE TENNIS MATCHES WITH THE AUSTRALIANS IN JUNE



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WELLESLEY COLLEGE SOPHOMORE CLASS FIRST EIGHT—A RECORD-BREAKING CREW

(From left to right: Garetta Busey, Marie McMaster, Dorothy Richardson, Carrie Travers, Caroline Taylor, Sibyl Sweet (Captain), Caroline Blackstone, Dorothy Huggins (Stroke) and Coxswain Elma Joffrion)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(*From May 17 to June 15, 1913*)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 20.—The Senate confirms the nominations of George W. Guthrie as Ambassador to Japan and Gaylord M. Saltzgaber as Commissioner of Pensions.

May 22.—The Senate authorizes the Banking and Currency Committee to hold hearings on proposed legislation.

May 27.—In the Senate, a resolution is passed calling for an investigation of the industrial situation in the bituminous coal region of West Virginia.

May 29.—The Senate votes unanimously to investigate the President's charges that a lobby is at work in Washington to influence action on the Tariff bill.

June 5-6.—The Senate, in executive session, considers the renewal of the arbitration treaty with Great Britain, Mr. Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.) objecting because under it the United States would have to arbitrate the Panama Canal toll controversy.

June 10.—The Senate directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the receivership of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad.

June 13.—In the Senate, the Committee on Woman Suffrage favorably reports a Constitutional amendment providing that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of sex; the amendments to the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, passed on May 7, are withdrawn and the measure goes to the President. . . . In the House, the special committee which investigated the alleged "shipping trust" makes its report.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

May 19.—The California anti-alien land bill is signed by Governor Johnson.

May 20.—The Government's suit to dissolve the United Shoe Machinery Company, under the Sherman Act, is begun at Boston.

May 22.—President Wilson nominates Anthony Caminetti, of California, as Commissioner-General of Immigration.

May 24.—Stephen J. Stilwell, a member of the New York State Senate, is found guilty of bribery by a jury; he had previously been exonerated by his colleagues.

May 26.—President Wilson issues a statement alleging the existence at Washington of an industrious and insidious lobby to gain recognition for certain alterations of the tariff bill. . . . The United States Supreme Court holds that a retailer may sell a patented article at less than the price fixed by the patentee. . . . The New Jersey Legislature passes a jury-reform measure, for which it was called in special session.

May 29.—President Wilson sends to the Senate the following nominations: Andrieus A. Jones, of New Mexico, as First Assistant Secretary of the Interior; Clay Tallman, of Nevada, as Commissioner of the General Land Office; and Cato Sells, of Texas, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

May 31.—Secretary of State Bryan signs the proclamation of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote.

June 2.—A special committee of the Senate begins an investigation into the President's lobby charges. . . . President Wilson nominates Thaddeus Austin Thomson, of Texas, as Minister to Colombia.

June 7.—President John P. White and eighteen other officials of the United Mine Workers are indicted in the federal court at Charleston, W. Va., charged with violating the Sherman anti-trust law by controlling coal prices.

June 9.—The Supreme Court, deciding the Minnesota rate cases, unanimously upholds the right of a State, under existing laws, to regulate railroad rates within its borders.

June 10.—The President sends to the Senate the nominations of Cornelius Ford, of New Jersey, as Public Printer, and Charles M. Galloway, of South Carolina, and Hermon W. Craven, of Washington, as Civil Service Commissioners. . . . Jersey City elects its first board of five commissioners to take the place of the Mayor and ninety heads of departments. . . . The committee of five United States Senators begins its investigation at Charleston of conditions in the West Virginia coal mines. . . . The Supreme Court affirms the constitutionality of the law requiring newspapers to publish statements of circulation and ownership, and to mark plainly all advertising matter.

June 11.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo announces that the government is ready to lend $500,000,000 in national bank notes, under the Aldrich-Vreeland emergency currency act, to relieve any money stringency. . . . The Illinois House passes the Senate measure conferring upon women the right to vote for Presidential electors and city and town officials.

June 12.—American troops in the Philippines, under command of Brigadier General Pershing, capture a fortified position of rebellious Moros, led by the Sultan of Jolo; Captain Nichols, of the Philippine Scouts, and six other American soldiers lose their lives.

June 13.—President Wilson sends to the Senate the following diplomatic nominations: William E. Gonzales, Minister to Cuba; Benjamin L. Jefferson, Minister to Nicaragua; and Edward J. Hale, Minister to Costa Rica.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

May 20.—Gen. Mario G. Menocal is inaugurated as third President of Cuba. . . . Essad Pasha, Turkish defender of Scutari and self-proclaimed King of Albania, is assassinated at Tirana by followers of Hassan Riza Pasha. . . . The Mexican Congress sanctions a $100,000,000 6 per cent. foreign loan.



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HENRY S. BRECKENRIDGE (War) ANDRIEUS A. JONES (Interior) LOUIS F. POST (Labor)

THREE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF DEPARTMENTS AT WASHINGTON

May 24.—The French cabinet approves the draft of a bill authorizing the government to borrow $200,000,000 for twenty years, to meet military expenses.

May 26.—Mrs. Pankhurst, the English suffragette leader, who was released from jail following her "hunger strike," is rearrested and imprisoned.

May 29.—Premier Barthou's financial policy is sustained in the French Chamber of Deputies by vote of 312 to 240.

May 30.—Premier Romanones and his Liberal ministry tender their resignations to the King of Spain, following a severe arraignment in the Chamber of Deputies by the Conservative leader, ex-Premier Maura.

May 31.—Mexican federal troops rout a band of 200 Carranzistas near Laredo, Tex. . . . The Australian elections result in slight losses for the labor party.

June 1.—Count Romanones, at the request of King Alfonso, continues as Spanish Premier and reappoints the members of his cabinet. . . . The Mexican Minister of Finance signs the provisional contract for a $100,000,000 foreign loan. . . . The Chamber of Deputies in Uruguay approves a bill providing an eight-hour day for workmen.

June 2.—Debate upon the three-years military service bill is begun in the French Chamber of Deputies.

June 3.—Mexican "Constitutionalists" under General Blanco capture the city of Matamoras.

June 4.—The Hungarian ministry, under Premier von Lukacs, resigns.

June 7.—Emperor Francis Joseph requests Count Stephan Tisza, Speaker of the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament, to form a cabinet.

June 10.—The House of Commons passes the second reading of the Irish Home Rule bill. . . . The Belgian Premier announces that the government intends to borrow $56,800,000 for military purposes.

June 11.—Mahmud Shefket Pasha, Turkish Grand Vizier, is assassinated at Constantinople; Prince Said Halim, Foreign Minister, is appointed Grand Vizier. . . . Count Romanones, Spanish Premier, resigns a second time, because of disagreement among the Liberal members of the Senate.

June 12.—It is learned that thirty members of the crew of a Spanish gunboat were killed by Kabyles after running aground on the Moroccan coast. . . . The Danish cabinet resigns.

June 14.—Count Romanones forms a new Spanish cabinet.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 16.—The bloodiest battle of the Turco-Italian war is fought at Sidi Garba, near Derna, Tripoli, it being alleged that the Italian losses amount to nearly 1000 men.

May 19.—The United States replies to Japan's protest against the California anti-alien land law, maintaining that the measure does not violate treaty rights.

May 21.—King George of England is warmly welcomed by Kaiser Wilhelm upon his first visit to Germany since he ascended the throne.

May 22.—Czar Nicholas of Russia arrives at Berlin to attend the wedding of the Kaiser's daughter, Princess Luise. . . . A battle is fought between Greeks and Bulgarians in the neutral zone near Salonika.

May 25.—The Bulgarian batteries at Kavala open fire upon a passing Greek fleet.

May 26.—Servia demands of Bulgaria that the treaty of alliance be revised.

May 30.—A treaty of peace is signed at London by representatives of Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Servia, and Montenegro, ending the eight-months' war between Turkey and the Balkan federation. . . . Mr. Bryan, American Secretary of State, announces that Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Brazil, and Peru have responded favorably to his proposal for an international peace agreement. . . . Mr. Page, the American ambassador of Great Britain, is formally presented to King George at Buckingham Palace.

May 31.—The treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States is renewed at



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MR. EDWIN H. ANDERSON

(Who succeeds the late Dr. John S. Billings as Director of the New York Public Library)

Washington for a period of five years. . . . The Rumanian Chamber of Deputies authorizes the acceptance of Russia's mediation in the territorial dispute with Bulgaria.

June 2.—The Japanese Ambassador informs Secretary of State Bryan that Japan accepts in principle his plan for universal peace.

June 4.—The Japanese Ambassador presents his government's second note of protest against recent legislation in California.

June 10.—Dr. Laura Muller, the special Brazilian envoy returning the visit of Secretary Root in 1911, is welcomed by the American Secretary of State at Norfolk, Va.

June 12.—Servia and Bulgaria accept Russian arbitration in their dispute over territory acquired during the Balkan War.

June 14.—The Japanese Ambassador notifies the American Secretary of State that Japan is willing to renew the arbitration treaty.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 17.—A Cuban aviator, Domingo Rosillo, flies from Key West to Havana, the first air voyage between the two countries. . . . The Cincinnati street-car strike is ended, with gains for the employees.

May 19.—Dr. David Starr Jordan, for twenty-two years president of Leland Stanford Junior University, resigns and is appointed chancellor.

May 22.—An explosion in the breech of a three-inch gun at Fort Moultrie kills an officer and three men, and seriously injures nine others.

May 24.—Princess Luise, the only daughter of the German Emperor, is married to Prince Ernst Augustus, at Berlin. . . . Thirty-five women and one man are killed by the collapse of a municipal pier at Long Beach, Cal. . . . The Turkish-American steamship *Nevada* is sunk by contact with submarine mines in the harbor of Smyrna, forty lives being lost.

May 27.—Ex-President Roosevelt testifies concerning his abstemiousness during his whole lifetime, at the trial of his libel suit against George A. Newett, editor of the *Iron Ore*, of Ishpeming, Mich. . . . The St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company is placed in the hands of receivers by the judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis.

May 29.—The Astor House, in New York City, closes its doors after seventy-seven years' service.

May 30.—The National Maine Monument, at New York, is unveiled and presented to the city.

May 31.—Colonel Roosevelt's suit for libel is ended by the retraction of the editor of the *Iron Ore* and the admission that he had been unable to find a single person who would testify that he had seen Mr. Roosevelt drink to excess.

June 2.—The International Women's Congress is opened at the Sorbonne, in Paris.

June 4.—The English Derby is won by Aboyeur, an outsider; a militant suffragette interferes with the King's horse and is fatally injured.

June 7.—Thirty thousand athletes attend the dedication of the Olympic stadium at Gruenwald, Berlin.

June 9.—The American lawn tennis team wins the deciding match in the series with the Australian players, at New York, for the right to challenge for the Davis Cup, held by England. . . . Count Zeppelin flies in his dirigible balloon *Sachsen* from Baden-Baden, Germany, to Vienna, a distance of 375 miles.

June 10.—The American polo team wins the first match in the series at Meadow Brook, N. Y., defending the Westchester Cup from the English challengers. . . . An aeroplane flight from Paris to Warsaw (900 miles) is made by Marcel G. Brindejonc des Moulinais, from sunrise to sunset.

June 11.—A new submarine under test at Long Beach, Cal., comes to the surface after being submerged thirty-six hours, a new record.

June 12.—Six persons are killed and sixteen injured in a rear-end collision between two sections of an express train on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad at Stamford, Conn.

June 14.—The American polo team wins the second game from the English players, and retains the Westchester Cup. . . . Eleven workmen are killed by a cave-in of thousands of tons of rock in a portion of the new subways in New York City.

June 15.—The congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance opens at Budapest.

OBITUARY

May 17.—Ludwig E. Faber, a prominent Philadelphia artist, 57.

May 18.—Stephen Dudley Field, inventor of the trolley car, electric elevator, annunciator, and stock ticker, 67.

May 19.—Horace Greeley Burt, formerly president of the Union Pacific Railroad, 64.

May 20.—Henry Morrison Flagler, one of the founders of the Standard Oil Company, and developer of Florida railways and hotels, 83. . . . William Hallock, professor of physics at Columbia University, 55.

May 21.—Henry W. Hubbard, for thirty-five years treasurer of the American Missionary Association, 65. . . . Lieut. Col. Francisco Perea, a veteran of the Civil War and delegate from New Mexico in the Thirty-eighth Congress, 83.

May 22.—Joseph Cooke Jackson, brigadier-general of volunteers in the Civil War, 78. . . . Baron Ashbourne, a member of several British cabinets, 75. . . . Jean Rodolphe Trumpy, a noted horticulturist and aboriculturist, 83.

May 24.—William McMurtrie, formerly chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture, 62. . . . Billy Arlington, formerly a well-known minstrel, 78.

May 26.—James Heaton Baker, brigadier-general of volunteers in the Civil War, and a prominent Minnesota editor and historian, 84. . . . George G. Crocker, for twenty years chairman of the Boston Rapid Transit Commission, 69.

May 28.—Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock), the distinguished English parliamentarian, banker, and writer on scientific topics, 79. . . . W. Enoch, the French music publisher.

May 31.—George Konig, Representative from the Third Maryland district, 57. . . . Frederick A. Ober, an authority on birds and writer of books on exploration and discovery in Latin America, 65.

June 1.—Thomas Witherell Palmer, ex-United States Senator from Michigan and former Minister to Spain, 83. . . . Dr. Frederick Forchheimer, a prominent Cincinnati physician, 60. . . . George S. Hutchings, the Massachusetts organ manufacturer, 77.

June 2.—Alfred Austin, poet laureate of Great Britain, 78. . . . Joseph B. Leake, brigadier-general in the Civil War, and a prominent Illinois lawyer, 85. . . . Sir Henry Curtis Bennett, for many years principal police magistrate in London, 67.

June 3.—Rev. Dr. Joseph Elijah King, for nearly sixty years president of the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute (New York), 89.

June 4.—Lord Rendel, president of University College, Wales, 79. . . . Gen. Lucius Harwood Foote, former minister to Korea and a well-known poet, 87. . . . Michael C. Murphy, the noted athletic trainer, 53.

June 5.—Rev. Dr. Joseph Carey, for forty years archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Troy, 73.

June 6.—Charles H. Cramp, the noted naval architect and shipbuilder, 83. . . . Rev. Dr. George H. Whitney, for many years president of Centenary Collegiate Institute (New Jersey), 83. . . . Mrs. Lucy Daniels Thompson, a widely known West Virginia suffragist and educator, 53.

June 7.—Miss Adelaide S. Seaverns, for many years an assistant editor of *Zion's Herald*, 59.



RT. REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE

(Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Albany, who died on May 16)

June 8.—Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs, the noted theologian, educator, and writer, 72. . . . Hugo Sohmer, a prominent piano manufacturer, 67. . . . Dr. L. Forbes Winslow, the English authority on lunacy, 69. . . . Mark H. Cobb, private secretary to Secretary of War Cameron during the Civil War, 85.

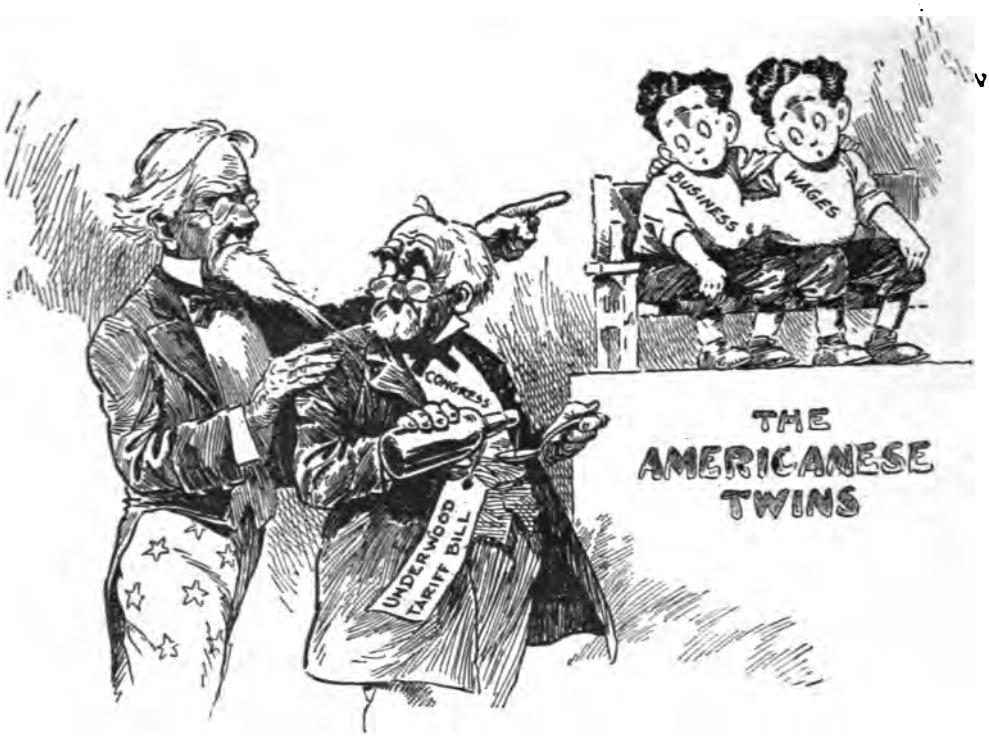
June 9.—Theodore Hiram Swift, presiding judge of the Court of Claims of the State of New York, 63. . . . Rt. Hon. George Wyndham, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, 49.

June 12.—Dr. Harmon G. Howe, a prominent Connecticut surgeon, 62. . . . Maurice L. Muhleman, of New York, an authority on monetary and banking systems, 61. . . . Dr. John Binney, former dean of the Berkeley Divinity School, 68.

June 14.—Horace Russell, former Judge of the New York Superior Court, 70. . . . Angus Hamilton, a well-known English war correspondent, 40.

June 15.—Brig.-Gen. Robert H. Carnahan, of Illinois, a veteran of the Civil War, 82. . . . Robert Louis Carrier-Belleuse, a noted French painter and sculptor, 65.

CARTOONS ON THE TARIFF AND OTHER TOPICS



"REMEMBER IF YOU HARM ONE, YOU INJURE THE OTHER"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland, Ohio)

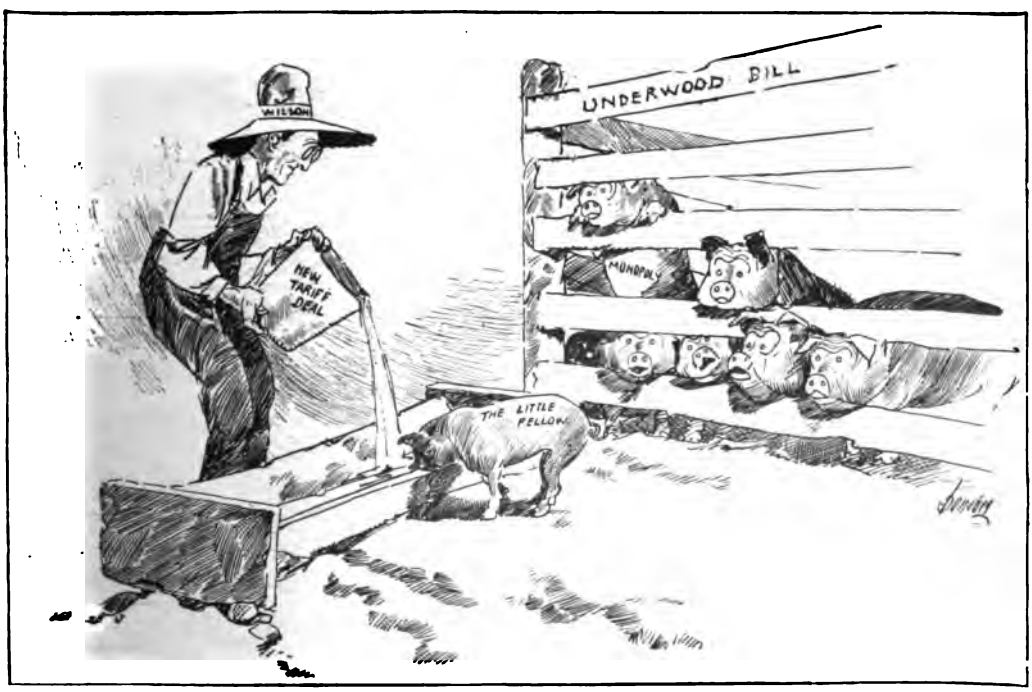


THE NEW FREEDOM
(President Wilson giving the foreign manufacturer the start in the race for American trade—an "anti" view of the new tariff bill)
From *Truth* (Boston)



A LEADER AT LAST
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis, Minn.)

VARIOUS opinions are, of course, being entertained as to the probable effect of the new Tariff bill on the business of the country. These opinions find characteristic expression in the multitude of cartoons now going the rounds of the newspapers. But however diverse opinions may be as to the merits of the measure, the majority of the cartoons seem to agree in giving President Wilson prominence as the chief director in the matter of tariff legislation,—picturing him as the incarnation of Democracy.



THE SQUEALERS
(Here President Wilson is shown as the kind farmer giving the little business fellow a chance in the new tariff deal, while the big monopolist porkers are doing a lot of squealing)
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



ANOTHER INQUIRY AS TO DRINKING HABITS

(Has Mister Tariff been looking at the lobby wine when it is red or otherwise? The President is of opinion that a lobby is industriously at work in Washington, and the Senate is accordingly conducting an investigation)

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)



ANXIOUS MOMENTS

(Another hard job—the currency wash—waiting for the little Congress boy when he gets through with the tariff)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



WOODROW MAKES A DISCOVERY

From the *News* (Baltimore)



BIG INTERESTS TRYING TO MAKE FRIENDS

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THE BIG SOU'WESTER

From the *American* (Baltimore)

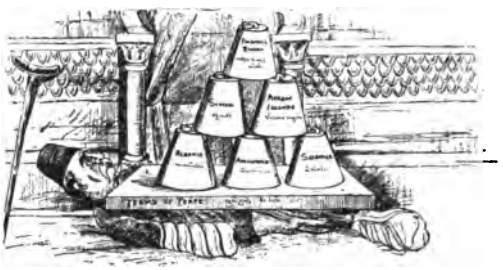


THE CRIME OF BEING A BUSINESS MAN
(What with strikes, war rumors, politics, regulative legislation, uncertainties, etc., the business man's life is not at present a happy one)
From the *Herald* (New York)

Mr. Rogers' cartoon, above, undoubtedly reflects the opinion of many business men at the present time, while those at the bottom of the page amusingly depict the start and the finish of Colonel Roosevelt's hunt for vindication in his libel suit last month.



AWFULLY KIND OF THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT
("Mister Progressive Voter does not seem to appreciate kind offer of Honorable Republican elephant")
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles, California)



THE TURK WEIGHTED DOWN WITH PEACE TERMS
From *Hindi Punch* (Calcutta)



SHE STARTED SOMETHING!
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)



SIX CENTS IN CASH, AND A MILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF VINDICATION
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



THE STOP!—LOOK!—LISTEN! POLICY OF UNCLE SAM
(Most of the world's great nations, including Japan, have endorsed Secretary Bryan's peace plan)
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica, N. Y.)



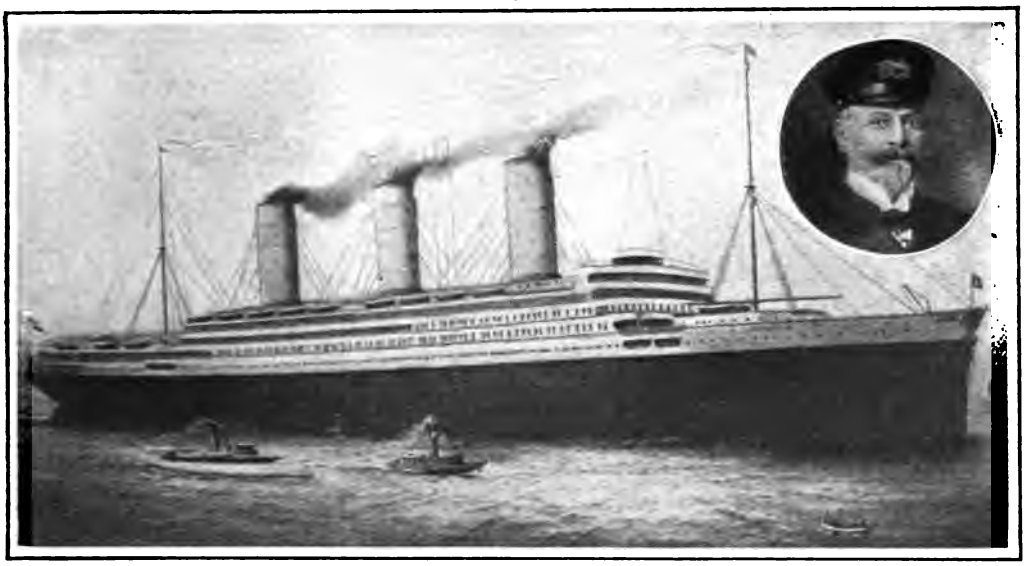
SYMPATHY AND BATTLESHIPS

(John Bull is building battleships for Japan, and on viewing the new "Peace Navy" of Uncle Sam, he is moved to send him a message of sympathy)

From the *American* (New York)



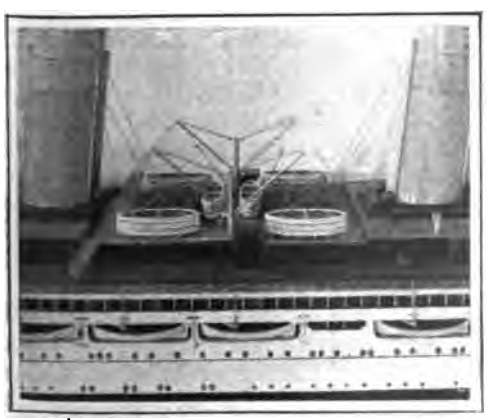
BRYAN, TO UNCLE SAM: "PEACE BE WITH YOU!"
From the *Sun* (New York)



THE MAMMOTH NEW "IMPERATOR," OF THE HAMBURG-AMERICAN LINE, AND HER COMMANDER, HANS RUSER

THE GREATEST OF STEAMSHIPS

IN these days of gigantic ocean steamships, when each new creation of the shipbuilder's craft exceeds its predecessors in almost every respect, it is difficult to startle the public with the claims of a newcomer from the ways. Yet the people who inspected the *Imperator* on her arrival here last month must have been impressed with the size and magnificence of this wonderful new passenger hotel of the Atlantic. In the things that make immediate appeal to the landlubber's eye—the elaborate and divers restaurants, ballrooms, roof gardens, palmrooms, gymnasiums, baths, swimming pool, and so forth, this great vessel is a marvel of comfort and luxury. But effort has by no means been exhausted along these lines, for the matter of safety has been treated as of prime importance. With her "inner skin," her sixteen steel bulkheads forming in all thirty-six water-tight compartments, her complete quota of lifeboats and modern wireless equipment, the *Imperator* is without doubt as safe a passenger vessel as modern science and human ingenuity could make it. The Hamburg-American line is to be congratulated on evolving this "last word" in ocean transportation.



ARRANGEMENT OF SOME OF THE LIFE-BOATS



THE ROMAN BATH AND SWIMMING POOL



THE STOP!—LOOK!—LISTEN! POLICY OF UNCLE SAM

(Most of the world's great nations, including Japan, have endorsed Secretary Bryan's pea

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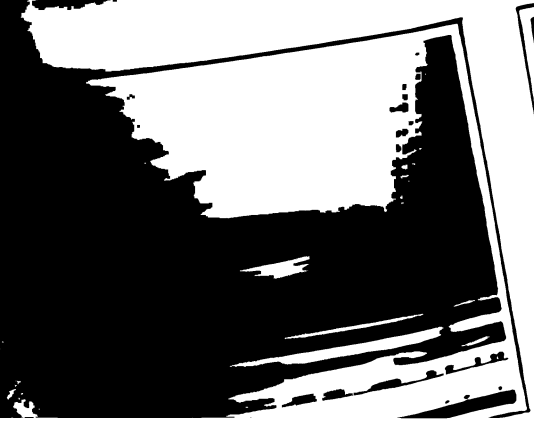


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"HARLAKENDEN HOUSE," THE PRESIDENT'S SUMMER HOME AT CORNISH, N. H.

THE NEW "SUMMER WHITE HOUSE"

THIS summer President Wilson's family will occupy Winston Churchill's beautiful estate known as "Harlakenden" at Cornish, N. H., three miles from Windsor, Vt., where executive offices will be opened. The two villages are separated by the Connecticut River, the banks of which are only seventy-five yards from the Churchill mansion. Cornish is the seat of a most interesting colony of artists and literary folk, who have been attracted to the place by its natural beauty and commanding elevation, and with the aid of one of their own number, Mr. C. A. Platt, the architect, have evolved an unusual group of artistically designed homes.

Harlakenden House itself is surrounded by nearly a square mile of native forest. It commands an unobstructed view of the Connecticut Valley as far as the eye can see. To the west looms the rugged Ascutney Mountain, in Vermont, 3500 feet high, which is the chief landmark for all that region. The mansion is of red brick, finished in Colonial style, and contains about thirty rooms. Three sides of the mansion form a wide court. To the south there is a semicircular terrace overlooking the Connecticut River. Two pergolalike porches flank this terrace, which is accessible only by passing through the house. One large room on the first floor of the west wing, overlooking the river, has been used by Mr. Churchill as a study, and will probably be devoted to the same purpose by the President.



THE SUMMER DINING-ROOM OF HARLAKENDEN HOUSE

The executive offices will be established in the Court-House at Windsor. Cables for the press lines, and a direct line to Washington,



VIEW OF THE MANSION FROM THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION

will be installed, and the President will be able to keep in constant touch with the heads of the government departments. The clerks and other members of the executive office force will live in Windsor during the summer.

Among President Wilson's neighbors at Cornish will be Maxfield Parrish, Kenyon Cox, Charles A. Platt, Mrs. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Norman Hapgood, Percy Mackaye, and Herbert C. Croly.

Mr. Churchill purchased Harlakenden and built the mansion about fourteen years ago. The game preserves, known as Austin Corbin's Park, form the easterly boundary line of the Churchill estate, in conjunction with Blow Me Down Pond, which furnishes water for a swimming-pool.



ASCUTNEY MOUNTAIN AND WINDSOR, VT., AS SEEN FROM HARLAKENDEN HOUSE

THE VICTOR OF GETTYSBURG



GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE
(From the painting by Hicks)

THE fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, on July 1-3 of the current year, will recall to the minds of most people the heroism and valor, not of the individual leaders, but of great masses of men who fought with unflinching courage the greatest battle that had ever taken place on this hemisphere. So far as the leaders are concerned, in the half-century that has elapsed since those memorable July days most of the glory has gone to the vanquished rather than to the victors. The Confederacy's matchless commander, Robert E. Lee, who had won a place among immortals before he led the troops in gray into the losing fight of Gettysburg, lost little or nothing in personal renown from the events of those three days of bloody fighting, whatever military experts may have thought as to the wisdom of his plans. One of his generals, on the other hand, George E. Pickett, by leading the famous assault on the third day, made for himself an imperishable name in our history.

On the Federal side, the general who organized and accomplished actual victory where his predecessors had gone down to defeat, gained from it the merest modicum of personal prestige. It is one of the paradoxes of history that the name of the man who commanded the Union armies at Gettysburg is to-day less known than that of more than one of the leaders of the "lost cause." Yet the facts of history cannot be gainsaid, and it is high time that this generation should come to have some slight acquaintance, at least, with the personality of the victorious leader, who, at the most critical moment in the fortunes of the Union, was able to break the long record of defeat that had all but taken the heart out of the Army of the Potomac, and, at the same time, to give new courage to the Government at Washington and its adherents throughout the North.

George Gordon Meade was the fifth commander of the Army of the Potomac. Each of his predecessors had "gone up like a rocket and come down like a stick." Neither the army nor the people, in the summer of 1863, were in any mood to lend allegiance to another "hero" of the now familiar type. Per-

haps it was this feeling that made the country reticent and suspicious when the change of commanders came in the last days of June. All that could be said for General Meade was that he was respected and trusted by other generals, that he had been trained and tried in the sternest of all schools for the soldier. He was anything but a popular leader, but the rank and file of the Army of the Potomac, which had followed him from the peninsular campaign to Fredericksburg and Chancellorville, knew of what stuff he was made. He seems to have been the only commander of the Army of the Potomac who was absolutely without political influence at Washington. It is hardly conceivable that he would have been chosen for this responsible command but for the fact that the generals who knew him and had served with him were almost unanimous in declaring his fitness for the post.

Very opportunely appears the two-volume "Life and Letters of General George Gordon Meade,"[1] written by his son, who was himself a Captain and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel of the army, and edited by his grandson, who bears his name. We now have for the first time a complete and authentic record of this officer's life. There is much, of course, relating to his earlier service in the Mexican War and to the part that he took in the campaigns and battles of the Civil War preceding Gettysburg, but it may be assumed that the interest of the reader at this anniversary time will be centered in those chapters that tell the story of Lee's ill-fated invasion of Pennsylvania. Most of the letters here published were written by General Meade to his wife, and they give his unreserved opinions on all matters coming within his knowledge from day to day which he thought would be of interest to her. A reading of the letters written by General Meade during the month of June, 1863, makes one thing clear beyond question—that within a week of the great battle Meade had absolutely no thought that on him would fall the responsibility of victory or defeat for the cause of the Union.

On the twenty-fifth day of June he calmly discussed a possible change in the command of the army. He was, of course, aware that his name had been mentioned as Hooker's possible successor. As to his own fitness for the command he frankly admitted that "it remains to be seen whether I have the capacity to handle successfully a large army." Apart from the question of fitness, he continues: "I do not stand, however, any chance, because I have no friends, political or others, who press or advance my claims or pretensions, and there are so many others who are pressed by influential politicians that it is folly to think that I stand any chance upon mere merit alone. Besides, I have not the vanity to think my capacity so preëminent, and I know there are plenty of others equally competent with myself, though their names may not have been so much mentioned."

Three days after those words were written, without warning or heralding, came the order from Washington placing General Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac. At this time both the Federal and Confederate armies were on the march northward through Maryland. Lee's attempt on Harrisburg had been anticipated, while the Confederate cavalry were already between the Army of the Potomac and the city of Washington. Very few instructions were given General Meade. He was merely warned to keep in view the fact that the Army of the Potomac was covering Washington and Baltimore, as well as operating against the Confederate army of invasion.

A change of commanders at such a time was truly a momentous matter to the army and to the nation. If it had taken place when a battle was actually in progress it would have been serious enough, but at this time, when the troops were scattered and moving with only general reference to the position of the enemy, a change of commanders was even more hazardous. Practically all of June 28 was spent by General Meade in learning the whereabouts and disposition of the troops, yet within two days he had fully mastered this necessary task and had developed his plans so fully that he was ready to mass his entire army at a given position and was prepared to give battle. In reading the story of what actually took place in and about the little Pennsylvania village in the first three days of July, we sometimes lose sight of the rapid march of events of which the Gettysburg battle was the outcome. Suddenly and unexpectedly placed in command of the army while the army is itself on the march and cut off from telegraphic communication with the national capital, General Meade, within three days, marched 100,000 men fifty miles, massed them in a defensive position against an attacking army that was supposed to be numerically equal to his own, and was led by the ablest and most successful commander,

[1]The Life and Letters of General George Gordon Meade. By George Meade. Scribners. 2 vols. 821 pp., ill., $7.50.

that the war had produced, and withstood the enemy's onslaughts for three days, with losses equalling 25 per cent. of his strength, until the attack had been repulsed at every point. Perhaps there is no instance in history of a conflict approaching this in magnitude where a victorious general had been so short a time in actual command.

For the first time the North now had a commander who could check Lee's victorious advance. The country, for a few brief weeks, was given over to rejoicing, which was heightened by the news of Grant's simultaneous success at Vicksburg. This elation, however, soon gave place to a feeling of impatience arising from the fact that Lee had been permitted to escape with his army. The country and the Government at Washington felt that while Meade had won a great victory, he had not reaped the full fruits of it. Little heed was given at Washington to Meade's plea that the Confederates were in strong positions and well prepared to repel an attack. All that Washington thought of was the bagging of the game. As the days went by, Meade steadily lost in prestige; he was the victim of scores of newspaper attacks; a demand arose for his recall; and, within a few months, he was summoned before a court of inquiry. Grant came on from the West and assumed command of the army, and although Meade's conduct in later actions fully justified all that his friends had claimed for him, he was never rehabilitated in public favor. The sole reward that he received for his services at Gettysburg was promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General of the regular army. He died at Philadelphia in 1872.

General Meade was forty-eight years of age when he fought the battle of Gettysburg—the oldest of the Federal generals who achieved high command, but eight years the junior of General Lee. His letters show that he formed deliberate judgments of most of the officers with whom he came in contact, and, in many instances, those judgments proved to be singularly fair and well-founded. Of General Grant he knew little until after Grant became commander-in-chief, and of Sherman almost nothing. Grant reminded him, he said, of his old commander in Mexico, General "Zach" Taylor. Grant's opinion of Meade was expressed, in 1864, in a letter to Stanton, in which he said: "General Meade has more than met my most sanguine expectations. He and Sherman are the fittest officers for large commands I have come in contact with." The hope which Grant then expressed that Meade might be made a Major-General along with Sherman was never fulfilled.

To form an estimate of General Meade's character from his letters one must read between the lines. He reveals himself more than once as a faithful, efficient, duty-loving follower of his profession. He knew no trade but that of the soldier, and he made no effort to curry favor through the arts of the politician. His whole rule of conduct was summed up in the dogged determination to obey orders, and, where discretion was given him, to learn all the facts of the situation before taking action. He would not needlessly expose his troops, and that element of caution was what gave rise to the report that before Gettysburg was fought he had decided on a retreat. He had merely taken into account certain contingencies that might arise in any battle. His personal courage was known to all his followers. His horse was shot under him at Antietam and again at Gettysburg, but this same "Old Baldy" recovered from his wounds and survived his master by ten years.



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GENERAL MEADE'S HORSE, "OLD BALDY"



A NATURAL MOUNTAIN PARK

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

BY GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL

THERE is another "playground" knocking at Uncle Sam's door for admission into the circle of Nature's Immortals—the National Parks. This newest and perhaps most rugged infant is the Rocky Mountain National Park. The region of the proposed park lies in the very heart of the Colorado Rockies, those grim warriors who rear their heads skyward 13,000 and 14,000 feet. Long's Peak is the commanding feature of the proposed park, 14,255 feet, a part of the very backbone of North America—the Continental Divide where the waters of descending storms find their way, one part into the Atlantic Ocean and the other into the Pacific.

The Rocky Mountain Park will be number fourteen of our national playgrounds, but in some respects it already promises at once to take first place. The fact that it may soon be created into a national reservation for use and enjoyment of the people for all time will make it no more beautiful nor charming as a resort than it is to-day, and this condition, coupled with the fact that it is situated at the gates of Denver and only thirty hours from Chicago, makes it already a resort visited annually by 30,000 nature-lovers, seeking rest and recreation and a respite from the cares and grind of business. As an accessible playground, then, for the spending of an enjoyable vacation, long or short, it easily takes precedence over any of the present National Parks.

The movement for the creation of the Rocky Mountain Park came about through the fact that Estes Park, a mountain valley in part comprising the new park, has so grown in public favor that the local park improvement and protective association has become burdened with a job of management even now almost beyond its resources. This association, composed of property owners in the park, has built and maintained roads, stocked the streams with trout, prohibited shooting, and made every effort to preserve unmarred the natural beauty of the region; but the increase of thousands of tourists and visitors in the past two or three years has been in reality alarming.

Thus it was that Enos A. Mills and other owners and summer residents of Estes Park



CHIEF GEOGRAPHER MARSHALL ON THE TRAIL

came forward with the proposal that Estes Park, together with parts of the Medicine Bow National Forest and the Continental Divide, be put into Uncle Sam's hands and administered as a national park. The idea and the support it quickly gained so impressed Secretary Fisher of the Interior Department that last summer he delegated Robert B. Marshall, Chief Geographer of the United States Geological Survey, to make a personal examination of the region. The Secretary's choice of Mr. Marshall was especially pleasing to the park advocates.

Not previously particularly well known to the people of Colorado, Mr. Marshall is, nevertheless, perhaps the best-informed man in the United States on the subject of National Parks as they are and as they ought to be. The Yosemite Park in California has been his especial pet for years, ever since he first surveyed its every mountain peak and valley. The new Glacier National Park has been rendered into a beautiful topographic map largely under Mr. Marshall's direction, and he is, moreover, a man of the woods, a field man among field men in the topographic corps of the Geological Survey. So, in bringing his judgment to bear on the latest proposed addition to the fold, he has analyzed the situation as one to the manner born, and his forceful recommendation for the establishment of this national pleasure ground embodies not only a clean-cut plan for clearing away all vexatious complications, but likewise, it may be added, presents a model scheme for the control and management of all National Parks.

In the national park administration the anomalous condition exists whereby the parks are under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, but the local men who must do the police and other work of administration are under the Secretary of War—soldiers of the United States Army. Under the methods in practice of shifting regiments from post to post every three years, the officers and soldiers no sooner become familiar with the physical conditions in the parks than they are transferred to some other park or entirely away from national park duty. Mr. Marshall would have the parks administered by civilian employees whose duty it would be to study the parks as a man would study his private tract of woodland or game preserve. The gist of the Chief Geographer's conclusion is this:

> Taking all things into consideration, it is my opinion that the creation and maintenance of a national park in this section of the Rocky Moun-



Photograph by H. W. Gleason, Boston

ENOS MILLS AND HIS CABIN IN ROCKY MOUNTAIN PARK



Photograph by H. W. Gleason, Boston

REFLECTION OF LONG'S PEAK

tains is not only feasible, but highly desirable, and that every effort should be made to secure the establishment of such a park at the earliest practicable date.

The report itself is a pithy document, a condensed plan of action, nevertheless it contains passages of no mean scenic discussion. For instance:

There is no predominant, commanding natural feature in Estes Park, such as is found in the Crater Lake, the Yellowstone, or the Yosemite, or along the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The region as a whole is as beautiful as any to be found in the United States or, indeed, in the world. There is spread before the eye a gorgeous assemblage of wonderful mountain sculpture, surrounded by fantastic and ever-changing clouds, suspended in an apparently atomless space. At first view, as one beholds the scene in awe and amazement, the effect is as of an enor-



VISITING MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS ON THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE, ROCKY MOUNTAIN PARK



Photograph by H. W. Gleason, Boston

THE CASCADES OF ROCKY MOUNTAIN PARK

mous painting, a vast panorama stretching away for illimitable distances; gradually, this idea of distance disappears, the magnificent work of nature seems to draw nearer and nearer, reduced apparently by an unseen microscope to the refinement of a delicate cameo. Each view becomes a refined miniature, framed by another more fascinating, the whole presenting an impressive picture, never to be forgotten.

Again emerging from the esthetic to the practical, Mr. Marshall says:

Perhaps the most attractive feature of the plan to create this park, viewed from both the national and the State standpoints, is the accessibility of the area. In considering the probable success of this proposed park, I have kept constantly in mind the enormous population of the eastern part of the United States which would derive benefit from it, its nearness to the large centers of population, and the low transportation charges in effect during the season in which it would be most visited. Estes Park can be reached from Chicago in about thirty hours and from Denver by automobile in about three hours.

These factors will lead to a large amount of travel into the park from outside the State and undoubtedly will result in its assuming a much more national character than any of the existing parks. There has been a marked increase within the last few years in the annual number of visitors to Estes Park and vicinity. It is estimated that this number has increased from 1800 to 30,000 within a comparatively short time and, with the added attraction of the National Park, it seems safe to predict that within a decade or two 100,000 or more people from all sections of the United States will visit this area each year.

The final summation of the plan is found in eleven short articles which conclude the report. Some of them are so simple and apparently necessary to the well-being of any national park that they appear useless, nevertheless they are found wanting in the administration of some of the other parks. These Eleven Commandments are as follows:

(1) That Congress be asked to create for the benefit and enjoyment of the people a national park in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado in the vicinity of Long's Peak, to be known as the "Rocky Mountain National Park," with boundary as defined on the map accompanying this report.

(2) That wherever practicable lands included within the boundary of the proposed park which are now in private ownership be exchanged for public lands outside said boundary.

(3) That a civilian superintendent and necessary guards be appointed through the United States civil service for the proper administration of the park.

(4) That leases of suitable acreage for the erection of hotels and camps for the accommodation of visitors within the park and of one-acre tracts for the erection of private homes be granted.

(5) That the use of dead-and-down timber for building purposes within the park be permitted.

(6) That suitable roads and trails be constructed within the park.

(7) That the use of automobiles within the park be permitted.

(8) That leases be granted, under suitable conditions, for the development of mining, hydro-electric, and grazing privileges within the park.



A TROUT STREAM IN THE COLORADO ROCKIES

(9) That a fish hatchery be maintained within the park to keep the streams stocked with fish.

(10) That the destruction of game or birds within the park be prohibited.

(11) That all revenues derived from the park, from whatever source, be applied to its development and improvement.



CLUB HOUSE ON GRAND LAKE, ROCKY MOUNTAIN PARK

The new proposed national park, as shown on the map accompanying the Chief Geographer's report, is about forty miles wide by twenty miles long, containing some 500,000 acres. It embraces a score of lofty mountain peaks, from 10,000 to over 14,000 feet high, deep gorges and grassy valleys, in the springtime gay with many-colored wild flowers, a glacier and glacial lakes, foaming trout streams and green-white waterfalls, and much that is interesting in animal life.

In common with most of the other National Parks, the Rocky Mountain Park would soon become the breeding-place and refuge of all the animals native to the mountain areas of Colorado. The wild life of this mountain State, which is now hunted from valley to peak and from peak to valley again, would soon learn to find in the Rocky Mountain Park a haven of rest and security, a safe retreat from the murderous crack of the dynamite gun; yet there would be no fences around the park and the overflow of game would furnish a continual supply to the surrounding territory, where the hunter might take his toll of game. The Estes Park region has been a natural home of wild life—of the Rocky Mountain bighorn, the lordly elk, blacktail deer, bear, beaver, and many smaller four-footed friends—all of which lived their happy lives in times past and now may do so again in increasing numbers. In the early days it is said that Lord Dunraven attempted to get possession of Estes Park as a game preserve, pronouncing it the finest natural home of game animals he had ever seen in all the world. A few bighorns still remain, as also deer, an occasional bear, beaver, grouse, and ptarmigan. The elk are all gone, but the park could easily be restocked from the great herds of Jackson Hole, Wyoming, when they would multiply and flourish as of old.



FLOWERS IN BLOOM UNDER A SNOWBANK

The wide-awake citizens of Colorado are enthusiastic over the proposal, as indeed is everybody who knows anything about it. Bills to create the park were introduced in the last Congress and the campaign will be pushed with the present Congress. Those of us who subscribe to the motto, "See America First," may well voice our hope that Congress will hearken with favor to the plea to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park, a region most useful for its matchless scenery and its health-giving, life-prolonging properties.



A SECTION OF THE GERMAN ARMY'S VOLUNTEER AUTOMOBILE CORPS

GERMANY'S SUBSIDIZED ARMY AUTOMOBILES

BY REGINALD McINTOSH CLEVELAND

WITH her usual preparedness and foresight in things military, Germany has distanced other nations in the matter of motor vehicles for war. Her preëminence in this field lies not so much in the ownership by the War Department of automobiles, nor along the line of motor fighting units, but rather in the establishment of subsidized automobile corps for both passenger and supply transportation. Without the great expense incident to possession,—an expense which would be useless in time of peace,—she is thus possessed of a well-developed arm of the service. Corps under subsidy and subject to demand in war time include one of motorcycles, one of passenger automobiles, and a third of motor supply trains of a sort practically unknown in this country. The first and the last are subject to purchase by the government at a fixed price, the passenger machines must serve in maneuvers for a certain period each year, and all receive in compensation substantial payment divided in various ways.

At all times the problems of the commissariat, ammunition trains, and other transportation facilities have been serious ones for an army and have frequently proved the most severe drag on the mobility and freedom of the fighting forces. With the use of horse wagons, for instance, the typical German army corps has a marching length, in troops alone, of fifteen and one-half miles, but to this must be added an unwieldy tail made up of some 5000 men, 5000 horses and 1200 wagons, which increases the length of the marching column by from fifteen to eighteen miles. If one adds thereto the reserve supply column which follows in the rear, the road behind an army corps is occupied for a distance of some thirty miles by appurtenances of transportation all of which avail, however, to carry only provisions enough to support the corps for one week and ammunition enough for its use in a single battle.

It is due to this obvious and enormous burden on the movements of the fighting men in the field that mechanical haulage has been



A FORERUNNER OF THE WAR AUTOMOBILE, DATING FROM 1760

developed. The field railroad failed as a remedy because it required so much time to lay its tracks and because its trackage destroyed the usefulness of the road for wagon transport. Attempted solution of the problem by the use of self-propelled vehicles is not a new thing. England used street locomotives in India as early as 1873-74, and in the Transvaal operated such a locomotive with fifteen trailers at first and later some thirty-five tractors of this type. Germany also made use of two traction engines in the Franco-Prussian War when the railroad to Paris was blocked by the fortress of Toul. But this type of war equipment lost rather than gained in practical utility and it was not until the development of the automobile during recent years that forward strides were made. The armies of all the European nations now include many motor vehicles, and in Germany various types of motor-drawn wagon trains have been developed. One of the heavier types is shown in an illustration.

Among the many advantages of motor over horse-drawn equipment of this kind are its greater endurance under load, greater load capacity, speed, saving in number of men, horses and wagons, great shortening of the column of march and consequent increased freedom of movement for the troops and lightened burden of commissariat, ammunition, and impedimenta of all sorts. For example, a provision column consisting of thirty-six two-horse wagons will carry from twenty-seven to thirty tons and takes up a length of about 450 yards, whereas an ordinary motor truck, sixteen to nineteen feet long, will carry four, and with a trailer six tons. A column of five of these trucks with trailers, then, would carry the same tonnage as the horse-drawn train, but would occupy but 100 yards, as against the other's 456. Also it would have a daily marching capacity of about fifty-five miles, as against fifteen to eighteen for the horse column. A horse-drawn provision train to supply any army consisting of four army corps and two cavalry divisions which was some eighty miles from its base of supplies would require 4900 men, 8100 horses and 4050 wagons, while a motor train could do the same work with 550 trucks and 2200 men.

After a good deal of experiment, the German War Department fixed on an ideal type of motor transport, consisting of a truck, with trailers, which, weighing about seven and one-half tons and with a thirty-horsepower motor, could carry six tons at a speed of five and one-half miles an hour with metal tires and seven and three-tenths miles an hour with rubber tires. This outfit was capable of a daily mileage of from fifty-five to seventy miles, and could carry fuel, if gasoline-driven, for 150 miles, and for fifty miles if steam-driven. In order to develop this type of motor vehicle, a subsidy was established. By this system, which is now in force, the owner receives a primary payment of $952 and an annual payment of $238 for five years, in return for which he pledges himself to place one of these light army transportation trains at the disposal of the government in case of war and to permit inspection of the equipment, as to its readiness for war, several times each year. Some 350 wagon trains are held under the terms of this subsidy, according to the latest figures. The subsidy in 1910 amounted to $250,000.



MOTOR TRUCK FOR WAR
(Used with great success in a Winter trial in the hilly Thuringer Forest region)



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MOTOR TRUCK FOR WAR
(Used with great success in a Würtemberg trial in the hilly Thuringer Forest region)

The German army has put a similar plan into operation in regard to passenger automobiles. An organization known as the Volunteer Automobile Corps was founded in 1905. It is headed by Prince Henry of Prussia and commanded by the Duke Adolf of Mecklenburg, most of the membership belonging also to the Royal Automobile Club. Its members have pledged themselves to put their automobiles, which must be of approved design and of at least sixteen-horsepower, in the field in time of war and to serve in maneuvers for at least three periods of ten days each during four successive years. During service they are paid $8.33 a day and are furnished with the uniform of the corps, khaki-colored, with red sleeve-bands and turn-down collar. Their machines are intended to be used chiefly for carrying orders and messages and to transport higher officers, such as those of the staff and general staff. Under this system some 8000 motor cars are available.



THE EMPEROR'S MOTOR FIELD KITCHEN

For orderly work and scouting, the army can also command the services of a large number of motorcycles through the Volunteer Motorcycle Corps. Its membership is pledged to put their machines in the field in time of war completely ready for service. The government may buy the machines at its option. As compensation, the corps members receive $47.60 outright, a daily payment of $2.38 in the field at home or $2.85 in foreign countries, free provisions and medical attention, and 23 cents a day for the upkeep of their machines. In case of disabilities, the members are entitled to all pension privileges. This corps can put in service some two thousand motorcycles and cycle-cars.



A MOTOR WAGON-TRAIN OF THE HEAVIER TYPE



THE "BLUE" ARMY ON THE "HIKE"
(This view was taken after camp had broken up and shows the extent to which motor trucks were used in hauling all of the camp and commissary supplies of the 1912 army maneuvers)

THE MOTOR *VERSUS* THE MULE IN UNCLE SAM'S WAR DEPARTMENT

THE PROBLEM THAT MUST BE SOLVED AND THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE IN ADOPTING MOTOR TRUCKS FOR ARMY USE

BY ROLLIN W. HUTCHINSON, JR.

THE mule and the military have been boon friends since the days of Oliver Cromwell's bitter and bloody campaigns, and most veterans of the troublous days of the '60's will tell you that Balaam, in spite of his resemblance to Bret Harte's Heathen Chinee —in that his ways are dark and his tricks are vain—he is generally *sure;* and, in the language of a veteran whom the writer questioned on this subject, "A mule team can pull an army wagon 'most anywhere a bird can walk, and do it three days with nothing but wheat straw in their bellies. But one of them gasoline contraptions—huh! you got to build billiard-table like roads for 'em to even run on"—which contemptuous estimate of the motor wagon, while much overdrawn, points out the real crux of the problem in America, which is *traction.*

WHERE THE MULE HOLDS HIS OWN

The Federal Government was very lukewarm until recently on the installation of motor transportation. The 1911 report of the Quartermaster General showed that Uncle Sam is the owner of just *twenty freight-carrying motor vehicles*—certainly a ludicrous motor equipment for an army the size of ours, and especially when compared with the French War Department's complement of subsidized motor trucks. And when we hear of a benighted nation like Russia buying 125 motor trucks in a single order, we are compelled to realize that our military land transportation is far below the European nations' standard of efficiency. But the fault is not Uncle Sam's entirely. Once the manufacturers of motor trucks satisfy the Government that the motor can "mote" anywhere a mule can, mechanical power for military land transportation will relegate the mule wholly to the arts of peace. The first and final specification of Uncle Sam is that the motor army wagon must run, in the words of our veteran, "anywhere a bird can walk," or where the sure-footed mule would need "tire-chains." The greater speed of the motor is of little advantage for army service; indeed, it may be a deterrent, because the infantry averages only two and one-half miles per hour—amply slow for the mule to keep pace with. For the kind of cross-country work that prevails here, the motor truck is *hors de combat* for the easy pace of our friend the mule. For traction versatility the mule can "put it all over" the motor and hence he will continue supreme until motor manufacturers overcome its limitations to relatively hard surfaces and moderate grades.

A COMPARISON OF COSTS

It must be frankly stated that up writing there is no power truck that ticable to replace the four-mule arm wagon as a means of transportat

troops and supplies in the field. But the unsuitability of the power truck is due absolutely to its greater weight and lower wheels. The mechanical development of the motor truck is almost on a par with that of the locomotive. No unprejudiced army engineer doubts that when put on good roads or even passably fair highways one motor will do as much work as three or four army wagons and with economies of from 35 to 100 per cent., as has been shown in the State maneuvers of Massachusetts and New York in 1910 and 1911. Capt. Alexander E. Williams, of the Nineteenth Infantry, probably the best-posted authority on military land transporta-



AN ARMY MOTOR TRUCK PACKED WITH CAMP EQUIPMENT

(Type of one and one-half-ton truck used in the War Department tests of 1911 and 1912)

tion in the United States, has given the following comparative costs on mule versus motor, based on the complete moving of one division of infantry as provided for in the Field Service Regulations of 1910. The comparison is on the basis of 807 motor wagons being needed for the work of [illegible] mule wagons and 48 ambulances. The 807 motors will take up less road space by [illegible] an important element for the [illegible]. The [illegible] of mules per day [illegible] food used will be 2,054,920 lbs., 146,568 cu. ft.; total cost, $24,941.37. Fuel for 807 motor wagons for one month: 96,840 gallons of gasoline, 623,420 lbs., or 19,368 cu. ft., costing $12,105.

These figures are based on the cost to the Government in 1910 of supplies furnished by contractors at specified points and would be modified by increases in cost of forage as well as gasoline since that time. The above figures are, of course, interesting mainly in a speculative way, as none of the items which a private user of motor trucks would figure in the cost of motor transportation—interest, depreciation, drivers' wages, insurance, maintenance, etc.—is considered, because the fortuitous and speculative conditions surrounding the use of army machinery or equipment render it impossible to reckon the cost of the vehicles on an exact scientific basis. But even if the superficial 100 per cent. economy of the motor wagons by this estimate should be vitiated by the application of principles of commercial cost-accounting, the advantages of the motor cannot be reckoned by the dollar-measuring rule.

ANIMAL POWER INVOLVES EXTRA COSTS

To be insured of even inadequate transportation facilities during actual hostilities, the Government must keep on hand a large amount of animal power whose upkeep cost in idleness is just the same as in times of active service. The excessive cost of maintaining and difficulty of obtaining mule power has resulted in our providing the regular army at this time with transportation for the regimental trains only. A sudden war would demand an enormous amount of additional equipment, such as ammunition trains and supply trains, field trains for brigades, combat trains, etc., and motor power for the hospital and medical corps. The recent new field service regulations require this emergency equipment to be obtained before we can take the field supplies. Dependence upon a requisite amount of animal motive power, were this nation plunged into a quick war, would be almost impossible and might involve delays in getting our armies into the field that would cost us heavily. Ordinary prudence [illegible] with the fact that in a prolonged war the feeding of enormous numbers of animals might be impossible because of the [illegible] in price of all provender and the probable need of every available [illegible] at such times for feeding the [illegible] population, demands



SHOWING THE USE OF A THREE-TON MOTOR TRUCK BY THE "BLUE" INFANTRY AT THE NEW ENGLAND ARMY MANEUVERS, AUGUST, 1912, IN CROSS-COUNTRY SERVICE

the motor as the logical successor to the mule for our army transportation service.

MOTOR TRUCKS OF SPECIAL DESIGN

Until very recently the Government showed little disposition to coöperate with motor-vehicle manufacturers in developing a motor of special design to supplant the field wagon. During the summer of 1911 the Quartermaster's Department had in operation two specially built motor trucks, one of the shaft-driven and the other of the chain-driven type. The shaft-driven wagon is of the one-and-a-half ton type, with thirty-horsepower engine, and weighs 4770 pounds. The chain-driven wagon is equipped with thirty-horsepower engine, and has a dead weight of 5000 pounds. Its carrying capacity is one ton. For cross-country usage or on the highway bridges of average country roads, these weights are too great, as the supply wagon must be prepared to follow the field gun, which by mule-power can be got over very rough country.

The average two-ton motor truck weighs about 6000 pounds. Captain Williams, of the Quartermaster's Department, believes a 3000-pound truck must be produced before the motor is practicable for army field work. Applying the commercial measuring rule, the army motor wagon, to earn the proper return on its cost, must carry a "paying" load of 3000 pounds. The weight of the heaviest gun transported by the field artillery is 7000 pounds—equal to a 4000-pound truck loaded.

REQUIREMENTS AND ADVANTAGES OF MOTOR TRUCKS

The mechanically operated army vehicle for field work must be able to operate over any kind of road or ground, over ice, roughness of contour, and grades that the loaded four-mile army escort can surmount, and must negotiate with safety any military bridge (which must have a bearing capacity of 4000 pounds at the center) and the existing frail bridges of country roads.

The opinions of military men on the advantages of motors over mules differ somewhat, but in addition to operating expenses the main advantage of the motor will be to enable the army to operate farther from its base than is practicable with animal transportation, as the motor can be run continually twenty-four hours and at much greater speed than the mule. The reduction of two-thirds of road space requirements possible with motors over the same number of mule teams is of vital importance in that concentration of a field or ammunition train will require fewer guards, and the compactness of motor trains would expose the train to less deadly fire. Again, mules must be provided with forage at every camp site, while motor trucks can carry gasoline and oil to last through a week's march. This would be a decided advantage over the mule in moving an army through hostile territory. The army auto-ambulance with convertible body can be used for three distinct purposes—either as an ambulance, as a troop wagon, or



A TYPE OF FIVE-TON MOTOR TRUCK LOADED WITH THE CAMPING OUTFIT OF THE "BLUE" ARMY IN THE 1912 NEW ENGLAND ARMY MANEUVERS

as an ammunition wagon for heavy haulage duty. Consider the remarkable flexibility of such an apparatus. A convertible wagon-ambulance can be loaded with half a company of soldiers and can carry them to a strategic position ten miles away in thirty minutes over fair roads. It can then carry two machine guns with men to work them by a circuitous route to the rear of the enemy, thus harassing them on two sides. Returning, it could quickly gather up the wounded and speedily carry them to the hospital at a critical moment, when every second was precious in getting men to the operating table. Then—all in the day's duty—the motor truck could be rushed back from forty to fifty miles on forage to bring commissary supplies to the exhausted men in the field. Speed, staying power, tirelessness—these are the features of the motor that will cause it to supplant the mule. The problem of equipping the army with sufficient motors has thus been discussed by Captain Williams, of the Nineteenth Infantry:

> Now, should trucks of a special type be supplied to the regular army in time of peace, how shall we provide trucks of the same type, to equip the necessarily very large army called into service for war?
>
> There are two ways in which such an emergency may be provided for: First, accumulate and store in the various supply depots sufficient trucks to meet the requirements of war. Second, subsidize trucks built in accordance with army specifications, so that merchants, farmers, truckers, contractors, etc., will be induced to use trucks of this type.
>
> By the first method sufficient transportation could be obtained and stored, although this would be more expensive than the second method, and in addition the rapid improvements now being made in the engines and other parts of the automobile would soon render them out of date.
>
> By following the second method suggested, should the military type of truck be subsidized or its use be made by some other means more economical to the owner than the ordinary commercial truck, there would be in short time sufficient trucks of this type in use commercially in the United States to equip a large field army. Upon the cessation of hostilities, when the army is reduced to normal size for peace conditions, the question immediately arises as to the disposition of the surplus means of transportation on hand. In the past there never has been any trouble in disposing of the surplus mules at approximately their actual value, but the wagons have been sold at a sacrifice, if at all.
>
> Should trucks be procured under the first method, when of no further use, they would have to be returned to the storage depots. But if procured under the second method, all surplus trucks would have a ready market and could be sold at their actual value or returned to the original owners at a price agreed to by both parties. Also, any stock of spare parts that may have been accumulated during the war could be readily disposed of, as there would be a demand for them commercially.

THE GOVERNMENT'S TESTS

During the summer of 1912 the national Government conducted in the Middle West, over a route especially difficult for motor vehicles to traverse, a series of maneuvers that were undoubtedly the most thorough and conclusive tests of the value of the motor vehicle in army service so far made. In these tests trucks of from one to three tons live load capacity were used. The purpose of the experiments was to determine how far from a base of supplies an army could be maintained with trucks as a means of transportation; also to determine how practicable motor trucks are for operation off the regular highways; that is, crossing fields or driving through timber, brush, etc. The maneuvers started with the United States army located at Dubuque, Iowa, and with the enemy located in two positions—one army at Madison, Wis., and the other at Sparta, Wis. The United States army started from Dubuque and marched against the enemy at Madison. The position of the army was



CZAR NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA INSPECTING ONE OF THE AMERICAN-MADE MOTOR AMBULANCES AT PETERHOF, AT THE FINISH OF THE TRIALS
(The Czar is standing just at the right of the telegraph pole. The officer standing at the Czar's right is General Dobrecshin, who was in command of the trials)

regulated by the national War Department. The only definite fact known was that the army was to move to Sparta, Wis. Three-ton trucks were used for hauling supplies between the base and the command. This distance was about twelve miles daily, or the distance covered by the command. One and one-half ton trucks were used as camp wagons and followed the mule-drawn wagons in the line of march, the infantry going ahead and setting the pace, which could not be exceeded by the trucks. Consequently, the



A PART OF THE ITALIAN WAR DEPARTMENT'S FLEET OF MOTOR TRUCKS WHICH HAULED SUPPLIES AND STORES OF WAR IN THE RECENT ITALIAN-TURKISH HOSTILITIES
(It is said that this fleet of trucks enabled the Italian army to press their advantage against the Turks with far more dispatch than would have been possible with the former mule-team equipment. This was especially true of the fighting in the desert country in Northern Africa, where animals were at a great disadvantage, due to the lack of foliage and insufficient water supply)

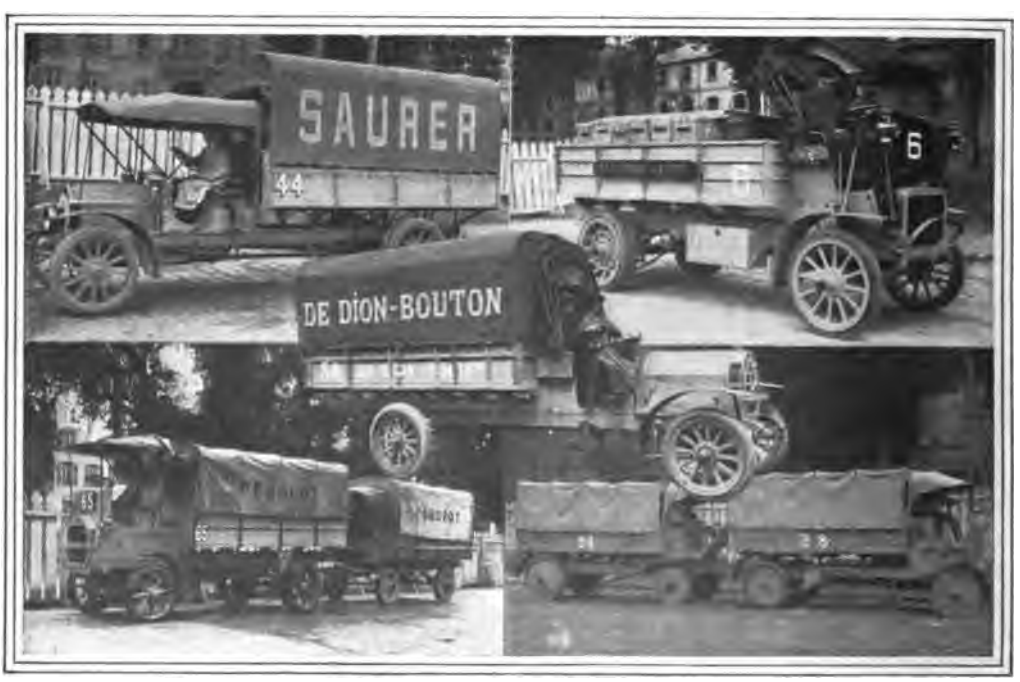
trucks were obliged to run four miles an hour the first half of every day. This was an exceptionally severe test, as the roads were frequently sandy and the grade very steep.

The daily routine for the smaller trucks began with bugle call to break camp at 3 A.M., when each truck was loaded with the paraphernalia of a company. They then proceeded on the road to the next day's camp, and if, when camp was pitched, the heavy trucks had not arrived, the light trucks would start out over the road to meet them, transferring the heavy trucks' loads and carrying them to camp.

The heavier trucks were operated the first distance from Dubuque to the command, and subsequently, when the command was nearer to Madison and the commissary headquarters were moved into Madison (during which period of three days the command was cut off from its source of supplies by the enemy), the heavy trucks were then put to work hauling to the command the supplies which were loaded every morning, namely, beef, potatoes, bread, canned goods, etc., and then started out to overtake the command. This usually took until dark. Upon arriving at the camp or meeting the camp trucks, the supplies were either unloaded or placed on the light trucks and the heavy trucks ordered to return to the base of supplies. The drivers of these heavy trucks were then obliged to drive all night or seek some shelter.

When a truck was abandoned (stuck in the mud or from some dislocation of its mechanism) the officer in charge would delegate a squadron of soldiers and enjoin them as in actual warfare that they were to sacrifice their lives for their country, if necessary, in attempting to keep the truck from falling into the hands of the enemy. The conditions of the test required that the trucks go through a plowed field and make detours to avoid bridges supposedly destroyed by the enemy. The regular highways were never used in transporting the supplies, and naturally this feature caused many difficulties.

The officials of this test conclude that at the present time no three-ton truck can be depended upon to transport army supplies over our ordinary country roads. This conclusion does not by any means impugn the mechanical perfections or dependability of the motor truck, but merely confirms the result of previous tests in bearing out the necessity for more rapid and substantial highway development.



MOTOR TRUCKS WHICH HAVE WON FOR SEVERAL YEARS THE FRENCH WAR DEPARTMENT SUBSIDIES

(It will be observed that the body is the regulation tarpaulin-covered type except in those instances where supplies and material not affected by the elements are to be carried. The truck with a trailer is very commonly used abroad for army service due to the exceptionally fine roads which enable great loads to be pulled. This group of trucks shows five of the nine successful trucks for the 1912 French army subsidies)



"NON-REACTING" YOUNG CATTLE IN THE HERD, MAY, 1911

A BATTLE FOR HEALTH IN AN INFECTED DAIRY HERD

BY B. E. POWELL
(Editor of Publications, Illinois College of Agriculture)

ONLY stringent regulation on the part of the State, coupled with willing coöperation on the part of the dairyman and intelligent determination on the part of the consumer to demand clean milk, even if it costs more than the dirty kind, can result in milk free from the germs of tuberculosis.

Could we know how prevalent tuberculosis is in dairy herds we would find the knowledge thrilling—disagreeably thrilling.

A learned professor of Germany, Professor Holzman, of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Halle, when asked what he thought of the tuberculin test, replied:

"Very fine—for America! But should we use it we would have no cattle left in Germany."

An admission that all the dairy herds of Germany are affected with tuberculosis!

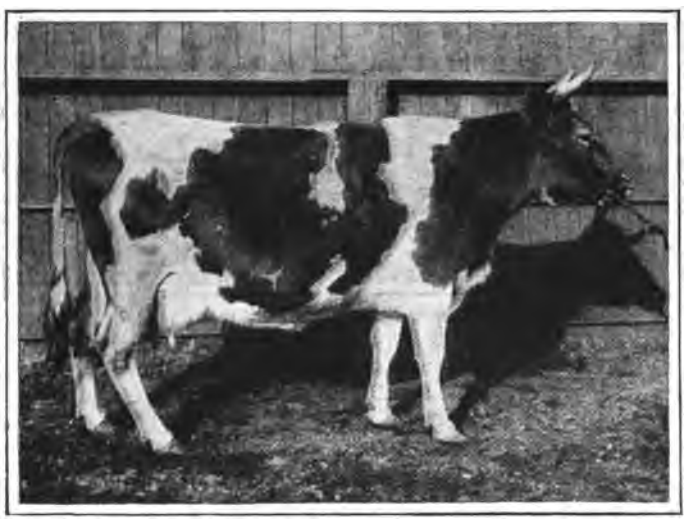
Nor is reluctance to apply the test found only in Germany. Dairymen in America often object. They do not want to test their cows — they might lose one. But their neighbors, to whom the milk is sold, have children—they might lose one. Which shall it be?

HOW INFECTION PROCEEDS

Now a dairy herd may become infected with tuberculosis very easily, even though the individual dairyman is conscientiously trying to keep it out. A cow may die upon an adjoining farm. Without examination, the carcass, instead of being burned, as it should be, is dumped into a stream flowing toward and through the dairyman's pasture. The cow had tuberculosis. *Now the tubercle bacilli live in running water for four hundred and forty-one days!* What chance has the herd below to escape infection?

There is yet another way in which tuberculosis may be scattered. The man on the adjoining farm may be conscientious and careful, having his animals tested for tuberculosis every six months. He buys a sleek-looking milker; she is tested, does not react, and naturally is placed in the herd. Now everything that is good has not only its use,

but its misuse. The tuberculin test is no exception. The cow has been "plugged," that is, given a large dose of tuberculin before being sold. Many tuberculous cows so treated develop a power to resist the test, so that if a second dose is given in time, varying from a few days to three months, they fail to react again. This cow drinks in the stream with the others, and the germs she delivers live for 232 days in sputum exposed in water. Again, what chance has a herd of the dairyman on the lower level of the stream to escape infection?



THE COW HERE SHOWN PASSED THROUGH THREE TESTS WITH SLIGHT SUSPICION ONLY. UP TO TIME SLAUGHTERED, SHE WAS IN VERY GOOD FLESH AND PHYSICAL CONDITION. SHE WAS FOUND TO BE VERY BADLY DISEASED

GETTING RID OF DISEASE

However, if people are willing to work together and put forth a very strenuous effort, the disease can be eradicated from any herd. It calls for an extreme and humble regard for cleanliness, which is next to godliness and almost as hard to achieve. Yet the dairyman who does clean up his herd will gain not only in character, but in bank account, which, while it may not influence the conscientious one's action, is nevertheless cheering. For when tuberculosis gets into a herd, small profit gets past the gate. There is an occasional complete loss of an animal, the reproductive power of the others is diminished, complete sterility resulting not infrequently; also hogs which run after the cattle or consume the milk may be infected.

This article tells of the effort, extending over a series of years, that resulted in the cleaning up of one herd found to be badly infected.

The herd belonged to the University of Illinois. Now people with small children, or special liking themselves for all that is sanitary, formed a long waiting list made up of those eager to obtain milk from the university wagons. Of course, such milk must be pure—the cows were in constant contact with science; the dairy was not run for profit. Yet what did accident uncover?

In the spring of 1906 a grade cow, purchased for experimental purposes, died, and a post-mortem examination revealed a few tubercular centers in the lungs. This was enough to prove the existence of disease in the herd, and it was thought best to give at least such cows as were producing milk for the city trade the tuberculin test. Thirteen out of thirty-four reacted; one or two of the reactions being considered questionable. Five of the thirteen which reacted were slaughtered and examined. The disease was found in each of the five reactors, but in no case had it become generalized. The other cows appeared to be in such good health that they were kept in the herd. Later they were slaughtered, and in nearly every case while tuberculosis was found, it apparently was not far enough advanced to be "open" tuberculosis; that is, the germs were not yet escaping from the body.

In December of 1906 the herd was tested again. Ten of the fifteen tested reacted, five of which had previously reacted. Seven of the reactors were slaughtered at the time.

In June, 1907, the herd consisted of fifty-five females, including calves; five which were suspicious, or had reacted, were tested at this time, and two reacted.

In May, 1908, the next test was made; there were then sixty-seven females in the entire breeding herd, fifty of these, or practically all that were considered old enough, were tested. The result was distinctly startling: twenty-six reactors were found! That meant that 52 per cent. of the tested herd was infected. Among them were some of

the best cows in the herd. All of the reactors were removed from the herd. The best of them were placed in quarantine, together with a few others, to secure their progeny, and for experimental purposes; the others were slaughtered.



THIS COW PRODUCED IN THIRTY DAYS, IN THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY AND MARCH, OVER 2,000 POUNDS OF MILK AND DIED OF TUBERCULOSIS IN JULY OF THE SAME YEAR

EXTREME PRECAUTIONS

Now, before going on with the history of the herd, let me say that if a herd is not very valuable for breeding purposes and one-half or more of the animals react to the tuberculin test, the best and in the end cheapest method of cleaning up is by slaughtering under proper inspection. Young or tested animals should then be bought, but should not be brought upon the premises until the barns, water troughs, and all places that were made use of by the infected herd are subjected to the most painstaking disinfection.

But suppose, as in the case of this University of Illinois herd, there are many pure-bred cows valuable for breeding purposes. The same thing may be done that was done with the cows that were removed from the herd. They were dealt with by what is known as the "Bang Method."

The reacting cows were placed in a separate wing of the barn and the passageway to the main barn was closed. Could they have been kept in a separate barn or upon another farm altogether, it would have been still better. Attendants were not permitted to go from the wing to the main barn without changing their clothes, especially their shoes. This is a point that must be very carefully regarded, because upon manure clinging to the attendants' shoes germs may be carried from the infected herd to the feeding floor of the healthy herd. One man, with such help as he needed, was given charge of the tuberculous cows. A small yard, in which the cows could exercise, separated from the other yards by a high board fence, was provided. The feed was brought to the door from the main barn by those caring for the clean herd, but they were not permitted to go inside.

When a calf was born in the quarantined herd it was immediately removed and later placed in the clean herd. Of twenty-five calves so removed, but one reacted to the test later, and she reacted when about two years old. At the same time and in the same barn a bull from a clean cow reacted; probably both became infected from the same source.

This proves, therefore, that clean cows may be procured from infected dams. The value of the progeny from the pure-bred reacting cows was, in the years 1908 to 1912, $1670; and this value is not the opinion of experts—it is what the cows actually sold for in the market.

Nor is the milk from the cow reacting to the test necessarily all waste, if it is properly pasteurized. Of course, if there are signs of disease in the udder, or, indeed, any outward indications of tuberculosis, the milk should not be used. Otherwise, if the milk is heated to a temperature sufficiently high to kill all germs, it may be fed to calves or used in butter-making.

But to return to the regular herd which we left in the spring of 1908.

RAPID IMPROVEMENT OF THE HERD

In the fall of the same year another test was made. There were at that time fifty-six females in the herd, which included seven added by purchase. Thirty-six were old enough to be tested, and of these, three which reacted were placed with the quarantined herd.

The next test occurred one year later, in the fall of 1909, there being then ninety-eight females in the herd. Sixty-seven were

tested; four reacted and were removed from the herd.

In the fall of 1910 the herd had seventy-seven female members. Seventy-two were tested, resulting in not a single reaction.

In the spring of 1911 there were eighty-eight females. Of seventy tested, one reacted, but showed no evidence of tuberculosis when slaughtered. Such an experience is a bit trying, but it will occur once in a long while, and must be regarded merely as a sacrifice for the general good.

In the fall of 1911 there were ninety-six females. Tests upon ninety resulted in a single reaction.

The last test was made in March, 1912. Four reacted and lost their places in the healthy herd.

Now, there had been great loss in taking all these reactors out of the herd and either placing them in the quarantined herd or slaughtering them. Yet, in spite of this loss, with the addition of a few cows from the experimental herd, of which more will be told later, the number of females increased from fifty-five in 1907 to ninety-one clean cows in March, 1912, and people were actually getting milk at the latter date which was as wholesome as they had congratulated themselves they were getting before the tests. During this time nineteen females were added to the herd by purchase, and thirty-two non-reactors were sold.

IMPORTANCE OF FREQUENT TESTS

The probable extent to which tuberculosis has ravaged a herd which gives up 50 per cent. or more reactors is strikingly shown by the following facts: Of the forty-seven mature cows in the herd in 1906, only three remained in the herd after 1909, and *only five went out for reasons other than tuberculosis.*

Once a herd of mature animals becomes badly diseased, it is best to consider the entire herd as infected, and to treat it accordingly. Tests should be made at intervals of six months, as cows may have the disease in the "incubating" stage, or it may be incysted. In either case the test may not reveal the disease until later. The "incubating" stage is when the germs have gotten into the body but have not yet begun to grow. Later tests, when growth has begun, reveal them readily. When the disease is a small spot which has become incysted, that is, enveloped in a tough, thick membrane which prevents the escape of the germs to other parts of the body, tests cannot reveal them until the places break out.

The most difficult of all to detect, it is said, are the cases that are the most advanced, yet with no outward symptoms. Usually when the disease is far advanced it can be detected by physical examination, but not always. A cow may be in an advanced stage of tuberculosis and not have a cough unless the throat and lungs are affected. The tuberculin test will not drag the condition from its obscurity, because the system already full of poison can make no response to a little more poison. Two cows in the university herd were in an advanced stage of tuberculosis, yet it was impossible to detect it.

One of these cows was tested in 1905. From the data taken, she was reported as not reacting. At that time she was not milking, and failed to breed, but was in excellent condition. About a year later she began to go down in flesh and probably would have died in July had she not been killed. When examined, she proved to be the worst sort of case. The abdominal cavity was one mass of tubercles, and other parts of the body were badly diseased. It is thought that at the time of the test the disease was too far advanced; hence the view taken by Professor Hayden, that her system was too full of poison to react. However, it is entirely possible that she became infected after the test. Probably this cow was responsible for spreading much of the infection revealed by the test in May, 1908. A large percentage of the two-year-old heifers which were in pasture with her reacted.

The other cow passed through three tests. The data from the first test warranted suspicion. From subsequent tests the data revealed no trace of tuberculosis, and the cow was reported to the Experiment Station as not reacting. She was a small cow, bought in northern Illinois. Up to the time that she was slaughtered she was in good flesh and physical condition; she did her duty both by her feed and the milk bucket. However, she had a cough. Now, a cough may or may not mean tuberculosis. Failing to breed readily, she was sold for beef, subject to inspection, and proved to be very badly diseased. Such cases as these serve to emphasize the fact that mature animals should be regarded with suspicion whether or not they react to the test.

The suspicion may be unfounded. One cow passed the tests successfully, although she had had a bad cough for two or three years. Since she was one of the animals of

the badly infected herd, it was thought she might have the disease in an advanced stage. She was not in as good a condition of flesh as the cow just mentioned. She was slaughtered and found to be free from the disease, the cough having been due to some other cause. The truth was just as one of the attendants stated it:

"We had to kill the critter to prove that she was fit to live."

Such cases are rare, fortunately, and occasionally an animal will have to be sacrificed for the good of the cause.

As for the number of bulls that were found to be tuberculous, between May, 1906, and December, 1911, five mature and thirty-two young ones, ranging in age from six months to two years, were tested, and three reacted. Only one of the reacting bulls was young. With other calves, he was fed on milk from the quarantined herd, and it is probable that the milk may not always have been perfectly sterilized.

What of the quarantined herd—the cost of keeping, the profit and loss from it? It was kept in existence for about two years. It consisted of nineteen of the pure-bred reacting cows, which were quarantined in 1908, and of four others which were quarantined later. The herd was kept at a cost per head of about $60 a year. It is probable that this cost was considerably higher than it would have been in an ordinary herd. The gross returns for carcasses, milk, and progeny were approximately $4436, making a net profit of $1736.

The experimental herd which was mentioned earlier in connection with additions to the regular herd was made up between 1906 and 1910 of forty-one cows purchased for experimental purposes, without being previously tested. Twenty-two of these, or over 50 per cent., reacted. In one group of fourteen cows selected from seven herds in northern Illinois, all but one proved to be tuberculous. All of the forty-one except eight came from the northern part of the State, and most of them originally came from Wisconsin; this gives some idea of the extent of the disease and the means by which it is spreading. These cows all appeared to be in good condition; no one would have thought them diseased. One of the cows which did not react was finally thrown out of the herd because of failure to breed, and a cough. She proved to be in an advanced stage of tuberculosis.

VALUE OF THE TUBERCULIN TEST

Now, certainly an experiment of this scope in regard to tuberculosis proves conclusively the need of a rigid test and rigid law enforcement in regard to it. The tuberculin test is not absolutely infallible. The Bureau of Animal Husbandry in Washington, D. C., has found that 98 per cent. of the animals that react show the disease when slaughtered. Ninety-eight is a greater percentage of accuracy than can be shown by almost any other method of detecting disease. It would be as criminally prejudiced to refuse to use the tuberculin test as to refuse to use antitoxin in diphtheria because its use is sometimes attended with failure. Nor is there danger in applying the test, but, like other things of value, it must be applied intelligently, and by some one who understands his business. At any rate, tuberculin will not harm the cow as much as tuberculous milk will harm your children, and undoubtedly a large percentage of the sleek-looking dairy cows we see are tubercular in one form or another.

We may deny ourselves milk, thinking thus to escape the germs of bovine tuberculosis, but how about butter? Dr. Charles Briscoe, who by most painstaking experiment established the time that tubercle bacilli live in water, dried sputum, etc.,—the figures given in the early part of the article were his—found that they retain their vitality and virulence in cold storage, and thus are all ready to enter you or those nearest and dearest to you when you have saved the price of a pound of the precious commodity. Ten months the germs will live in such conditions, which is a longer time than butter is usually kept in cold storage.

However, as the experience with the university herd shows, stamping tuberculosis out of a herd is entirely possible, even when it seems to have obtained a strangle hold. All that is required is the proper application of painstaking intelligence, and we are coming more and more to apply this quality to the bread and butter of life, instead of reserving it for special occasions like funeral sermons.

ELASTICITY OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY

BY J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN
(Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago)

A MAN dislikes a leaky house, or a coat that does not keep him warm. An enterprising man devotes his ingenuity and power to putting his house and clothes in good order, and to keeping them so. Why should we not expect a nation as big and rich as the United States to do the same thing with its banking and currency system? Our system has ugly holes in it which cause suffering and disgrace. Perhaps the chief craftsman of the nation is even now coming with his tools to mend our credit and monetary system. Certainly we ought to point out to him and his aids in Congress what we wish repaired.

Obviously, we have suffered too long from two defects: (1) the rigidity and inelasticity of our note issues, and (2) the mischievous inelasticity of our credit system, on which the borrowing business public depend. We should not be satisfied with an old hat stuck in the hole: we need a courageous, constructive measure, which will stand forth as the most important enactment since the Civil War.

Banking reform is tied up with currency reform, because banks in this country provide a currency in the form of checks drawn on deposits, and because the question of the organization of credit is even more important than the issue of bank notes. The unnecessary expense of obtaining credit under a bad banking system is borne by the borrower; the impossibility of getting loans in a time of stringency, or panic, shuts up factory and shop and falls most severely upon the wage-earner who loses his employment. The defects in our banking and currency system are obvious.

It has long been seen that our currency is needlessly inelastic; that our credit system is even more dangerously inelastic; that our large gold supply is ineffectively used; that the scattering of reserves forbids coöperative action by the banks in time of stress; that our rigid reserve system even breeds panics; that State banks and trust companies are doing commercial banking, but without coöperation with national banks; that our independent Sub-Treasury often attacks the reserves of banks at times of danger and works without businesslike economy and efficiency; that idle funds of banks drift to New York and, on call loans, feed stock speculation; and that our trade is greatly hampered by lack of American banking facilities in foreign countries.

The main features of the remedy needed to cure these defects are easy to understand. It is as plain as a pikestaff that no man selling staple goods like wheat, cotton, drygoods, and the like, ought ever to fail, in any financial emergency, because of inability to convert his commercial paper into a means of payment by which to meet his debts. Last autumn (1912) it was as difficult for a business man to get a loan as it was in 1907. There must be something wrong in our system if the lending power of our banks is thus seriously crippled. Just when wheat and cotton—the best basis of loans in the world—are most abundant, that is the time when it is hardest to get a loan. Such a condition of affairs is a menace to our prosperity. The business world is unwilling to face such another situation in 1913.

First of all, there is a great fear of centralization of power over credits. Of course, where there is the most trade there will be found the largest transactions, the largest banks, and the largest credit operations. There should be no disposition to disturb any such natural tendencies. But every small dealer, every small bank, should be protected in his equal right to credit where his security is equally good with that of another. That is axiomatic. To-day the tendency of our highly individualistic banking system is to pull apart, snatch for reserves, and let the devil take the hindmost. We need coöperation; but we do not want centralization. Without having had practically any changes in our banking legislation since the Civil War, there has yet gone on a phenomenal development of credit methods, irrespective of statutes. Consequently, we now have an

unregulated, irresponsible centralization of funds in great financial centers. No one is to blame if Congress has been asleep at the switch. Now it is proposed that the law should catch up with the growth, so that credit control in time of stress should be regularized and democratized.

THE FUNCTION OF RESERVE ASSOCIATIONS

Instead of one centralized institution, we may get a coöperation of banks by creating several regional reserve associations. Instead of a mob under a dictator, we may have organized divisions, each led by its own officers, but acting together in some coöperative council of war. If these reserve associations are limited in number, and so imposing as to excite confidence by their solidity, and capital, then when the Red Indians of panic break loose each borrower will have a blockhouse of credit within reach, where he may always find safety. We would then get decentralization, home-rule, and coöperation.

How would this regularization of credit methods help the borrower who has no "pull"? It is simply made a question as to the kind of paper he can offer for a loan; the note of a man who has sold goods, in any part of the movement from producer to consumer, should show the legitimate nature of the transaction; no matter whether the man is a big or little borrower, such paper is always sure of discount—unless the man has no character. Consequently, any bank can loan to such a customer, no matter what the stringency may be, because that bank can have such paper made the basis of credit at the reserve association of his district. Then what? The proceeds of that credit can be counted as reserves by the individual bank; or the bank can get notes for it which can be passed out to the public. If its resources are increased, its power to lend is made elastic. Then away goes our mischievous rigidity and inelasticity of credit. Instead of clearing-houses, to which banks now resort in time of stress, we should have legalized, normal institutions, created in the common interest, working coöperatively for all banks alike, caring for imports or exports of gold for the protection of all of its members, and providing security against the unnecessary and frequent paroxysms of credit which have afflicted our country. Centralization is displaced by decentralized coöperation; and resources would be mobilized to the advantage of all banks, big or little, under due Government supervision.

If we can thus remove the dangerous panic-producing inelasticity of credit, we have touched the very center of our difficulties, because the elasticity of credit, once obtained, will bring with it the elasticity of our currency. It is to be remembered that in 1907 when a manufacturer needed currency for his weekly pay-rolls he could not get it; and his banker could not get funds from his reserve bank in Chicago or New York, even if he had a large deposit to his credit there. Currency could not be had. It was a national disgrace that solvent business men could not have cash, and that the banks of the country, although also solvent, had practically suspended payments.

INABILITY OF BANKS TO PROVIDE CURRENCY

The cause of this breakdown is easy to understand. The banks had no means of providing currency when customers needed it. Even if a borrower got a loan, he could not get notes, or cash; although, of course, he could pay by checks. But pay-rolls and the washerwoman demand cash. Yet, if the banks paid out their resources, they crippled their lending power. Here we find a simple truth not often understood: The issue of bank-notes is tied up with a credit at the bank. Just when his business demands aid by a loan, the manufacturer may wish to use notes, as well as to pay by checks. If so, the bank must be able to give him notes as easily and cheaply as it gives him a deposit account on which to draw checks. The notes, in such an instance, must issue in connection with a bank credit. Consequently, such note issues are entirely different in function from issues of money made by a government, as in the case of our greenbacks. As a government is not doing a banking business (discounting the paper of borrowers), it can never be the issuer of notes so intimately connected with a banking credit.

ISSUE OF NOTES BY A TREASURY BOARD

It is now generally admitted that our present banknotes, based on bonds, are inelastic and impossible; just when they may be most needed they cannot be had, and when they are least needed they are easy to get. Sometimes it has been held that the privilege of issuing notes by the national banks has been a means of controlling the "money market," and bringing on panics. This is not true; we know that State banks do an enormously profitable business without the right to issu

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Obviously, we have suffered too long from two defects: (1) the rigidity and inelasticity of our note issues, and (2) the mischievous inelasticity of our credit system, on which the borrowing business public depend. We should not be satisfied with an old hat stuck in the hole: we need a courageous, constructive measure, which will stand forth as the most important enactment since the Civil War.

Banking reform is tied up with currency reform, because banks in this country provide a currency in the form of checks drawn on deposits, and because the question of the organization of credit is even more important than the issue of bank notes. The unnecessary expense of obtaining credit under a bad banking system is borne by the borrower; the impossibility of getting loans in a time of stringency, or panic, shuts up factory and shop and falls most severely upon the wage-earner who loses his employment. The defects in our banking and currency system are obvious.

It has long been seen that our currency is needlessly inelastic; that our credit system is even more dangerously inelastic; that our large gold supply is ineffectively used; that the scattering of reserves forbids coöperative action by the banks in time of stress; that our rigid reserve system even breeds panics; that State banks and trust companies are doing commercial banking, but without coöperation with national banks; that our independent Sub-Treasury often attacks the reserves of banks at times of danger and works without businesslike economy and efficiency; that idle funds of banks drift to New York and, on call loans, feed stock speculation; and that our trade is greatly hampered by lack of American banking facilities in foreign countries.

The main features of the remedy needed to cure these defects are easy to understand. It is as plain as a pikestaff that no man selling staple goods like wheat, cotton, drygoods, and the like, ought ever to fail, in any financial emergency, because of inability to convert his commercial paper into a means of payment by which to meet his debts. Last autumn (1912) it was as difficult for a business man to get a loan as it was in 1907. There must be something wrong in our system if the lending power of our banks is thus seriously crippled. Just when wheat and cotton—the best basis of loans in the world—are most abundant, that is the time when it is hardest to get a loan. Such a condition of affairs is a menace to our prosperity. The business world is unwilling to face such another situation in 1913.

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notes. But, assuming the truth of the charge, it would be entirely feasible to take away the issue of notes from the individual banks, and hand it over to an agency, like a treasury board, under close Government supervision. This agency would be the servant of the reserve associations, on whom all the expense would fall; and notes would thus be passed out by the latter to the banks, in connection with rediscounts, so that the notes would rise and fall with the needs of business, expanding with trade and contracting when the need has passed. That is, these notes would be tied up with legitimate banking credits. The primary sovereignty of the Government over the standard, the metal of which it is composed, whether gold or silver, the assignment of legal-tender qualities, etc., would all remain untouched. But in the world of business the present rigidity and inelasticity of our currency would disappear. Following elasticity of credit, the borrower would find perfect elasticity of note issues. The remedy is simple; it must come.

HOW TO SECURE DEPOSITORS

In this solution, the depositor must not be lost sight of. Too often the innocent depositor has left his means in a bank and waked up to find them swallowed up in a miserable embezzlement. There is a wide difference, however, between a commercial bank, discounting paper based on goods bought and sold, and savings banks and investment companies. A commercial bank which grants a loan gives the borrower a deposit account, on which he may draw on demand. Hence, such a bank must keep its resources in short-time liquid loans, maturing day by day. That is, its deposits, largely the outcome of loans, or of deposits of checks (which were largely the result of other loan accounts), are as liquid as its assets. Here we have the crux of the whole matter of guaranty of deposits: the ability to pay deposits on demand depends entirely on the kind of loans made by the bank with the deposited funds. Whatever improves the character of the loans increases the safety of the deposits, that is, drastic examinations (such as those imposed by recent clearing-house associations), and an exacting public opinion as to a high standard of banking loans, would provide the only real security to depositors in commercial banks.

But it may be said that a bank note is a demand liability of a bank, as well as a deposit account, and that a note-holder is always guaranteed against loss. Why not also guarantee the depositor? Because the note, when it leaves the neighborhood of the issuing bank, passes to those who are ignorant of the stability of the issuer, and in innocent hands it is performing a quasi-public function (like a railway). Not so with a deposit, which is an arrangement between two private persons, the depositor and the banker. If the State begins to require a guarantee of one such transaction, it must do it for all: to secure, for example, the washerwoman in payment of her bills, or a doctor for his fees.

The fundamental error in most proposals for guaranty of deposits is the requirement that banks as a whole should guarantee the depositors in any one failed bank. That means, of course, that well-managed banks, watchful of their loans, should be held responsible in money loss for the bad loans of failed banks. Such a system goes against the Anglo-Saxon grain; and against the demand for fair play. If A insures his life, he does not ask B to pay part of A's premium. Therefore, if it should be decided that depositors must be insured against loss, then let each bank go to a company which takes such risks, and itself pay the charges. Of course, the conservative bank will pay the lowest premium of insurance; and the bank which takes bad loans will itself pay the high cost for doing that kind of banking. This is as it should be. Put the loss where it belongs, and not make him pay for it who had no oversight over the kind of loans made. It should be remembered, also, that each bank has, in fact, a guaranty fund in its capital and surplus which acts as a buffer against loss to depositors; because they must be entirely lost before depositors can suffer.

In a sound, constructive measure, dealing with the fundamentals of an elastic credit and currency system, it would be well not to obscure the real issues by including a feature which, after all, is only an incident, and which, being highly controversial, would attract to itself—and to the exclusion of more important provisions—the most bitter attack. Just as the builder and his aids are about to begin repairs of great importance, it is well not to direct their efforts to the wrong part of the structure.



ENSNARED
From the *World* (New York)

VICE, CRIME, AND THE NEW YORK POLICE

BY LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

ON the twenty-first of May, 1913, Mayor Gaynor vetoed a bill creating a Board of Public Welfare to take from the Police Department the control of gambling and disorderly houses. This bill had been passed by the legislature on the recommendation of a joint committee of Senate and Assembly appointed to investigate the police situation in New York City. The idea imperfectly embodied in the vetoed bill was originated by a Citizens' Committee organized as a result of the indignation of the better citizens at the corruption in the Police Department indicated by the disclosures following the notorious Rosenthal murder of last July.

This Citizens' Committee came to the conclusion that the corruption of the police came almost entirely from their contact with gambling, liquor-selling, and prostitution. Originally the duties of the police were purely constabulary. They were charged with the maintenance of public order and decency. Gradually as the community became more complex the regulation of the public morals was added to their duties. As public censors and moral guides they had dismally failed. Instead of effectively suppressing immorality, they had themselves been corrupted. From this the committee argued that the police should be relegated to their original constabulary duties, while the regulation of public morals should be placed in the hands of a board of representative citizens. The administrative work of the board should be done by an associate police commissioner responsible to the board only, with police officers under him specially qualified for such work and entirely separate and distinct from the regular force. At best this scheme was an untried experiment, while in the form in which it finally came before the Mayor it did not fully conform to the recommendations of the Citizens' Committee, nor to those

of the able and thoughtful students who favored it. Since it gave the board no authority to regulate liquor-selling, it did not even pretend to carry out the policy which it was supposed to embody. It was supported by the Citizens' Committee on the ground, perhaps, that it was an entering wedge. Since this proposal has been rejected, what is to be done to meet the conditions in the world of crime and vice which have been so clearly revealed during the past twelve months that "he who runs may read"?

A GAMBLER'S MURDER AND WHAT CAME OF IT

In the early morning of July 16, 1912, Herman Rosenthal, a notorious gambler, was shot and killed as he emerged from a hotel in New York City. The murdered man had been raised to sudden notoriety by his assertion to District Attorney Whitman that Lieutenant Charles Becker, of the Police Department, had been his silent partner in his gambling business and had turned upon him and closed his place of business because of a private quarrel. He was murdered just before he was to see the District Attorney again and present corroborative evidence in support of his statement. Suspicion naturally fell upon Becker. He was arrested, indicted by the Grand Jury, tried before Justice Goff, given the death sentence, and now awaits in the death house at Sing Sing Prison the outcome of his appeal. The court found that Rosenthal's murderers were assassins employed by Becker to dispatch the gambler before he had opportunity to corroborate his story before the District Attorney. This murder, with its sensational revelations of corrupt alliance between officers of the law and breakers of the law, startled the whole country and aroused even blasé New Yorkers to a sense of something fundamentally wrong in the relationship between law enforcers and law breakers.

To crystallize and focus the aroused indignation of the better citizens at the state of affairs revealed by this murder, a mass meeting was held at the Cooper Union, at which was appointed a Citizens' Committee to study the situation and propose remedies. At the same time, Alderman Henry Curran, by the revival of a long disused clause of the city charter, which provides that the Board of Aldermen may investigate the administration of any city department, secured the appointment of an aldermanic committee to investigate the Police Department. This committee worked in close harmony with the District Attorney, who appointed one of his assistants to aid them. District Attorney Whitman, assisted by Justice Goff and a special grand jury, followed up the conviction of Becker with an unprecedented series of indictments and convictions.

ORGANIZED PROFIT FROM VICE

Just as New York City is the headquarters for the finance of the country, so has it the unhappy distinction of a similar leadership in the world of vice and crime. New York's primacy as the vice center was clearly established by the findings of the special grand jury of 1910, of which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was foreman. This grand jury stated:

> It appears from indictments found by us and from the testimony of witnesses that a trafficking in the bodies of women does exist and is carried on by individuals acting for their own individual benefit, and that these persons are known to each other and are more or less informally associated.
>
> We have also found that associations and clubs, composed mainly or wholly of those profiting from vice, have existed, and that one such association still exists. These associations and clubs are analogous to commercial bodies in other fields, which, while not directly engaged in commerce, are composed of individuals, all of whom as individuals are so engaged.

The existing organization referred to enjoys the euphemistic designation of the New York Independent Benevolent Association, incorporated in 1896, for the laudable purpose of assisting its members in illness and to assure proper burial rites. Of the one hundred members of this auto-benevolent organization, scattered throughout the cities of the United States, all except one or two were found to be gaining all or part of their livelihood by the shame of women. While the "association" as such does not engage in this business, it aids and protects its members and, when they get into trouble, pays their fines and furnishes counsel for their defense. If convicted, however, they are promptly expelled from the organization. A conviction is too great an offense for even the long-suffering charity of this "Benevolent Association."

The grand jury discovered that the moving-picture shows were a favorite recruiting ground for the business. Many young girls owed their ruin to frequenting these shows. The chief business of many of what are known in New York as Raines law ho-

tels was found to be the providing of a place where women of the street could take their patrons. Less than half of the 125 manicure and massage parlors investigated were legitimate. The others were disorderly houses, many of them of the most perverted type.

WORK OF THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL HYGIENE

This special grand jury recommended, among other things, a public commission to make a study of the social evil. After a thorough canvass of the situation, Mr. Rockefeller became convinced that a public commission would be seriously limited by its temporary tenure and the publicity which necessarily attends the work of any public body. Consequently, he financed a private organization, known as the Bureau of Social Hygiene, as a substitute for this proposed public commission.

This bureau has established a laboratory of social hygiene adjacent to the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills. Here each woman and girl is kept under observation for weeks or months and her case studied from the physical, mental, social, and moral side. Then the treatment most likely to reform her is recommended. The laboratory is under the direction of Miss Katherine Bement Davis, the superintendent of the reformatory. Aside from helping individuals, the bureau expects in this way to disclose the conditions ultimately responsible for vice. Besides this intensive work, experts employed by the bureau are studying the social evil, and the methods of dealing with it, not only in all parts of this country, but throughout Europe. So, in spite of the many *laissez faire* pessimists who say that since the social evil has been with us from the dawn of history it must always remain with us, a continuous, constructive, scientific effort to discover and remove the causes of this world-old evil has begun and will go on, if need be, for centuries.

RASCALITY IN BUSINESS

Just as this investigation of the white-slave trade, with its constructive results, was the most important development in the world of vice immediately preceding the Rosenthal murder, so were the exposures incident upon the failure of the Carnegie Trust Company the most important in the world of crime.

The characters involved in this scandal were all men of standing and prominence. There was City Chamberlain Hyde, nephew by marriage and close associate of Mayor Gaynor. Mr. Hyde was found to have used the city's funds in an effort to bolster up the tottering trust company, and was sentenced to two years at hard labor in Sing Sing. This decision was not sustained on appeal, and a retrial was ordered. It now appears doubtful whether Mr. Hyde's guilt can legally be proven. William J. Cummins, the get-rich-quick promoter who controlled the company, was given a four-years term, and the president, Joseph B. Reichmann, was sentenced to serve five months for reporting falsely to the State Banking Department. The conviction of these powerful men made a deep impression upon the public mind. Men of all classes and shades of opinion had said during the trials,—some sneeringly, some indifferently, some exultingly, and some hopelessly,—"The District Attorney can never land such big fish." Hence, these trials went far toward breaking down the dangerously growing belief that there was one law for the poor and weak and another for the rich and powerful.

POLICE OFFICIALS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE

Since Lieutenant Becker was sent to the death cell at Sing Sing there has been, as already remarked, a rapid and unprecedented series of convictions, indictments, and exposures in the world of crime and vice.

Four demoted and suspended inspectors, three patrolmen, and one ex-patrolman have already been convicted for conspiracy, bribery, extortion and perjury. Three patrolmen, one ex-patrolman, one lieutenant, and one captain have been indicted for the same crimes. One of these patrolmen confessed that he had collected, during the past five years, $72,000 from the disorderly houses of one police precinct. After he had deducted 10 per cent. for his services as collector, the remainder was divided between the captain of the precinct and the inspector of the district. The captain confessed on his sickbed, when he was thought to be fatally ill, his complicity in the matter and implicated his superior, the inspector. Shortly after George A. Sipp, a former proprietor of a disorderly hotel, had confessed to the District Attorney that he had for many years paid protection money to the police, and had agreed to give all the details, he suddenly vanished. Later, Sipp suddenly returned to town, and a lawyer confessed that he had been spirited away for the benefit of certain high police

officials. They had offered Sipp, through this lawyer, a considerable sum of money to stay out of the District Attorney's reach until "everything had blown over." Sipp, however, became suspicious of his benefactors and returned to town. No sooner had he done so than some prostitutes in the workhouse charged him with having committed a crime three years before. This proved to be a last desperate effort on the part of the interested police officials to avert or discredit the testimony of this man. The four demoted inspectors concerned in this and other like attempts to defeat the ends of justice have been tried, convicted, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fines of $500 each and are now serving their sentences.

REVELATIONS OF THE UNDERWORLD

In testifying before the Aldermanic Committee, "Mary Goode," a keeper of disorderly flats, told a circumstantial story of the payment of an ever-increasing levy to the police because she did not belong to the vice trust. She stated that she had paid, without protest, one-third of her profits to the police, but when, as she expressed it, "Becker's pocketbook" had made them "money mad," she refused to meet their exorbitant demands, and, as a result, her places were raided, her girls driven on to the streets, and she herself was ruined. She estimated that there were 36,000 professional prostitutes in the city and that all were paying blackmail to the police. She concluded her testimony with an appeal to the respectable citizens to protect women of her class from persecution by the police.

This woman's testimony was later strikingly supplemented by that of Samuel H. London, of the United States Department of Justice. With fourteen assistants, he had for two years been studying the vice situation in New York. Quoting from his carefully compiled card index, he stated that they had found 26,000 white slaves in New York City, owned by 6100 men, whom they supported. Most of the white-slave traffic of the entire country centers in New York City. The following of clues found in New York had taken them as far afield as Alaska and the Canal Zone. All Rosenthal's murderers except "Dago Frank," were on Mr. London's cards as white-slave traffickers. Between the Battery and Harlem they had found 105 resorts paying from $100 to $400 a month for police protection. The girls for these places are furnished by the regular traffickers, or wholesalers, and are transferred from house to house as the exigencies of the business demand. Mr. London also located fifty-one cafés used as exchanges or clearing houses by the "pimps" and "procurers." In these places they discuss the state of their trade, transfer girls from house to house or from State to State, and in some instances meet their girls between one and two o'clock in the morning and take from them the money they have earned. These cafés pay for police protection at the rate of $100 to $125 a month.

Emory R. Buckner, counsel for the Aldermanic Committee, in summing up what their investigation had disclosed regarding the police force, said:

> We have shown that among the members of the force were perjurers, ex-convicts, men who were habitually disorderly when they were civilians, gang leaders, burglars, wife-beaters, and wife deserters, men guilty of felonious assault, and one man who had cut the throat of a fifteen-year-old boy. We have also shown that men of bad character who were dismissed from the force were reinstated and promoted; that other men were dismissed for trivial faults, and that the law was repeatedly violated.

Mr. Buckner asserted further that it had been demonstrated that detectives "frame up" robberies in order to secure advancement and incidentally personally appropriate a portion of the stolen goods. They also arrest innocent persons without influence, to aid in their own promotion. A common device is to slip a pistol into the pocket of such a person and then arrest the individual for carrying concealed weapons.

In accordance with the testimony of "Mary Goode," fully corroborated by Mr. London and others, disorderly houses always and regularly pay for police protection and cannot do business without paying. This applies also to hotels and cafés used for disorderly purposes.

WHERE THE POLICE DEPARTMENT BREAKS DOWN

Together with the blatant and systematic corruption already referred to—amounting, according to the estimate of former Police Commissioner Bingham, to $5,000,000 annually in blackmail—the Aldermanic Committee discovered pitiable administrative weakness in the Police Department. The committee discovered, for instance, that of the 285 complaints received during the preceding few months, 270 had been referred

to the officials against whom they were made. Two hundred and six of these were referred to the officers charged, merely for their "information." Upon the sixty-four more serious charges the accused officials were called upon for "remarks." Some of these remarks were anything but calm and dispassionate. Mr. Buckner, the counsel of the committee, has called this procedure "auto-investigation."

It should, in fairness, be said that the police are sinned against as well as sinning. A large part of their efficiency is chargeable to the law and the courts. They are probably corrupted by the laws relating to gambling, the excise, and prostitution. These laws are not indorsed by general public opinion and are commonly believed to be unenforceable. Court sentences against gamblers are almost impossible to get, and when secured are almost sure to be farcical. After months of tedious legal procedure and great effort on the part of the police, wealthy and notorious gamblers are fined from ten to fifty dollars.

The courts return elaborate gambling paraphernalia to the owners unless the police can prove that they saw it in actual use for gambling purposes, when obviously it has no other possible purpose. In one case the police brought to court some roulette wheels which they had found in a certain gambling place, but the case was thrown out because they could not prove that they saw those particular wheels being used for gambling. In a still more extreme instance the case was thrown out because the police had not tested the money they saw changing hands in a gambling place, to make sure that it was United States legal tender. They are obliged to secure warrants before entering gambling places. Such warrants can only be had on the production of some evidence that the place is used for gambling, which is quite impossible in the case of the more select places, because they admit only those whom they know.

These are a few only of the many discouragements and obstacles with which the police must contend. During the last eleven years there have been eight Police Commissioners in New York. The term of the commissioner is nominally six years. The making of his term two years longer than that of his master, the Mayor, would seem to be a legislative joke. As a matter of fact, General Bingham, who served longest, was in office only three and one-half years. When a new commissioner is appointed, it is customary for members of the force to bet on how long he will last.

The policemen of the various grades are organized into societies which have as their ostensible purpose the payment of sickness and death benefits to their members. They are in fact powerful political organizations, openly accused of working for privileges for their members through legislation dealing with the administrative details of the department. Officers of these organizations actually sit upon the Police Pension Board and deal out pensions to their fellow members. The heads of these societies, together with some of the higher permanent police officials—captains and inspectors and a few powerful lieutenants—in alliance with outside politicians, are, under ordinary conditions, the actual rulers of the police. They control what is known as the police system and compose what Mr. Buckner has called "the police peerage." The commissioner and his deputies are outsiders in their own department.

The Aldermanic Committee has recommended that the term of the commissioner be increased to eight years and that he be removable by the Mayor or Governor only on the presentation of charges which he shall have opportunity to answer in a public hearing. The commissioner, they believe, should have an ample fund for the maintenance of a secret service of his own, quite outside the department. Many of the reports now received by the commissioner from his subordinates come under the head of "interesting if true." With such a service he could obtain correct information from original sources and could check up the truthfulness, efficiency and honesty of his subordinates. Finally, they urge that all administrative matters and all regulations regarding the sale of liquor be left to the commissioner and to local legislative authority.

THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S SUCCESS

While these committees have been studying the causes underlying vice and crime, District-Attorney Whitman has been vigorously prosecuting individual wrongdoers. These two forms of anti-crime and anti-vice activity have supplemented each other. The District Attorney has turned over to the committees witnesses brought to the surface by his dragnet, and the investigators have turned over to him for prosecution individual lawbreakers. District Attorney Whitman's success has been due in large measure to his

systematic use of the immunity clause as a loophole of escape for the little hireling lawbreaker, provided he would coöperate in tracking down the big malefactor by whom he was used. Former District Attorneys had thus used the immunity clause in isolated instances, but never as a systematic policy for the tracing of corruption to the individuals chiefly responsible. So great is the solidarity of the police system, however, that several patrolmen have gone to prison for long terms rather than tell what they knew.

ADMINISTRATIVE WEAKNESS OF THE POLICE

Granting that the police are subject to all the unfavorable conditions and influences thus far mentioned, what are, then, the fundamental causes of police corruption? The writer believes there are two. One is the lamentable administrative weakness already mentioned, and the other is the whole police attitude toward the community. So long as the administration remains weak and chaotic, it matters little how many good ideas the commissioner or anyone else tries to inject into the department. The best of ideas feebly administered will produce no good results. It is with the Police Department as with an individual—it matters little whether his intentions are good or bad, so long as he is unable to put them into effect. It is for this reason that the Aldermanic Committee has placed the chief emphasis in its final report upon administrative changes. These changes have been worked out in detail by the Bureau of Municipal Research, which has been cooperating with the committee. This administrative feebleness is the chief cause of the graft. What can one expect of ordinary men subjected to strong temptations, when they know that the chances of their crookedness coming to light are very slight and that if it does come out they will be ordered to investigate themselves. Surely, men so unprotected against the evil forces which they must face should be leniently judged!

Just as administrative weakness is the cause of the graft, so is the hybrid militarism of the department the fundamental cause of the administrative weakness, and hence the root cause of all police ills. The department is administered neither like an army nor a civilian department, but has the ills of both forms of administration. It has all the rigidity and unadaptability of a military force, without its discipline and respect for authority. A policeman, like a soldier, will stand at attention and salute his superior officer in a most decorous manner, while, unlike a soldier, he is studiously disobeying his orders. For good and obvious reasons there must be secrecy, and hence mystery, in the command of an army. For no reason whatever, except its semi-military traditions, there is secrecy and mystery about the management of the Police Department. The inevitable result of this traditional mystery is the fostering of all manner of corruption.

The standards and ideals of the police are archaic, in that they are purely repressive and negative. The department is about as effective in suppressing crime as a health department in the hands of alchemists would be in preventing disease. Crime is treated in the old theological manner, as a visitation of Providence, to be dealt with by purely punitive measures after the harm has been done. The Fire Department has a bureau for the prevention of fires. Is there any reason why the Police Department should not have a bureau for the prevention of crimes? Should not the relation between juvenile delinquency and opportunities for recreation be of concern to the police? Should not the relation between unemployment and crime in general concern them? Would it not be proper for the police to find out whether the chronic criminal, who is ground in and out of the courts and prisons, is mentally responsible? It may be argued that the police are not competent to solve such intricate and delicate social problems. With the present personnel that is doubtless true. The force is largely recruited from porters and teamsters. But is there any reason why we should entrust the most difficult and complicated problems of our modern city life to porters and teamsters? While, doubtless, trained brawn is still needed and always will be in the policing of a great city, certainly trained brains are at least as necessary.

The Police Department of a great city should have social consciousness. It should be a mighty arm of the Government for constructive civic progress. It should seek more and more to prevent crime and less and less merely to repress it. The ordinary policeman should be made to realize that he is a public servant employed even more to help his fellow citizens to obey the laws and lead decent lives than to bring them to retribution when they break the laws and behave indecently.[1]

[1] For the facts and ideas embodied in this article the writer is indebted to a number of men in intimate touch with the situation, some of whom may later more fully develop for publication some of the points here touched upon.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SALOON

BY FERDINAND COWLE IGLEHART

IT is generally thought that Germany drinks more beer than any other nation in the world. This is a mistake. Germany comes second. The United States consumes 1,851,000,000 gallons of beer each year, which is a hundred million gallons more than Germany's consumption. Russia leads the world in its use of distilled liquors, and the United States comes second, with its consumption of 133,000,000 gallons. Although the United States is first as a beer-drinking nation and second as a consumer of distilled spirits among the nations of the world, the liquor dealers of America are having a desperate fight for the life of their traffic.

HALF THE POPULATION LIVING IN "DRY" TERRITORY

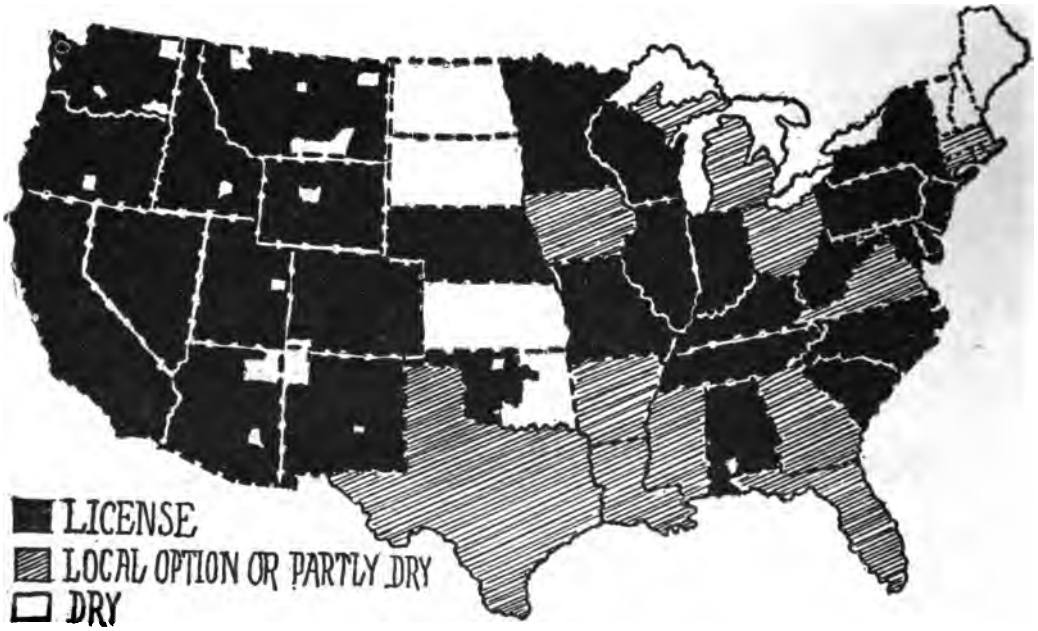
The saloon has been expelled from one-half of the population and from two-thirds of the geographical area of the country. In 1868 there were 3,500,000 people living in territory where the drink traffic had been outlawed; in 1900 the number had increased to 18,000,000; in 1908, or only eight years after, the number had doubled to 36,000,000, and to-day there are 46,029,750 persons, or a fraction over one-half of the population of the country, living in no-license territory. In the last five years the no-license population has increased a little over 10,000,000, which is more than 10 per cent. of the total population of the nation and 30 per cent. increase in the number living in "dry" districts. Since 1868 the population of the country has doubled, while the number of inhabitants of "dry" territory has increased over thirteenfold.

PROHIBITION IN THE SOUTH

The significant fact is that the people of the Southland should be in the forefront of the battle for the abolition of the individual and political domination and demoralization of the rum traffic. In 1907, Georgia took her place at the head of the battle line for prohibition in the South. Next to her, within a year, came Oklahoma, admitted to the Union with a constitutional prohibitory provision, which was later ratified by another vote, and then Alabama and Mississippi with statutory prohibition. On May 6, 1908, by a majority of 42,000, prohibition was voted into the constitution of North Carolina. In 1909, the Legislature of Tennessee, over the Governor's veto, passed a State-wide prohibition law. Alabama, the only one of the Southern States to drop out of the prohibition line, did so in 1911, by a repeal of the prohibitory law and adoption of a local-option measure, under whose provisions sixteen counties have voted, eight of them "dry" and eight for the dispensary or open saloons. Ninety per cent. of the population lives under no-license.

WEST VIRGINIA'S DECISIVE ACTION

On November 5, 1912, West Virginia achieved one of the most significant temperance victories America has had, in the adoption of the constitutional prohibition amendment at the polls by a majority of 92,342. But two counties voted against the proposition of prohibition, Ohio County (containing Wheeling) and McDowell County, which has been "wet" for fifty years. The strange part of the contest was that only one city in the State went "wet," while the other cities and most of the country places went "dry." Parkersburg voted by a considerable majority for the amendment. The church and temperance people were thoroughly united and fairly sowed the State with no-license literature. The State was pretty well freed from the liquor traffic before constitutional prohibition was adopted. It had been voted out by local option in smaller units. Thirty-nine of the fifty-five counties had voted out the saloon, and there were about 22,000 square miles of territory under no-license, and only 3270 square miles under license. This movement from local option by smaller units to State-wide prohibition has been the method of the temperance progress in most of the States that have gone "dry" in recent years.



"WET AND DRY" MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, 1893

NON-ENFORCEMENT IN MAINE

Maine, which has had constitutional prohibition continuously for fifty-five years, resubmitted the question in the fall of 1911 and carried it by a vote of 60,853 against 60,095, making a bare majority of 758. The reason why the prohibition vote dwindled almost to a point was the persistent non-enforcement of the law by the officers in authority and the political opposition to any officer who should try to do his duty. A great sensation was produced recently, when Governor Haines asked the legislature for the trial, and, if guilty, the removal of the sheriff of Cumberland County (containing the city of Portland) for the non-enforcement of the prohibitory law. He also stated that he had serious complaints against the inactivity of sheriffs of other counties. The legislature promptly ordered the trial of the sheriff of Cumberland County and of the other sheriffs in question, and if they shall be proven guilty of the charges, the Governor says he will appoint sheriffs in their places who will respect their oath of office.

On May 8, Maine liquor dealers were notified by the railroad companies that no more liquor intended for sale will be brought into the State by rail, the transportation companies desiring to obey the provisions of the Webb law, recently passed by Congress. This will do much toward stopping illicit liquor sales.

SET-BACKS TO THE CAUSE

The fight for State-wide prohibition has met with a number of reverses. It was lost in Florida, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Colorado, and Oregon. The contests in Missouri and Colorado were ill-advised and waged against the judgment of the wisest temperance leaders. The measure was lost in Oregon by a small majority. The temperance people charge that the small majority against them in Florida was secured by the payment of the poll tax of the colored people by the liquor dealers, who voted them in droves at the polls. The defeat in Texas was believed to have been caused by the "raw" Mexicans and by the 80 per cent. of the 125,000 colored voters and by frauds at the polls. There are, however, only 355 saloons in Florida, and in Texas the saloon has been driven from more than 80 per cent. of the territory and from 85 per cent. of the population by local option. Ex-Congressman Morris Sheppard, the champion of temperance legislation in the Congress of 1912, was sent to the United States Senate to take the place of Joseph W. Bailey. Arkansas, angered at the defeat of prohibition by the colored voters, recently passed a law making it necessary to have a majority vote of white people, men and women, of a certain precinct, before a liquor license can be issued, and it is said that the provisions will make it impossible to open a single drinking place



"WET AND DRY" MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 1, 1913

in the State. There have been some reactions in favor of the saloon in Indiana, Ohio, and some other States, while in others there has been advanced temperance legislation and a wider territory made "dry."

THE PEOPLE WHO CHOOSE TO BE "DRY"

It will be noticed that the prohibition States contain largely rural populations. Of the nine "dry" States, Georgia, with one, and Tennessee, with two, are the only ones that contain cities of 100,000 population or over.

The following are the States in which from 50 to 85 per cent. of the inhabitants live under no-license: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia. There are but nine cities of 100,000 population or over in these seventeen States, which are 50 per cent. or more "dry"—one in Alabama, one in Colorado, one in Indiana, one in Kentucky, one in Louisiana, two in Minnesota, one in Nebraska, and one in Virginia—so that the twenty-six "driest" States in the Union have in them only twelve cities containing 100,000 or more population. There are 204 cities in the United States of 10,000 population or over where the legalized sale of liquor is forbidden.

It will be seen that no-license prevails generally in the States that have the largest proportion of native-born population. North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee have less than 1 per cent. foreign-born population, West Virginia has 2.3 per cent., Oklahoma 3.9 per cent., and the pioneer prohibitory States, Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota, have 13.4 per cent., 8.6 per cent., and 35.4 per cent., respectively. Of the seventeen States 50 per cent. or more "dry," Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama have less than 1 per cent. of foreign-born population, while Arkansas has 1.1 per cent., Kentucky 2.3 per cent., Louisiana 3.8 per cent., Texas 5.9 per cent., and Indiana 5.6 per cent. The reason why the Dakotas and Minnesota have so much prohibition territory with so large a proportion of foreigners is that their inhabitants are Scandinavians, who come to our shores without much friendliness to the liquor traffic. Aside from the nine prohibition States, all the rest in the Union are under some form of local option or other, expect Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Nevada, with 15, 22, and 23 per cent. foreign-born population, respectively.

UNCLE SAM TAKES A HAND

One of the things that called a halt in the nation's crusade against the drink traffic between 1907 and 1912 was the partial nullification of the State prohibitory laws by the misuse of the Interstate Commerce law in taking liquors illegally from "wet" into "dry" territory. By this law, the Federal

Government made it impossible properly to enforce the State prohibitory laws. For several years the temperance people made unsuccessful attempts to secure relief from this Federal interference. A little over a year ago a conference was held in Washington, composed of Senators, Congressmen, Governors, judges, and other distinguished leaders, representing various temperance organizations, for the purpose of drafting a bill that could be passed and that would also stand the tests of the courts, and the Sheppard-Kenyon bill was the result. It was set on the calendar for December, 1912. As Mr. Sheppard had been chosen to take Senator Bailey's place, Congressman Webb of North Carolina fathered the bill in the House. The House Judiciary Committee reported the Webb bill on February 8, 1913. By the adoption of a special rule, the House considered the bill on the same day, and passed it by a vote of 239 to 65. The following Monday the Senate passed the Kenyon bill, amended to read exactly as the Webb bill. On the following day the House concurred in the Senate bill. The debate on the bill attracted a great deal of attention. Among other things, Senator Kenyon said in favor of the measure: "The partnership of the Federal Government with the bootlegger ought to be permanently dissolved. The assistance of the Government in maintaining 'holes in the walls' and 'speak easies' ought to cease. That is the purpose of this bill." * * * "It never was intended by the Constitution, in conferring upon Congress an exclusive power to regulate interstate commerce, to take away from the various States the right to make reasonable laws concerning the health, life and safety of their citizens, even though such legislation might indirectly affect foreign or interstate commerce."

President Taft, toward the closing hours of the session of Congress, returned the bill with his veto, giving as his reason for doing so his belief that it was unconstitutional, but the bill was promptly passed over his veto by the Senate and House of Representatives by the required two-thirds majority. It is understood that a test case will be instituted which will be carried at once to the highest court, where the question of the constitutionality of the law will be determined. The publications of the liquor dealers declare that this law, if held valid, will destroy at one stroke one-third of all their business in the country. The enactment of the interstate commerce amendment marks the impotency of the saloon in American national politics.

The overwhelming temperance sentiment of Congress was manifested again in the passage of the Jones-Works Excise bill for the District of Columbia, which, by the first day of November, 1914, is to abolish one-half of all the drinking places of Washington City. Some of its features are: The creation of a new excise board to be appointed by the President; no barroom license to be granted to any hotel having less than fifty bedrooms; not more than three saloons, other than hotels or clubs, to be permitted on one side of the block, nor more than four on both sides of the block; no saloon shall be allowed within 400 feet of a public school, or of a college or university, nor within 400 feet of a house of religious worship; liquor in residence sections may be sold only in sealed packages; no saloon shall exist within 1000 feet of the Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, War College, or Engineer Barracks; all saloons shall be closed on Inauguration Day; the total number of saloons, including bars in hotels and clubs, must be reduced to 300 by November 1, 1914. There are more than 600 at present. For a year the liquor men of Washington City have fought bitterly this measure.

The abolition of all the saloons from the Panama Canal Zone after July 1 has been decreed. The Isthmian Canal Commission has passed a resolution to grant no licenses for the sale of intoxicants as a beverage after that date. There have been as many as sixty-three saloons in the Canal Zone. There are only thirty-five now.

THE QUESTION OF SUNDAY OPENING

The liquor traffic has made an imperious and insistent demand for Sunday opening of saloons in the various States of the Union. This organized effort has been made now for twenty-five years, and, although there has been little or no success in the attempt, the same blind efforts have been continued from year to year, provoking the American conscience to an anger which has objected to a saloon any day in the week. In New York City the past year, as in about every other year for the last twenty, the same demand for legalized Sunday opening was made. The liquor men, whose views were concurred in by some well-meaning people, seriously proposed Sunday opening of saloons from 1 to 11 p. m., as a cure for the moral disorders of the city, and bills to that end were intro-

duced into the last session of the legislature. At first the bills were made to apply to all the cities of the State, and then the fight was narrowed down to the Velte bill, referring the matter of Sunday opening to the Board of Aldermen, with the consent of the Board of Estimate of New York City, which was but another way of granting Sunday opening in that city. The bills for the cities in general failed of passage earlier in the session, and the Velte bill, relating to New York City, was defeated in the Senate in the closing hours of the legislature by a vote of twenty to eighteen, a bare majority of two Senators.

It was charged, and many persons believe, that it is impossible to enforce Sunday-closing laws in large cities, but an investigation revealed the fact that of the thirty-nine largest cities of the Union, only fourteen have what might be called a lax enforcement of the Sunday-closing law and that the other twenty-five cities enforce their Sunday-closing laws. The fourteen cities having the lax enforcement of laws are New York, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Newark, N. J., New Orleans, Jersey City, Rochester, Toledo, Syracuse, Scranton, and Paterson. The twenty-five cities that enforce the Sunday-closing law are Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Washington, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Mo., Seattle, Indianapolis, Providence, Louisville, St. Paul, Denver, Portland, Ore., Columbus, O., Worcester, Richmond, Omaha, Fall River, Dayton, Grand Rapids and Hartford. In answer to a letter addressed to the mayors of these twenty-five cities, replies were received from all of them, indicating that the Sunday-closing law was enforced. That there was no call for a Sunday opening in New York, that most of the great cities of the country enforce the Sunday-closing measures, that such legislation would be as unwise politics as it would be bad morals, were pressed upon the attention of the members of the legislature, upon most of them with effect, and yet, in spite of all this, the power of the saloonkeepers was so great that the bill came within a few votes of becoming a law. Had the law been passed, New York would have had the notoriety of being the only State in the Union to legalize Sunday opening of saloons. The disappointment of the liquor dealers was deep when Tammany Hall, which had the votes and had, they say, made promises, refused to grant to them the Sunday open saloon.

STRENGTH OF THE LIQUOR INTEREST

The liquor dealers have an enormously powerful machine whose jurisdiction embraces every State, city, and village in the country, including the capital at Washington. They have more saloons than there are churches, more bartenders than ministers of the Gospel and have a yearly business of a billion and a half dollars against the few millions devoted to religious purposes. Despite the defeats they have suffered in the last fifteen years, they are still tremendously strong. The Government statistics show that while there were 1,108,218 barrels less of fermented liquors used in 1912 than 1911 there was actually an increase in the consumption of distilled liquors in the same year of 1,226,596 gallons over that of the year 1911, which figures, discouraging as they are, would be much more so to temperance people if it were not for the fact that the Government statistics show that the increase of consumption is in the license territory only, especially in the large cities, and that there is in the white districts always a reduction, and that the brewers who, it is thought, own 80 per cent. of all the saloons, have multiplied the drinking places abnormally and have made the question of self government in the largest cities of the country a serious problem.



PROGRESSIVE LAW-MAKING IN MANY STATES

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

SINCE the beginning of the current year the legislatures of thirty-nine States have been in session for longer or shorter periods. There have been several prolonged "deadlocks" in attempts to elect United States Senators—an evil that has at last been done away with through the adoption of the "direct-election" amendment to the Federal Constitution. Doubtless much time has been wasted in factional obstructions and bickerings, but on the whole the year's record is one of substantial progress in many fields.

Wisconsin has not fully sustained her well-earned reputation for progressive legislation, and Pennsylvania has disappointed those who looked to her legislature for unusual achievements, many excellent measures having passed one house only to be held up or mutilated almost beyond recognition in the other. Of New York not much was expected, but her Tammany-ruled legislature has admirable health and factory codes to its credit—passed in response to a wisely directed public opinion.

Throughout the country the influence of legislative reference bureaus (of which Wisconsin's was the pioneer) and other agencies of like purpose is clearly discernible. Legislators now have a far sounder basis of knowledge as to what has been done in different States dealing with similar problems than they had in former years. Far more effort is now expended in the inquiry whether a proposed law can be enforced and made effective. Apparently there is less eagerness than formerly to encumber the statute-books with "dead-letter" enactments.

CHILD LABOR

The new laws relating to child labor now in force in many of the States constitute an especially good example of legislation as a gauge or barometer of public opinion. Less than a decade ago the laws on this subject in all but a very few of the States indicated a disgraceful indifference on the part of the public to the conditions surrounding children employed in factories. In the opening years of the century a vigorous campaign of education was begun, and the effects of this work, quietly undertaken and chiefly furthered by the National Child Labor Committee and affiliated organizations in various parts of the country, are now beginning to show not only on the statute books, but in the actual enforcement of laws, which, although in some respects below the standards of European legislation, are still far in advance of anything that was formerly deemed possible in the United States.

The greed of employers may delay, but it cannot permanently check, this advance of legislative standards. The argument that has had the most telling effect against child-labor legislation thus far is the one that has its basis in business competition between employing companies operating in different States. An employer of child labor complying with the laws of his own State may be placed at a serious disadvantage in competing with concerns in an adjoining State which has a lower standard of legislation. This difficulty can only be removed by the adoption of practically a uniform law in all the States, and to this end a uniform child-labor law has been drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This model law, if it may be termed such, although its sponsors do not admit for a moment that it fully meets their ideals, embodies what are regarded as the best provisions now existing in the child-labor laws of various States. Thus it may be said for this uniform law that it has already been tried by the test of actual experience.

This law is too long to be summarized here, but among its more important provisions are the following: The labor of children under fourteen years of age is prohibited in factories, mercantile establishments, and twenty-three other specified occupations; it is made unlawful to employ a child under fourteen in any business or service whatever during school hours; the employment of children under sixteen years of age is forbidden in seven specialized occupations, including the adjusting of belts to machinery, the oiling or cleaning of machinery, the operating or assisting in operating of certain

specified machines, and all work upon railroads, steam or electric, and boats engaged in navigation or commerce; children under sixteen are forbidden to be employed in any capacity whatever in certain specially hazardous or dangerous occupations; employment certificates and records of school attendance are required; children must be able to pass the fifth-grade examinations; the employment of children under eighteen years of age is forbidden in fifteen specified occupations, and no person under twenty-one years of age shall be employed in connection with any saloon or barroom where intoxicating liquors are sold; the eight-hour day is prescribed for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen, and the hours of employment must be after 7 o'clock in the morning and before 6 o'clock in the evening; no boy under twelve and no girl under sixteen shall, in any city of first or second class, sell newspapers, magazines, or periodicals in any street or public place; boys under sixteen selling newspapers on the streets must comply with all legal requirements of school attendance; suitable penalties are prescribed for violations of these laws.

The Massachusetts legislature has just passed a law based on this uniform child-labor law, the most important change being that it establishes the eight-hour day for children under sixteen.

Other States have improved their child-labor laws this year. New York will hereafter require a physical examination before a child under sixteen may go to work, and certificates already granted may be withdrawn if a physical examination of children at work in factories results unfavorably. In Ohio fifteen is made the age limit for boys and sixteen for girls, while boys must pass the sixth-grade schooling test and girls the seventh-grade (the standard fixed by the uniform law is the fifth grade). Michigan requires school attendance to the age of sixteen unless the eighth grade is completed, or the earnings of a child over fourteen are essential to the support of the parents.

Since much has been said about child-labor conditions in the South, the action of the legislatures of Florida and North Carolina is a matter of interest. Florida has set the twelve-year limit in factories, laundries, and theaters, the sixteen-year limit for certain dangerous occupations, and the eighteen-year limit for night messengers. In North Carolina all night work is prohibited for children under sixteen and school attendance for children from eight to twelve years of age is made compulsory.

Nevada adopts the fourteen-year limit for all occupations during school hours, the sixteen-year limit for certain dangerous occupations, and the eighteen-year limit for night messengers. The eight-hour day is prescribed for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen.

In several States — notably Delaware, California, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, and Pennsylvania—provision is made for additional inspectors to enforce the factory laws.

TRAINING FOR LIFE WORK

Closely related to the movement for the regulation of children's labor is the demand for "vocational" training. Accepting this phrase literally, one would expect it to refer to education for specific callings in life. As commonly used, however, it applies to all kinds of educational effort put forth with a view to the training of children in trades, agriculture, and domestic science. Yet the real motives back of this movement undoubtedly arise from the obvious need of large groups of boys and girls in our cities and towns for the kind of equipment that will insure them a living. The best example of a vocational training law that can be cited at present is the Indiana statute which was passed by the legislature and signed by the Governor last March. This law, which was enacted with almost no opposition, was the outcome of a report made by the Commission on Industrial and Agricultural Education appointed two years ago. The facts which in the opinion of the commission justify legislation of this kind are stated in the report as follows:

> The larger part of the boys and girls leave school before the completion of the elementary course, unprepared in anything which will aid them in their immediate problem of earning a living with their hands. From statistics available in other States it is safe to estimate that there are fully 25,000 boys and girls in this State between fourteen and sixteen who have not secured adequate preparation for life work in the schools and who are now working in "dead end" or "blind alley" jobs, or, in other words, jobs which hold no promise of future competence or advancement. The investigations in Massachusetts and New York City show that not more than one out of five of the pupils leaving school at fourteen do so because it is necessary to help make a living. The conditions are doubtless even better in Indiana. The remainder, four out of five, leave school for a variety of reasons, chief among which is the feeling among pupils and parents that the schools do not offer

the kind of instruction which they need for the work they expect to do and which would justify them in foregoing wage-earning for a time in order to get it.

In attempting to meet this situation the commission found a serious difficulty in the lack of teachers competent to give the kind of training required to put pupils in touch with the opportunities for life work. It, therefore, recommended that teachers should be educated to handle vocational subjects "more effectively than they have been able to handle such subjects in the past."

In the law as finally enacted there was an evident leaning toward the German system of separate vocational schools. A State system of vocational education is established, with State aid for training in agriculture, domestic science, and industries through all-day, part-time, continuation, and evening schools. This work is to be carried on either in separate schools or in special departments of regular high schools. Control is vested in the local board of education, and the laws are to be administered, as a whole, by the State Board of Education. So much importance is attached to this form of education that the State board has been entirely reorganized with reference to its new functions. Seven of its twelve members must be professional educators; the remaining five may be laymen. Two of the laymen must be citizens of prominence, and three of them shall be actively interested in vocational education, one of these three being a representative of the employees and one of the employers. Attendance upon day or part-time classes in vocational training is restricted to persons over fourteen and under twenty-five years of age, and upon evening classes to persons over seventeen.

The plant and equipment for this work are to be supplied by the local communities. After approval by the State Board of Education, the community is to be reimbursed out of the State treasury to the amount of two-thirds of the salary of each teacher giving instruction in vocational or technical subjects.

A provision is added to secure the benefit of the knowledge and coöperation of laymen. The local school authorities are required to appoint, subject to the approval of the State Board of Education, advisory committees composed of members representing local trades and industries, whose duty it shall be to counsel with the board and other officials in conducting the schools.

The subject of vocational education has received much attention in Illinois, and has become, to a certain extent, a matter of popular interest. The various systems of vocational training now in operation have been investigated by representatives of the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, as well as by educators. A sharp issue has arisen in the State between the advocates of separate schools and those who believe that all the work should be done by the existing school system. Those who favor the German system declare that the schools as they now are should be left untouched, but the opponents of that system maintain that the introduction of specific vocational training would result only in good. The controversy that has arisen between those who propose the so-called "dual" system and the "unit" party has tended to postpone definitive action in the legislature.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

Two years ago a movement began in several States to secure pensions, so-called, for widows and deserted mothers with children. This movement has become so widespread that at the present time there are laws of this character on the statute-books of eighteen States. These laws, however, are by no means identical, either in form or in purpose. Two theories seem to underlie all this legislation,—one, the familiar principle of relief for actual destitution, the other, that which is usually denoted by the word pension, that is to say, the payment by the government of a stipend for a meritorious service rendered by the recipient. Not a few of these new laws are merely amendments of statutes that provided some form of outdoor relief, or else are substitutes for provisions formerly made for sending dependent children to public institutions. The thing to be borne in mind is that in all these States the real beneficiary is the child, not the mother.

It is true that in several States those who were active in securing the enactment of these laws speak of the mothers as beneficiaries, and doubtless many legislators voted for them with the thought that they were bestowing a proper reward on worthy mothers for their service to the State. As a matter of fact, however, in most instances the period within which relief can be legally given is strictly limited to those years of the child's life during which it is naturally dependent. After the period of self-support is reached the relief is withdrawn.

The purpose, in most cases, is in no im-

portant degree different from the intent of earlier statutes which provided for the care and maintenance of children in State institutions. Social workers have long recognized the fact that it is better for the community, as well as for the individual, to have families kept together wherever possible. No institution yet provided by any State has fully taken the place of the child's own home. Other things being equal, the State would do better by fatherless children if the public funds were used to maintain the family intact than to bring about the division of families by placing children in public institutions.

The chief question, then, that has arisen in connection with the so-called mothers' pension laws has concerned the administrative features rather than the basic principles involved. In Illinois, which was the pioneer in this form of legislation among American States, the Juvenile Court has been the agency for administering the pension fund, although the money is really paid to the beneficiaries by the county authorities. In many of the States it is doubtful whether the Juvenile Court as a distinct institution is sufficiently developed to take over with success the handling of such a matter as mothers' pensions. The judges who are frequently assigned to Juvenile Court duty for special terms could give only a portion of their time to such business of this nature as would come before them, and cannot, in the nature of things, be expected to make exhaustive investigations into cases that demand much research before the public funds can be wisely appropriated. For these and other reasons some have held that an entirely distinct board or official organization should administer the pension laws. In Wisconsin there has been a strong demand for a State commission which should give its entire time to the duties connected with the handling of the mothers' pension fund. In other States, as in New Jersey, the whole matter is left to certain county officials who already have similar functions in the distribution of public relief. The Russell Sage Foundation was early in the field with a study of widows' pension administration in several American cities, by C. C. Carstens. This report gives much useful information, and it should be consulted by all who are interested in this form of relief.

The amount of the pension bestowed in the different States varies from $9 to $15 a month for one child, with lesser sums for each additional child. Only mothers of children under a certain age can receive these pensions. This age varies in different States from fourteen to eighteen years. Pensions cannot be granted under the laws until there has been investigation, either by some constituted State or local authority or by an agent of a charitable society. Mothers who, without such aid from the State, would become wage-earners and would be unable themselves to give their children the necessary care will be able from this income, in many cases, to remain at home and care for children who might otherwise be a public charge and maintained by the State in public institutions.

The Pennsylvania law that was signed by the Governor, in April, provides for the distribution of money through the counties, and acceptance of the law is optional with each county. In any county which accepts the act, the Governor shall each year appoint a board of trustees composed of not less than five or more than seven women residents to serve without pay. These trustees are to have sole charge of monthly payments to indigent widows or abandoned mothers found deserted. The payments are to be made directly by the State Treasurer through the county treasuries, and are to continue at the will of the trustees, but not beyond the time that the law permits the child to secure employment. The maximum payment is $13 a month for one child, $20 a month for two children, $26 for three children, and $5 a month for each additional child. No woman can become a beneficiary unless she has been a continuous resident of the county for three years. In Ohio, a mother with one child under fourteen receives $15 a month, and with five children she may draw $43 monthly. In New Jersey, the limit is $30.

Similar laws have been passed during the year by Utah, Idaho, South Dakota, Minnesota, California, Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon, and Washington, with minor differences in the amounts of the payments allowed and in the administrative machinery.

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS

Most of the States have been slow to commit themselves to the principle of the minimum wage. It will be recalled that while Massachusetts more than a year ago established minimum-wage boards no penalty was prescribed for offending employers, save the publication of their names in newspapers published in the county where their industries are located. The Oregon legislature went far beyond this in the law that was signed by Governor West in March last.

By the terms of that statute failure to pay the rate of wages fixed by the boards and in the manner prescribed by the law is punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both. Oregon is the first State of the Union to enact a compulsory clause of this kind. The law applies only to women and children, and prohibits their employment in any occupation in which the sanitary or other conditions are detrimental to health or morals, or for wages which are "inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health." The employment of minors "for unreasonably low wages" is also forbidden. Minimum wages, maximum hours, and standard conditions of labor are to be determined by an Industrial Welfare Commission, which is authorized to call a conference of representatives of the employers and the employees and the general public to investigate and make recommendations as to the minimum wage to be paid in any given industry. On approval by the commission, these recommendations become obligatory. It is stated by the *Survey*, of New York, that the powers of this Oregon commission to determine hours and conditions of health and morals are more extensive than those delegated to an industrial commission by the legislature in any other State. The members of the commission are to be appointed by the Governor.

That this legislation, radical as it may seem, was not hastily considered is shown by the fact that the bill was drafted only after extended investigation of wages, labor conditions, and cost of living in Portland and throughout the State. This work was begun in August, 1912; the facts were gathered concerning 7603 women wage-earners in Portland and 1133 in the rest of the State. A tabulation of wage statistics was made for 4523 of these women, the payrolls of the department stores in Portland having been placed at the disposal of the investigating committee. It is stated that the constitutionality of the measure has been upheld by the Attorney-General of the State. The passage of similar bills in California and Washington will bring the entire Pacific Coast under practically uniform legislation. Commissions are now making studies of the minimum-wage question for Minnesota and other States.

NEW YORK'S FACTORY LAWS

Although the New York Legislature of 1913 has received scant commendation for its labors, it has to its credit a body of factory and housing laws that is declared by experts to mark an advance on any earlier legislation in this field in any State. After the horrible Asch Building fire in New York City two years ago, a commission was appointed which went into the subject of child labor, tenement-house labor, the labor of women, and health conditions in factories with great thoroughness, and formulated the amendments to the factory, building, and health laws which have now been passed by the legislature and approved by Governor Sulzer. In this instance the commission plan, which has been applied so extensively in Wisconsin, has been adopted for the supervision of labor conditions in the State. An industrial board has been created, of which the State Commissioner of Labor is to be chairman. Unfortunately, the upper branch of the legislature which enacted this excellent measure set itself in opposition to the Governor's effort to make these laws effective, by refusing to confirm his appointment of Mr. John Mitchell as Commissioner of Labor.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

In the matter of workmen's compensation laws, a notable advance has been made during the past two years. The new Ohio law is fully discussed on page 90 of this number of the REVIEW, by Mr. Burba, who compares several of its provisions with those of other State laws on the same subject. Among the other new compensation laws of the present year, that of Minnesota was in the nature of a compromise between representatives of the employers and the employees, who had been endeavoring for four years to reach an agreement on some measure of this kind. As finally enacted, the Minnesota law is based largely on that of New Jersey, which offers an option to both employer and employee. Both parties are assumed to come under the plan unless they file statements to the contrary. If the employer refuses, he must stand suit without using the defenses of contributory negligence or the fellow-servant rule. If, on the other hand, the employee refuses, the employer is entitled to set up these defenses. The detailed provisions of the bill apply only in case it is accepted by both parties.

THE "BLUE-SKY" LAWS

No State legislation of recent years has met with more general acceptance, especially in the West, than the so-called "blue-sky" laws. The parent of all these various enactments was a law passed by the Kansas legis-

lature two years ago, in response to an energetic campaign waged by Bank Commissioner Dolley. His law was coupled with the phrase "blue sky" because he attempted to limit the activities of investing companies which were believed to have nothing to transfer to the confiding investor but "blue sky." Commissioner Dolley's idea was to protect the average investor in every possible way against these companies, many of which were taking out of Kansas every year millions of dollars for which they were returning nothing but worthless stock certificates. Under the terms of the Kansas law, whenever any company, person, or agent desires to sell stocks, bonds, or other securities in the State, he must submit information to the Banking Department which will enable that department to determine whether the stocks or other securities thus offered are worthy of the investor's confidence and consideration. A detailed statement must be given of the plan proposed, a copy of all contracts, bonds, or instruments to be made or sold, the name and location of the investment company, and an itemized account of its actual financial condition, the amount of its property and its liabilities, and any other information that the Bank Commissioner may require.

In dealing with "foreign" corporations—that is, those organized outside the State of Kansas—such companies are required to file consent that actions may be begun against them, in the proper court of any county, by the service of process on the Secretary of State, and that such service shall be as binding as if begun against the company itself. It is the Bank Commissioner's duty to examine all statements filed by corporations or agents, and, if he finds the company or person solvent, and that the proposed plans and contracts provide for a fair and equitable business transaction, that "in his judgment promises a fair return on the stocks, bonds, and other securities by it offered for sale," he is required to issue a statement to the effect that the company in question has complied with the law and is entitled to do business in the State. Without his recognition, as provided in the law, an investing company cannot do business in the State, and agents of such a company are guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction may be fined for each offense not less than $100 nor more than $5000, or imprisoned for not less than ninety days, or both fined and imprisoned.

Once having been licensed, as it were, by the Bank Commissioner, investment companies must file with the Commissioner semi-annual statements of their financial condition, and such other information as he may require, or their right to do business in the State is forfeited. The Commissioner exercises over these investment companies much the same kind of supervision that he exercises over State banks.

The facts connected with the enforcement of this law in Kansas are illuminating. During the first eighteen months of the law's operation more than 1500 companies applied for permission to do business in the State. It soon developed that 75 per cent. of these applicants were mining, oil, and gas companies, which had no stocks of value to issue, and in which there could be no possible return for money invested by the gullible public. In other words, they were fraudulent concerns. Half of the remaining 25 per cent. were found to be companies organized on a highly speculative basis, and offering no investment opportunities worthy of serious consideration. Less than 100 of the 1500 applicants received certificates of good character. Many withdrew their applications before they were passed upon. The Commissioner has recently declared that the law has already saved to the people of Kansas more money than it took to run the entire State Government since the law was passed.

During the present year the Kansas law has been amended to include companies selling land. It is made incumbent upon such companies to show that the land offered for sale is capable of development, and that improvements advertised by the companies have actually been made.

Reputable investment brokers are now licensed by the State, being required merely to make a monthly report of their sales and to declare the sort of stocks and securities they have for sale. Most of the States that have adopted "blue-sky" laws during the current year have followed the Kansas statute with comparatively slight changes. It is a matter of interest that Oregon's "blue-sky" law failed of popular ratification at the last general election.

The Investment Bankers' Association of America has expressed its disapproval of any measure compelling an examination and approval of each security before it may be offered for sale. The argument advanced is that such a requirement "will inevitably tend to narrow the number of dealers seeking to do business and the number of sound securities in which the citizens of the enacting

State may invest." The investment bankers propose that some State officer have the right to issue an order to a dealer not to offer for sale in the State securities which seem not to be offered in good faith. Any dealer receiving such an order would then have an appeal to the State courts.

ELECTORAL REFORM

The usual complement of bills generally classed as "progressive" measures were made laws during the legislative sessions of the year. There were, it is true, fewer direct-primary bills than in former years, for the excellent reason that the direct primary had already become a part of the electoral machinery of a majority of the States whose legislatures have been in session since January 1. At this writing, New York and Pennsylvania are still wrestling with the problem and the outcome is uncertain. Ohio, on the other hand, adopted a State-wide primary law applying to the nomination of all candidates for office.

The initiative, referendum, and recall have been submitted by several legislatures to popular vote, and within a few months the voters of Michigan and Minnesota will have an opportunity to decide whether or not they wish to incorporate these features in the fundamental laws of their respective States.

The Senate of Minnesota, having had experience with what is known as the non-partisan ballot in primary elections, has gone a step farther and provided for the non-partisan nomination of members of the legislature. The conviction seems to be rapidly gaining ground in this country that the old-fashioned method of party nominations has not conduced altogether to efficiency in public office. The constitutional convention of the State of Ohio in 1912 was made up of delegates chosen on a non-partisan basis and the example of the Buckeye State is likely to be followed by others in the near future. Meanwhile, the nation-wide movement for the commission government of cities has gone steadily forward, and the Kansas proposition for a commission to supersede the State legislature has not only been taken seriously in Kansas, but has met with unexpected approval in other States. In local government the so-called "city manager" system as introduced in Sumter, North Carolina, has attracted much attention, but has not yet had a sufficient test to justify any general conclusions.

By action of the Illinois Legislature, last month, that State becomes the first east of the Mississippi River to extend widely the franchise to women. This action could be taken by the legislature only with reference to such officers as are not created by the State constitution. The suffrage cannot be extended with respect to the Governor, members of the State legislature, members of Congress, or United States Senators, without a constitutional amendment. It happens, however, that Presidential Electors and various local officials are outside of the purview of the State constitution, and hence the legislature was able to grant women the suffrage as to such officers.

THE OHIO LAW FOR WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

BY GEORGE F. BURBA

(Secretary to the Governor of Ohio)

WORKMEN'S compensation laws and employers' liability insurance are not very clearly defined in the mind of the average man. In fact, during the discussion of workmen's compensation in the recent session of the Ohio legislature it was painfully evident that many people who were supposed to know something of the subjects confused the two propositions. For that reason it may be well to define these two subjects.

Liability insurance is for the protection of the employer against the claims of his employees for damages on account of physical injuries. A casualty company undertakes, for a certain premium, to defend an employer against all claims arising on account of personal injuries. Naturally it seeks to pay the smallest possible amount to an employee in case of accident.

A casualty company defends all suits

brought against the insured employer. It compromises for the smallest possible sum. It resorts to every technicality of the law to avoid payment. It delays action where delay is profitable. It uses the usual legal defenses and resorts to all manner of legal evasions to avoid the payment of any amount in case of injury.

The theory of liability insurance is to withhold payment wherever possible. Sentiment is left out of the consideration. Dividends, of course, depend upon the claims paid, and the casualty companies are dividend-paying institutions. They are not, therefore, organized for the benefit of the employee; rather are they organized that the employee may obtain from the employer the minimum amount of damages in the event of an accident.

THE PURPOSE OF COMPENSATION LAWS

Workmen's compensation laws are enacted for the purpose of protecting the employee against accident—at least, that in case of accident the employee may be compensated therefor, or be financially assisted until he has recovered from the injury sustained.

There are private corporations that write workmen's compensation insurance as well as liability insurance. But, so far, they have not met the requirements. That is to say, the element of profit is still with them and where there is a profit to be made by not paying the employee any more than cannot be legally escaped, there follows the tendency to make it all the harder for the employee to recover anything.

The very theory of workmen's compensation, therefore, is repulsive to profit. For that reason it is believed that the State only can successfully undertake to compensate injured workmen for their injuries. And since the State—as at present—holds that the occupation must bear the burden occasioned by injuries in that occupation, so-called compulsory compensation must be demanded by the State. The theory of compulsory workmen's compensation has been gradually growing in this country for several years, and at this time practically all students agree that if workmen's compensation laws are to be enacted and efficiently administered they must be compulsory.

THE COMPULSORY PRINCIPLE

Ohio is the only State in the Union that has a thorough compulsory workmen's compensation law. Other States have compulsory laws pertaining to certain employments, or general laws that are not compulsory pertaining to all occupations. But Ohio stands alone in the matter of a compulsory law covering all occupations. The only limitation in Ohio is as regards the number of employees, the law pertaining only to such employers as employ five or more persons. Where one employs less than five persons, it is optional with the employer whether he "takes out" workmen's compensation insurance.

Then, Ohio does her own insuring. Every employer of five or more persons must pay into a certain fund an amount proportioned upon the payroll and the hazardousness of the occupation. He may not escape this matter by engaging a casualty company to compensate his employees in case of injury. However, if an employer sees fit to carry his own compensation insurance he may do so. Or, two or more employers may form a mutual agreement to carry their own insurance. But the State must be given a bond to guarantee conformity with the State rate of compensation. Where an employer elects to carry his own insurance all the rules and regulations of the State Board of Awards are still applicable. The State supervises the award, fixes the amount of the compensation, and sees to it that payments are promptly made.

THE LAW SUBJECT TO A REFERENDUM VOTE

It should be stated, however, that the Ohio statute is not as yet effective. It will not become effective until January 1, 1914, and in the meantime it is subject to a referendum vote in November, 1913.

In Ohio all laws of a general nature are subject to a referendum vote. The petition bearing the names of 6 per cent. of the legal voters of the State must be filed within ninety days after the passage of a bill.

Despite the fact that a constitutional amendment providing that the legislature might pass a workmen's compensation law was adopted last fall by an overwhelming vote in Ohio, it is reasonably certain that a referendum vote will be demanded upon the present law. The casualty companies are behind the movement and petitions for a referendum vote are being signed. The casualty companies will be literally put out of business in Ohio if the present bill becomes effective, so it is not strange that they should make strenuous effort to defeat the law at the polls.

It can be stated, however, that it is reasonably certain the law will be ratified at the polls. It is being championed by Governor Cox, who also advocated the adoption

of the amendment last fall. He referred to it in all of his speeches, advocated its passage through the legislature, and will take the stump for it this fall. Besides, the Manufacturers' Association of Ohio is also for the measure, as are the labor unions. In short, it is as certain as anything can be that the measure will become a law next January.

OPTION GRANTED EMPLOYEES

That employees generally will accept the provisions of the Ohio statute is certain. This because of the fact that the statute allows the employer to set up the fellow-servant and contributory-negligence defenses in the event an employee elects to go to court. Under the Constitution an employee cannot be denied by statute the right to appeal to a court for damages sustained, on account of the wilful act of the employer, or where the accident occurs through the violation of a safety law; in all ordinary cases of negligence the right to sue is entirely taken away. But the statute has rendered it so difficult for the injured employee to obtain judgment it is not likely the courts will be resorted to by employees. The fact that when an employee elects to go to court instead of accepting the award of the State Board, he cannot afterward avail himself of the State award, will still further deter him from resorting to the courts.

Massachusetts has a similar provision. In Washington, while the act is, in a sense, compulsory, the defaulting employers are penalized by allowing the injured employee to recover in a civil action under the liability laws. In such actions the defenses of fellow-servant and assumption of risk are abolished, but the defense of comparative negligence prevails. The State may also sue the employer and recover the amount of the premium due to the State insurance fund. In Michigan, Wisconsin, and California the defenses of fellow-servant and assumption of risk are abolished, but the defense of contributory negligence is either not entirely abolished or the defense of comparative negligence is substituted therefor. In New Jersey the defense of contributory negligence is allowed.

In Illinois the option may be exercised when the employer is guilty of "intentional violation of a safety law"; in Massachusetts, when the employer or his superintendent has been guilty of "serious or wilful misconduct," while in Ohio no option to bring suit at all exists, unless the employer has been guilty of some wilful act resulting in injury to an employee, or unless the injury results from the failure of the employer to observe safety laws.

One of the objects sought to be accomplished by most of the State laws is the elimination of accidents to workmen, as well as the compensation for such injuries. Accordingly, most of the acts provide a method penalizing employers for the violation safety laws. Michigan, New Jersey, a Wisconsin seem to be the only States hav laws which do not penalize such viola In Ohio the penalty comes through ar creased rate of insurance. A rate is upon the general average of accidents given occupation. If at the end of six m the accidents occurring in any fact place of employment are considerably cess of the general average, the rate ensuing six months will be increased. the number of accidents has been below the average, a smaller rate This gives to the manufacturer who rounded his workmen with safety d advantage over his competitors in line who have not done so.

The acts of most of the State employees for failure to observe s when their injury results from observance. For instance, Ma Michigan, Wisconsin, and Califo cally deny compensation, and in the amount of compensation is r Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey penalty inflicted upon workmen observance of such laws.

In all the States except N board is created for the purpo tering the law. In most of the may be taken from the action on questions of fact. In New for compensation are heard i Pleas Court in a summary ma there is no appeal from the the board, as the claimant appeal unless he is denied which event he may bring a Common Pleas Court of h the board, but not in any employer.

LIBERALITY OF CO

The amount of compe the Ohio law is the most any of the States. In compensation is based on loss in wages or earning the injured employee, compensation is 66⅔ loss. In Ohio the max

is $12 and the minimum $5, or, if the wages are less than $5, full wages. In most of the other States the maximum is $10 and the minimum $4. For temporary or partial disability the maximum in Ohio is $3750; for permanent total disability a maximum of $12 and a minimum of $5 for life; and in case of death, a maximum of $3750 and medical and funeral expenses in addition thereto. Taking into consideration the amount allowed for medical and hospital services and funeral expenses, it is fair to say that the compensation allowed by the Ohio law is 33⅓ per cent. greater than that allowed by the law of any other State.

The statute fixes definite rates for practically all injuries that may be sustained by an employee. Following are the principal rates for certain accidents:

For the loss of a thumb, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during sixty weeks.

For the loss of a first finger, commonly called index finger, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during thirty-five weeks.

For the loss of a hand, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during 150 weeks.

For the loss of an arm 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during 200 weeks.

For the loss of a great toe, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during thirty weeks.

For the loss of a foot, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during 125 weeks.

For the loss of a leg, 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages during 100 weeks.

In cases of permanent total disability, the award shall be 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages, and shall continue until the death of such person so totally disabled, but not to exceed a maximum of twelve dollars per week.

The loss of both hands or both arms, or both feet or both legs, or both eyes, or of any two thereof, shall *prima facie* constitute total and permanent disability.

In case the injury causes death within the period of two years, the benefits shall be in the amounts and to the persons following:

If there are wholly dependent persons at the time of the death, the payment shall be 66⅔ per cent. of the average weekly wages, and to continue for the remainder of the period between the date of the death and six years after the date of the injury, and not to amount to more than a maximum of $3750 nor less than a minimum of $1500.

All of the laws except that of Washington provide for a "waiting period" during which no compensation is paid. In Ohio this period is one week. In most States it is two weeks. In Washington, where there is no "waiting period," it should be remembered that there is no payment or provision for medical, surgical, and hospital services.

As stated, in Ohio all employments are covered where five or more persons are employed. In the States of Washington and Illinois only the extra-hazardous and those enumerated in the act are covered by the compensation law. In Massachusetts and Michigan all occupations are included except farm laborers and domestic servants. In New Jersey all occupations are included and in Wisconsin and California all except "casual."

THE INSURANCE FUND

The Ohio law makes provision for a permanent insurance fund of sufficient size to guarantee all claims from year to year, even in case of an unusual number of accidents. This fund is secured by setting aside 10 per cent. of all money received until the fund has reached $100,000, and after that 5 per cent. until the fund is deemed sufficiently large by the members of the Board of Awards.

Each occupation must bear its own burden of expense, but no more. The rates are to be readjusted for each of the several classes of occupations every six months, if deemed necessary. That is, at the end of six months if the loss ratio in a certain occupation indicates that the rate is too low it may be increased; if too great, it may be reduced, and those who paid the excessive rate will be entitled to a rebate. The State does not seek to make a profit out of any class of occupation.

Not only is the law compulsory with manufacturing concerns and public-service corporations, but the State itself and the various subdivisions of the State must insure employees. This includes the county, the city, the township, and the school districts. Each must pay into the treasury of the liability board of awards a premium based upon the amount of payroll and the hazardousness of the occupation of its employees. Naturally the premium in such occupations as school-teaching will be very small, but regardless of the hazardousness or the safety of the employment, every State, county, municipal and township employee in Ohio will be insured under the workmen's compensation law.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

AMERICAN MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

THE *Yale Review,* under its present editorship, is rapidly winning for itself a distinctive place among our more scholarly periodicals. Although a quarterly, its schedule of topics is so arranged that in each issue there are at least two or three articles of special timeliness. The current (July) number, for instance, contains an article by Dr. A. Piatt Andrew, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the Taft administration, and expert adviser to the National Monetary Commission, on "The Crux of the Currency Question." Paraphrasing Tommy Atkins' lament, as voiced by Kipling, that he is "learnin' 'ere in London what the ten-year soldier tells," the Hon. Henry H. Curran, chairman of the New York Aldermen's Committee that recently investigated the police situation of that city, contributes a suggestive account of "What the Ten-Year Sergeant of Police Tells." Mr. Curran, by the way, is a graduate of Yale. "The High Cost of Living" is analyzed by Prof. A. L. Bishop, of the Sheffield Scientific School.

Among other articles of general interest in this number are "Style in American Architecture," by Ralph Adams Cram, supervising architect of Princeton University, and of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City; "Historic Universities in a Democracy," by Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr.; a review of the poetry of the late William Vaughn Moody, by Prof. Charlton M. Lewis; "Climates of the Past," by Prof. Charles Schuchert; "The Religion of a Civil Engineer," by Prof. A. J. DuBois; and "The Well Made Play," by E. Wilson Dodd.

The *North American Review* pursues the even tenor of its way, printing each month the usual complement of timely articles. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS we are quoting from the article by Dr. Griffis in answer to the question, "Are the Japanese Mongolian?" Two other articles relating to Japan appear in this number,—"The Japanese Overload," by Don C. Seitz, and "The Legacy of Commodore Perry," by the late Homer Lea.

Curator Winslow, of the American Museum of Natural History, writes on "Efficiency in the Public-Health Campaign"; Sydney Brooks on "Great Britain's Position in Europe"; Erving Winslow on "Coöperation"; and the Rev. S. D. McConnell on "The Ethics of Miracles."

In addition to the travel articles which appeared in the *Century* for June, ex-Senator George F. Edmunds contributes his view of the Hayes-Tilden contest in reply to the contribution by Henry Watterson, appearing in the May number; and there is a series of extracts from letters written by John Quincy Adams from St. Petersburg in 1812-14 relating to the War of 1812, Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and conversations with Madam De Staël.

Besides travel sketches and stories, *Harper's* for June contains an instructive article by Dr. Henry Smith Williams, entitled "Exploring the Atom." Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury discusses in this number "The Linguistic Causes of Americanisms."

In *Scribner's* for June, Senator Lodge continues his entertaining "Early Memories," giving in this instalment graphic descriptions of Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Dr. Howe, Charles Francis Adams, Robert C. Winthrop, and John Lothrop Motley.

The July *McClure's* opens with an unpretentious, realistic story of a woman who was marooned for three days and nights in the Dayton floods. In the second of his articles about the New York police George Kibbe Turner takes up the social status of the idle boy. "The Autobiography of an American Jew," by Abraham Cahan, is concluded in this number.

In the *American Magazine* for June, Mr. H. K. Pomroy, a former president of the New York Stock Exchange, replies to Miss Tarbell's article in regard to alleged conditions upon the exchange as brought forth at a hearing before the Pujo Committee in Washington. In the sixth instalment of his autobiography Brand Whitlock tells the story of his candidacy for the mayorship of Toledo. Walter Prichard Eaton describes the "Joys of the True Walker," and David Grayson continues his entertaining papers on "The Friendly Road."

"THE MAIN POLITICAL SCHOOL OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE"—THE PRESS

THE most significant factor in the life of provincial Russia is to be found in the growth of the local press, writes I. Zhilkin in the *Vyestnik Yevropy* (St. Petersburg).

Notwithstanding all the obstacles, penalties, and persecution, notwithstanding all the official storms, frosts, and congealing winds, the provincial press grows, strengthens, and develops like a gigantic tree which obeys only the voice of life. Such large cities as Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Saratov, and Nizhni-Novgorod, already have two or three large newspapers which, in the solidity and diversity of their material, may be fairly compared to the main organs of the capitals. Around these large organs, in almost every city, cheap publications cluster—one-kopeck newspapers, satirical sheets, diminutive magazines. At the same time, Moscow, like a great central point, by her publications covers all the cities of middle Russia along the radii of her railway lines.

The resulting competition between the metropolitan dailies and the local organs of public opinion has led to a reduction in the price of the latter and to an improvement in their general character and appearance. The writer goes on to say on this point:

It seems that a large, or the larger, part of the provincial press is progressive. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate that the cause of the old political régime is lost beyond recovery. In the first place, newspapers more than anything else are a direct product of the tastes and requirements of society. . . . After the upheaval of seven years ago all Russia is being re-educated politically. . . . The work of the political education of the masses is being performed in many ways and by diverse means. But the newspapers must be considered as the foremost factors. The discussion of political questions, extremely difficult under the pressure of the former censorship, now constitutes the chief topic of all newspapers, and the imperial Duma renders the discussion of these questions not only possible but necessary. The rapid and ever-growing current of progressive newspapers now floods not only the large cities and towns, but it is penetrating into the villages and hamlets and is soaking deeper and deeper into the life of the people. These flying sheets, which it is as impossible to catch and check as it is impossible to catch and count the leaves of trees when a strong wind blows them off by the millions, can really be called the main political school of the people. Although the provincial press makes many mistakes, blunders, although it . . . cannot lay claim to perfection, yet, taken as a whole, it accomplishes, consciously or unconsciously, a task of national importance, which can be looked upon with well-founded hope and serious expectation.

The administration at St. Petersburg, apparently "not aware of the gravity of the situation and the hopelessness of its policy," feels, however, serious danger to itself from the newspapers, and endeavors, as much as possible, to stifle the voice of the press.

Almost daily in the metropolitan newspapers there is noted the persecution to which the provincial press is subjected: fines, indictments, imprisonment of editors, confiscation of issues. But conscious of the righteousness of its course, the press bears all these punishments, in general, heroically. . . . In some places this persecution makes it very difficult for the newspapers. For example, it has been reported to the *Russkiya Vyedomosti* (Moscow) from Kiev: "The first month of the new year has been signalized in Kiev by an abundance of administrative measures against the press Particularly has the progressive press of Kiev suffered, having been subjected to fines aggregating 650 rubles [$325], with the alternative of going to jail for nine and a half months." . . .

Of course, under these conditions it is hard for newspapers to exist, and in many cases it is beyond their strength. Particularly is it hard there where the last vestige of law disappears and the will of the administration reigns supreme. What is to be done if, for example, in spite of the law, the former Draconic censorship is re-established? . . . It may be rightly supposed that the censorship, abolished by law, has returned to its former place in many parts of the country with the aid of the police, and does its demoralizing work.

Mr. Zhilkin observes that there is a tendency on the part of the administration to combat the influence of the progressive publications by their own weapons, that is, by subsidizing and circulating newspapers and magazines of a reactionary character. The officials, according to him, simply compel organizations and newsdealers to subscribe to a certain number of a given reactionary publication, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to drive them out of business. But this method of fighting progress by means of the printed word has its good side. To quote Mr. Zhilkin again:

It must be recognized that notwithstanding the crude and clumsy means of this propaganda, the effort to fight the progressive press on its own ground is a more civilized method than the "classical" fines, arrests, confiscations, and similar administrative scorpions. Besides, a printed word, even though of the "Black Hundred" type, sometimes produces sudden and quite unexpected results. The reactionary newspapers, while debating with the progressive organs, have to touch upon the same political, social, and economic questions. Their reader is also led into a new realm of thought, reflection, and doubt. And as the "Right" publicists' arsenal of proofs is quite poor, the reactionary reader is not infrequently impelled to make a step toward the progressive press.

CAN WE GROW PLANTS BY ELECTRICITY?

THE term "electroculture" is applied in scientific literature to the use of electrical currents for stimulating the growth of plants not—as stated in the only English dictionary that attempts to define it—to the use of electric *light* for this purpose. Several kinds of artificial light have been utilized in horticultural operations; but this is a subject apart from electroculture.

Though the word is comparatively new, the idea is very old, for "among the first" experiments in this direction were those made by Dr. Mainbray, of Edinburgh, in 1746. So sanguine were the electroculturists of long ago, and so fervently have their experiments been carried forward by later investigators, that one may reasonably ask how it happens that every twentieth century farm and greenhouse is not, as a matter of course, equipped with some form of electrifying apparatus. Such a consummation still appears remote; yet electroculturists do not despair. A sort of defiant proclamation of optimism took shape last October in France when the first "International Congress of Electroculture" assembled at Rheims.

The history of electroculture is reviewed and its present status is defined by Norbert Lallié in two recent numbers of *Cosmos* (Paris), largely on the basis of a voluminous work on the subject published last year in Italy by Dr. Arturo Bruttini. (In the literature accessible to the average American reader the best account of electroculture is probably that given by Prof. G. E. Stone in Bailey's "Cyclopedia of American Agriculture," Vol. 2, p. 30 *et seq.*)

Leaving artificial processes out of the question, electricity doubtless plays some part in plant life; how important or essential a part no one knows. The electrical phenomena of plants with which we are most familiar are the effects, rather than the causes, of chemical and physical processes, such as metabolism and the flow of sap, respectively. On the other hand, the response of the plant to atmospheric electricity, though widely maintained, has not been established beyond question.

The attempts heretofore made to stimulate plants by artificial electrification fall into three principal classes as follows: (1) The use of continuous or induced currents; (2) of electrical discharges through the surrounding atmosphere; and (3) of atmospheric electricity, collected by special forms of apparatus.

An electrical current generated by a galvanic battery or a dynamo may be passed through the soil in which plants are growing between two suitable electrodes, or through wires stretched over the plants; or again a current may be generated by the galvanic action of two plates of different material, as zinc and carbon, plunged in the soil and connected by a wire, without any external source of power. According to the method devised by Berthelot and since used with various modifications by others, a system of wires and copper points is suspended over the plant; it is in circuit with a battery and with electrodes buried in the soil; a strong potential gradient is thus produced between the ground and the overhanging wires, and electrical discharges take place through the air surrounding the plant.

The most alluring class of experiments, however, contemplates the utilization of the inexhaustible store of electricity normally present in the atmosphere. The earliest form of apparatus devised for this purpose was the "electrovegetometer" of the Abbé Bertholon, who published an account of his experiments in 1783. This consisted of a sort of lightning-rod connected with a tuft of wires suspended over the plant, to which it was supposed to convey electricity from the air. Another device of this character was the "geomagnetifer," constructed by Becksteiner, of Lyons, in 1848, and subsequently improved by Paulin, of Montbrison; a similar rod is used to collect atmospheric electricity, but is connected with a subterranean conductor. Finally, Fernand Basty introduced the "electrocaptor," in which the aerial terminal consists of a cluster of metallic points, and the subterranean terminal of a network of wires buried below the roots of the plant.

Among recent experiments the most ambitious have been those carried out under the direction of Sir Oliver Lodge, in England, and by the firm of Siemens & Halske, in Germany. In both cases powerful currents were sent through wires strung over the growing crops. Some of the English experiments appear to have been highly successful; others were inconclusive, as were the experiments made in Germany. Similar contradictions make up the whole history of this class of investigations.

The author closes, however, with a word of encouragement for the investigator who is willing to attack the problem in a painstaking and scientific spirit.

A FRENCH VIEW OF AMERICAN CARICATURE

AMERICAN caricature is "gracious when it is dull or spiritless, and blustering when it is political." In England, caricature is "infantile in the true sense of the term"; in France it is "harsh and malicious" and in the caricature of Germany "the decorative investigation of the masses predominates." Such is the estimate of M. Jean H. de Rosen, in *La Revue* (Paris), and it will be noticed that he does not spare the caricaturists of his own country.

In the opinion of this critic, American caricature "has two very marked tendencies: one gracious, delicate, and characterized generally by a fine feeling, although somewhat superficial, whence have evolved the types of 'girls' and their natural complements, Grace and Love. The other, at times brutal, too young and inexperienced, and not particularly facile. This appears in the political caricature." Of the greater part of the illustrated supplements of the American journals, the critic says:

There are assuredly exceptions, but the general tendency lacks originality. It is the Anglo-Saxon without his reposeful humor and his admirable qualities of design; "Simplicissimus" without his vigor and his sureness; the Japanese without his grace and his charming archness. . . . The American caricaturists surcharge their designs with legends and dialogues: persons, animals, objects discuss and discourse. . . . The authors seem to address themselves to children rather than to adults, and I like to believe that this is intended. The American, fatigued with business and the strenuous life that he leads, finds in these products of the caricaturists the contrast he needs and is heartily diverted by them. These childish sketches reflect the nursery, and the public is interested in them as much as the designer, who in tracing them vividly experiences once more the emotions of childhood. Take, for example, the incredible success obtained by R. F. Outcault with his "Buster Brown," the little American boy and his inseparable bull. Everyone knows his burlesque adventures and atrocious tricks: he has delighted great and small, and his renown has extended beyond the Atlantic. And those who followed in Outcault's footsteps are numerous: Fred Opper, W. A. Rogers, "Tad," Campbell Cory, Gene Carr, James Swinnerton, all are members of the same family in thought and tendency. Their heroes are always children, whose droll actions are always to the detriment of old gentlemen and old maids. It does one good to laugh, since in America one never really laughs after twelve years of age. The life of the young man, as we understand it in France, does not exist in America. There the youth passes from play to work. And this is why all these sketches breathe health and the fine air of the country where one plays so well. But, in spite of the number of artists, there is no great diversity in their works; in time the subject becomes wearisome; and the most ingenious boy with his droll tricks ends by becoming insupportable.

M. de Rosen considers that American political caricature is still at its début. It has "the brutality of gigantic propaganda, of noisy harangues to tumultuous crowds. Too vulgar, it proceeds directly from the immense placards in which candidates at the elections expose their visages to the inhabitants of New York or of Chicago." Our critic, however, admits the existence of "undeniable qualities of design and of force which is, perhaps, that of cruelty."

But alongside of remarkable plates, how many faults and how much clumsiness, due to a science somewhat too superficial. . . . In the preface to an album of his works, it is stated that Fornaro "feels with his brain." And this is true. One finds in his work intelligence, much intelligence, and great literary erudition; further, a profound sense of the ridiculous, a remarkable aptitude for seizing "the line," but little or no sensibility. The person is placed before us altogether crude and deformed, and one does not understand him as in Sem. Fornaro attaches himself to external, visible, palpable traits: he does not bring out the soul of the man, and this is my complaint against him. But, as I have already said, he has qualities which are really meritorious, and often worthy of admiration.

For another tendency of American humoristic design M. de Rosen has only words of praise: it is that "which has at its head Charles Dana Gibson."

He [Gibson] has created his genre, entirely his own, in which he excels and is incomparable. He is one of the most prodigious observers of physiognomies of our epoch. His types are classics, and the Gibson Girl has become a reality. Gibson shines in half-tint expressions, in the subtle plays of regard and of love. But he is not merely a perfect designer: he is also a profound psychologist, and often a poet. Some of his designs are masterpieces. In Gibson where does the caricaturist end and the painter begin? It would be difficult to say: the two paths are parallel, and though so easily confounded they form but one beautiful, broad, and luminous route.

Gibson is the leader of the school, and his disciples "are innumerable." Among many imitators M. de Rosen finds some "caricature-designers" of talent.

Here is Harrison Fisher, who has devoted his talent to the young American girl, "Fluffy Ruffles." His work, reproduced on postal cards, has spread over the globe. His pleasing genre attracts and captivates: it is the charm of gaiety,

the perfect American girl. Here, too, are Howard Chandler Christy, A. B. Wenzell, and many others.

Except as regards Gibson and Fisher, M. de Rosen holds that this genre is "too monochrome." Speaking generally, he finds that "American designers are legion; they have great qualities of craftsmanship and of form; but they manifest a singular lack of personality."

CULTURAL VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

ONE of the most vital of modern educational problems is that of the comparative merits of purely intellectual training and manual or industrial training.

The advocates of the latter believe that humanity has suffered in the individual and in the mass from the undue worship of the former. There are various causes, complexly interwoven, for such worship—not merely the superiority of mind to matter, but such things as the invention of printing, the growing use of machinery, the decay of the ancient system of apprenticeage, and even that medieval monkish scorn and fear of the body and suppression of its powers which was supposed to make for righteousness. Within the last half-century, however, and more particularly within the last decade, the idea of the necessity for the development of the whole individual, both body and soul, has made enormous strides, and it is increasingly recognized that industrial training offers an admirable means of such development, even where the technical skill acquired is not put to practical use in after life.

In other words, industrial training possesses a distinct *cultural value,* irrespective of its immediate profitableness.

Certain aspects of this phase of the question are cogently presented in the weekly German scientific journal, *Prometheus* (Berlin), by a writer who finds that our era suffers seriously from one-sidedness in education, due to a narrow dependence upon the word alone, either of teacher or of text-book. The remedy for this he finds in training the perceptive senses of the individual on the one hand and his muscles on the other. We read:

> Life demands harmoniously developed individuals and not those who are crippled of sense. . . . Who would enjoy his life to the full, nobly and richly, can do so only when the *whole* nature —both intellect and senses—is capable of apprehending the world of phenomena.
>
> But industrial education is assuredly of great value for the cultivation of the senses. While the eye has practically nothing to do in our modern system of school instruction, since in many lessons its use is not demanded and it may even be entirely closed, in industrial instruction it must be constantly employed. In the most various forms of such instruction it is forced to precisely observe form, outline, color, and material, and not allowed to content itself with a fleeting and superficial glance.
>
> Almost more important still is it for the hand to come into its own. The rich potentialities which lie dormant in the hand at present remain too often unregarded and undeveloped. But in industrial education the hand becomes the chief organ of the student. It must be constantly active and its skill is inevitably heightened by the sensations it experiences and the manifold methods of grasping that it exercises.
>
> But a skilled hand and an observant eye are of the utmost significance to every human being, and particularly so in many occupations.
>
> In many modern callings intellectual cultivation alone no longer suffices. It not seldom happens that the prize student, who has left the examination hall with the most dazzling testimonials in his pocket, fails in practical life because he lacks practical sense and vision. . . .

The writer next makes a strong plea for the value of industrial instruction in the development and cultivation of standards of taste, finding that the masses to-day are lacking in esthetic sensibility, declaring that if the eternal impulse towards beauty still dwells in the heart of man, it is too often lured from the direct path by false gods. In other words, our standards of taste are meretricious, lacking in sincerity and simplicity of material and of design.

> But in industrial training the student learns to distinguish differences of quality in materials; he sees in his own work that material, purpose, and accomplishment must be in correspondence with each other; that the nature of the object must predominate over decoration; that in general preference must be given to solidity, truth, sense, and simplicity. And so this practical teaching of truth becomes a school of taste, and may well be capable of raising the masses of our people to a higher stage of esthetic culture.

The next weighty advantage of such instruction is considered by Rektor Hoche to be the assistance it gives to the hand-worker in competing with machine products. Since

the factory can turn out machine-made goods far more quickly and cheaply than the hand-worker, the latter must concentrate his forces on those elements of individuality where the machine must always remain inferior; *i. e.*, he must become more and more the artist as well as the artisan. He must bring to his craft esthetic sensibility, technical skill, and artistic cultivation, and such things are best acquired if the foundation for them is laid in youth, which is best accomplished by industrial instruction during the formative years.

But above all else, he finds that such instruction is of value because it guides the youth towards an intelligent choice of occupation.

> Many a student would find in himself an express capacity for hand-work. . . . At present such types of talent, rooted in gifts of hand and eye, are too apt to be scornfully undervalued by the schools. He who does not excel in theoretical knowledge is considered good for naught. Many a student drags himself painfully through class after class, in order later to fill some official position for which he has neither inclination nor talent, while in some handicraft he might have made a great success. Thus on the one hand we have an overgrown army of people who have been through a certain intellectual drill, while on the other there is a lack of skilled craftsmen.

The author deems it high time, in fact, that the attitude of over-esteem for the drilled intellect and under-esteem for the skilled hand should come to an end, and advocates the training in handicrafts of the "better-born" children as a means to this end, since respect for achievement could hardly fail to supplant, at least partly, respect for birth, rank, and barren intellectual knowledge.

A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY FOR INDIA

BRITISH education in India has necessarily been a work of considerable difficulty, owing to the obstacles presented by racial, religious, and social distinctions and the system of caste. Moreover, it was not a case of educating an ignorant people, but of an attempt to superimpose Western culture upon a much older one. That the present educational system is not regarded as successful by the cultured native Indian, is shown by Mr. K. V. Ramaswami in the *Hindustan Review*. This writer quotes the opinion of the British statesman and historian, Elphinstone, as to the lines on which education in India might best be laid down.

> Mounstuart Elphinstone wrote in his "Minute on Education" (1824): "At no time, however, could I wish that the purely Hindu part of the course (of study) should be totally abandoned. It would surely be a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasures of a nation to begin with the destruction of its indigenous literature; and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent and variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge and imbued with their own original and peculiar character."
>
> But the very principle which Elphinstone would have called "preposterous" was followed by the great authors of the present educational system of this country. They provided every facility for imparting the knowledge of the West but made no arrangement for preserving the indigenous literature and arts. They gave no place in their system to the literary and artistic ideals of the Indians. The faith and culture of the native races received meagre encouragement. Religious instruction—the very life-blood of Hindu youth for ages—could have no place in their system of state education.

The result is "a sad and instructive one," and is well set forth in a lecture by Dr. Coomaraswami at the National College, Calcutta:

> Speak to an ordinary Indian graduate of the ideals of Mahabharatha, he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of Indian Philosophy, you will find him an atheist of the crude type prevalent in Europe a century ago; talk to him of the graceful Indian dress, he will call it barbarous; talk to him of Indian art or music, it is news to him that such a thing exists; he cannot write or read a letter in his own native tongue. He is a stranger in his own land.

Mr. Ramaswami himself thus describes conditions as they exist to-day:

> In spite of sixty years of education we meet with no real progress. Our arts, literature and science have fallen into neglect and decay. Most of our arts have perished or are perishing. The skilled hand that wrought a thousand wonders with lace and cotton can be seen no more. The genius that conceived and executed the grand temples and palaces that adorn and dignify our country has departed. Hindu philosophic thought lies entombed and rusty. Our vernacular literatures know no new developments. Only worthless translations and coarse imitations of foreign models masquerade in the garb of literature.

It can be readily understood that the recent educational movement in India, culminating in a scheme for a national university at Benares, has "been fraught with immense force and enthusiasm."

The National University scheme will avoid the defects of the present system and embody the true principle of national activity and growth by being based upon the life and ideals of the people. The faith, sentiments and culture of the people are its basis. It adds to these the culture and science of the West. It imparts religious instruction on broad lines. The course and subjects of study shall be so arranged as to have special reference to the needs and conditions of Indian life. Its mission is to train the will and mind of the youth of this country in national ideals and aspirations.

Of the hopes that are being built on the new national system of education Mr. Ramaswami gives an indication in the following paragraph:

The immense stimulus such a system may give to Hindu life, the vigor and variety to which that life may attain thereby, can at present only be dimly perceived. The institution that will soon be established at Benares will revive the old genius of the Hindu race, and lead the nation to higher achievements in art, literature and science. Benares will revive that bold spirit of inquiry that took high-spirited Aryans of yore to forest retreats there to question the secrets of the infinite. There at Benares, the Hindu youth shall also drink in the newer ideals and principles, the ideals of social life and political growth, the principles of science and philosophy which our brethren in the West are evolving and proclaiming. Hindu life, vivified and enriched, will attain a new phase not wholly allied to the past, yet not wholly distinct from it.

HYGIENIC EDUCATION TO FIGHT THE HOOKWORM

IN the field of hygienic education, the work of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission in its fight against the hookworm disease must receive unstinted praise.

The third annual report of the commission is a document that should be read by everyone interested in public welfare.

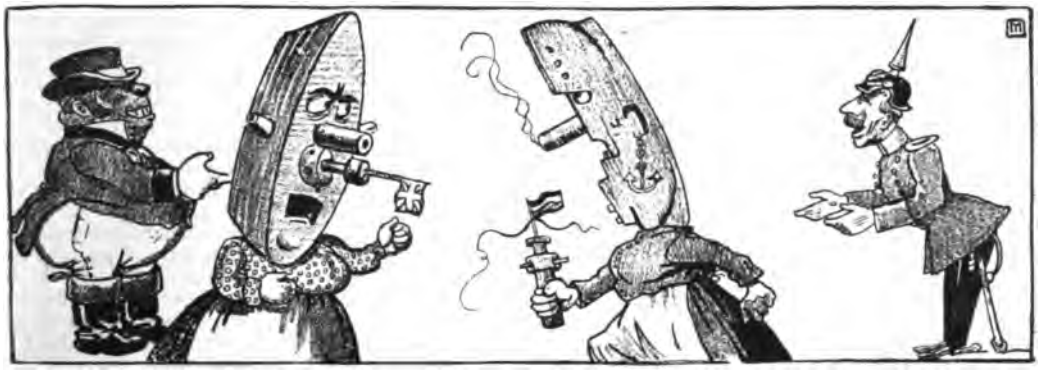


"HOOKWORM FAMILY" BEFORE TREATMENT

The degree of infection varies from county to county and from community to community, but out of 158,555 rural children examined in 230 counties in eleven States, 78,572, or 50.9 per cent., were found to be infected. The ignorance of the sufferers has been one of the chief obstacles to overcome in the fight against this disease. The people would not listen to the "new doctor" who said they had "worms," and stubbornly refused to take treatment. By the establishment of free county dispensaries, by coöperation with resident physicians, by exhibits of specimens, by publicity, and by means of traveling medical practitioners who searched out the infected families in backwoods districts, a wholesale warfare has been waged against the hookworm, with splendid results.

The mental and physical health of thousands of adults and children in the Southern States depends upon the eradication of the hookworm. The general shiftlessness of the poor white is in large measure due to anemia caused by this parasite. Regeneration following medical treatment is illustrated by the case of a Virginia family, who for generations had lived in a tumble-down board shanty. Only one member of the family, the mother, was able to work; the others were pallid, emaciated, shiftless idlers, without energy, ambition, or mental capacity. The entire family were given treatment for hookworms. In two years they had built a good frame house, harvested ample crops from their land, and the children were healthy, well dressed, and attending school.

One little boy from Belle County, Virginia, gained twenty-one pounds in four weeks, following a single treatment. Another lad from Arkansas, reduced to a skele-



OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF A RECONCILIATION
(John Bull and German Fritz would like to be good friends if they could only get their better halves to come to an agreement)
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)

the final, inevitable solution of the problem. To me such assertions seem to betray a great degree of thoughtlessness. A general war would put an end to the inordinately excessive armament only if one of the belligerent Powers should succeed in subjugating all the others and creating a universal empire, like that of ancient Rome, which precludes all foreign war. The possibility of such a contingency, however, does not enter anyone's mind. After a general European war there would be victors and vanquished; the former would remain under arms in order to maintain their power, and, if necessary, aid in defending one country against another; the latter would, as soon as their strength permitted, arm once more, in order to uphold what was left them, and, if possible, to reconquer what they had lost and wreak vengeance upon their conquerors.

How the burden of military expenditures can be lightened is, as yet, enigmatical, but one thing is certain—that a European war would not only not conduce to the hoped-for end, but would thrust it into a far-distant future. To cure an evil by a multitude of evils is always a most dangerous experiment, which rarely results in good. In the case under consideration it would doubtless lead to an incurable aggravation of the evil.

THE CASE OF ANGLO-GERMAN RIVALRY

Rear-Admiral F. Hoffman, of the German navy, takes up the subject as related to naval armament, with specific reference to the Anglo-German situation. He brushes aside the possibility of any permanent limitation by agreement, and then takes up the limits imposed "by nature" upon the increase of the naval power of any nation. These he places under three heads: first, opposition of the taxpayers to the bearing of the growing financial burden; second, decline in industrial efficiency; third, inability properly to man the navy. Upon the first head, he says in part:

> What enormous expenditure the creation and maintenance of a strong fleet requires needs no explanation to-day. Anyone who has followed the increase of the German naval budget knows that it has risen from 122,000,000 marks in 1898-99 to 462,000,000 in 1912-13. In England the corresponding figures are 485,000,000 and 899,000,000 marks.
>
> It is obvious that it must be a rich country that can stand such an outlay. England, as is well known, is the richest country in Europe. That Germany is no longer far behind has been shown by recent statistics compiled by noted experts. If their valuation is correct, Germany, as well as England, can stand the burden of its naval armaments. But to raise the revenue, heavy taxes are required, which even the wealthy are reluctant to pay. The English Government found itself compelled to take this sentiment into account and seek means to shift the burden of naval armament partly upon shoulders less heavily weighted. It found them in the colonies, which agreed to contribute their share, though under conditions not altogether pleasant, such as that the vessels were to remain in the colonies—however, the object, the easing of the English taxpayer, was attained. Whether, with a further increase of naval expenditure, this success will continue, whether the



THE DISARMAMENT SITUATION IN 1913
(Is it altogether a joy, asks the cartoonist of *Kikeriki*, Vienna, to be the angel of peace in the 20th century?)

ently convinced that its claim had been established.

Believers in the power of diviners or "dowsers" triumphantly pointed to case after case where underground streams had been accurately traced for long distances by men apparently entirely ignorant up to that time of local conditions; while their opponents showed, in many cases at least, that the "dowser's" wonderful power seemed to disappear when he had been "scientifically" blindfolded. Of course, to this latter argument answer was made that the gift is psychological and depends upon the free use of the diviner's nervous organization, and that "scientific blindfolding" disturbed this sensitive machinery.

A recent number of *Cosmos* gives an account of some tests made this year in France, in which the diviner's power has again been subjected to attack. A commission composed of Mme. Martel, Dollfus, Bonjeau, Dienert, Le Couppey de la Forest, and Lemoine was established in 1910 at the Bureau of Agriculture, and was charged with examining and placing on trial the various means proposed for the "automatic" discovery of water, including those based on the use of divining-rods. In February of this year the Academy of Science itself decided to conduct an investigation of "dowsers" and divining-rods, and formed a commission composed of M. Dastre, a physiologist; M. Douvillé, a geologist; M. Armand Gautier, a chemist; and M. Fiolle, a physicist. The Society of Agriculture, Science, and Industry of Lyons has also taken part in the investigation, and from it has been received a report "on the first three trials made by the commission charged with studying the question of divining-rods."

These tests were made at Saint-Jenis-Laval, in January and February, the first place set for a trial being a road bordered on each side for a distance of 150 yards by a high wall and crossed by a stream of running water ten feet below the surface of the road and in a culvert. From the road the surrounding country could not be seen, nor could the sound of the running water be heard. Three diviners were employed, one of them having known the property for a long time. Besides the stream referred to above, he indicated the location of six hidden streams which he said he had discovered formerly with his divining-rod. His indications were noted (though there were no visible signs above ground), in order that they might be verified in case they agreed with the indications given by the other diviners participating in the trials.

The two others were tried on separate occasions, one on the 19th of January, the other on the 26th, and had to submit to the following conditions: To go over the route with uncovered eyes, but to return in the opposite direction blindfolded. One of them having made the return trip blindfolded, asked that he be allowed to make it again with the eyes unbandaged. For the 9th of February tests the commission chose a new scene for operations—again a road bordered with high walls, 300 yards long; under the road, at a depth of ten feet, flowed two fairly large streams, 250 yards apart, discharging one thirty-five, the other forty-five gallons per minute. The two diviners who submitted to this trial refused to allow their eyes to be bandaged on the return journey, saying that it hampered them. These are the significant conclusions:

(1) The diviners crossed thirteen times, all told, over three existing streams of water; no one of them indicated precisely the positions of the streams. In the trials of January 19 the errors in distance were eight yards and sixteen yards, respectively; on January 26 the errors in distance were thirty-four yards and forty-four yards. In the trials of February 9, where the diviners had to locate two streams, the errors of the first on the way out were nineteen yards and seventeen yards, respectively; on the return seventy-five yards and fifteen yards. The second diviner indicated only one stream on the way out, and one on the return, and the points chosen were, respectively, forty-four and 107 yards from the nearest stream in each case.

(2) From a total of twenty-eight streams located by the diviners, and whose existence the commission was not able to verify by excavations, in the case of two only were the points indicated, going and returning, the same. The detailed report of Dr. Rendu shows that one at least of these must not be taken into consideration, for the diviner, returning with open eyes, could easily recognize the spot where a few minutes before he had thought he felt a running stream.

(3) Finally, the locations of streams indicated by a diviner on the return journey when blindfolded did not agree with those indicated by him on the way out with open eyes, with one exception. In this case, according to the report, the diviner was suspected of counting his steps on the way out and on the return.

THE CASE OF CALIFORNIA VS. JAPAN

IT has always been difficult for the Eastern American reader to understand clearly the fundamental facts and factors in the California-Japanese situation. In the editorial pages of this magazine last month the historical perspective of our relations with Japan was set forth, as well as the moving forces in the rise of modern Japan and her relations to the problems of the Pacific. We also published extracts from an article in the *Japan Magazine,* by a Japanese authority, on what his countrymen do in California. A vast amount of prejudice and misrepresentation had appeared in the daily press on the subject. A number of articles in the monthly and weekly periodicals, however, have traced the deeper significance of the difference between California and the Japanese.

The attitude of the Californians and the justification, on their side, for the alien land bills passed last month, were given clearly and comprehensively in the telegram, sent on May 14, by Governor Johnson to Secretary Bryan. In giving his reason for signing the bill, which he denied violated any treaty right of the Japanese, or was intended as any discrimination against them, Governor Johnson said:

> For many years a very grave problem, little understood in the East, has confronted California; a problem the seriousness of which has been recognized by statesmen in our nation, and has been viewed with apprehension by the people of this State. When the present constitution of California was adopted, more than thirty years ago, it contained the following declaration: "The presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the legislature shall discourage their immigration by all means within its power."
>
> Of late years our problem from another angle has become acute, and the agitation has been continuous in the last decade in reference to our agricultural lands, until finally affirmative action in an attempted solution became imperative. This attempted solution is found in the action of our legislature in the passage of the Alien Land bill.

Stoutly maintaining that the bill was within the legal and moral rights of the State, and that it aimed to do only what "was imperatively demanded for the protection and preservation of California," Governor Johnson reviewed the objections alleged to have been advanced in the Japanese protest, and set forth the purport and scope of the new law. California, he says, makes no discrimination; if discrimination there be, it has been made by the federal Government.



MEETING HELD IN THE CITY OF TOKYO TO PROTEST AGAINST CALIFORNIA'S ATTITUDE

The naturalization laws of the United States, long since, without demur from any nation, determined who were and who were not eligible to citizenship. If invidious discrimination ever were made in this regard, the United States made it when the United States declared who were and who were not eligible to citizenship, and when we but follow and depend upon the statutes of the United States and their determination as to eligibility to citizenship we cannot be accused of indulging in invidious discrimination. May I venture to call to your attention the immigration law now pending in Congress, which passed both houses of the last Congress, where apparently certain classes who shall be excluded from our country are described as "persons who cannot become eligible under existing laws to become citizens of the United States."

At this very moment the national legislature, without protest or objection—indeed, it is published in California by express consent—is using the terms that are claimed in California's law to be offensive and discriminatory.

At least three States in the Union have in the past enacted laws similar to the contemplated law of California, and the enactments of those other States have been without objection or protest. That the protest is now made in respect to California but emphasizes the acuteness of the problem confronting California and demonstrates that California is differently viewed than other States of the Union, and that if discrimination exists, it is discrimination against California.

We insist that, justly, no offense can be taken by any nation to this law, and more particularly does this seem to be clear in the instance of a

nation like Japan, that, by its own law, prevents acquisition of land by aliens. It is most respectfully submitted that, after all, the question is not whether any offense has been taken, but whether justly it should be taken. I voice, I think, the sentiment of the majority of the legislature of this State when I say that if it had been believed that offense could justly be taken by any nation to the proposed law, that law would not have been enacted.

We of California believe firmly that in our legislative dealings with this alien-land question we have violated absolutely no treaty rights. We have shown no discrimination; we have given to no nation the right to be justified in taking offense. So, believing with a strong reliance on the justice and the righteousness of our cause, and with due deference and courtesy and with proper consideration for the feelings and views of others, we had hoped the authorities at Washington would have seen the question as we in this State have been forced to see it—as we must see it or be blind.

The questions that occur to an unprejudiced reader, unfamiliar with the situation, are phrased trenchantly in an editorial note preceding an article in the *Survey,* by Professor H. H. Millis, now of the University of Kansas, but formerly a member of the faculty of Stanford University, and in charge of the Asiatic immigration investigation made by the United States Commission on Immigration. The editor of the *Survey* asks:

Does the California anti-alien land legislation represent the cave-in of American self-assurance and dependence when confronted by the individual and social efficiency of the Japanese? Or does it represent the recoil which a people of fair standards of living make when those standards for the family and home are undermined by another people willing to work on a "bunk-house" basis of subsistence?

Is it a righteous effort on the part of Californians to throttle agricultural sabotage on their fruit farms and keep the land of the Pacific coast for the Occident? Or is it a selfish effort to prohibit the Asiatics from owning land, in order to keep them as a cheap, foot-loose, common labor force?

Is it an old, bitter race antagonism which resents the effort of the under dog to rise? Or is it a clash between two kindred, up-looking social forces, both strong in ethical motive—the struggle of the Japanese to get on, to climb to higher standards; the struggle of the Americans to keep from being pulled down by a striving but laggard people—a presage of the forces which will tug at each other in the economic, inter-racial competition of the Pacific throughout the coming century?

In the first place, says Professor Millis, the land law signed by Governor Johnson in May, "though general in its terms, is clearly, essentially anti-Japanese." He then proceeds to build his article upon this statement:

The average intelligent reader will at once challenge the wisdom of this legislation, on the ground that it is unjust, unnecessary and impolitic. It will be challenged as unjust because it takes advantage of discrimination under the federal law to further discriminate between aliens of different races lawfully in this country. It limits the property rights of those who must remain aliens, and safeguards those of others who might but do not become citizens. It will be challenged as unnecessary because, with a narrowly restricted Asiatic immigration, there is no menace calling for drastic legislation. . . . The new legislation will be challenged as impolitic, for it is likely to raise again the question of immigration restriction, and this should be avoided. Moreover, it might lead to the undermining of the party in power in Japan and radically change the administration of the present agreement. Unless the bars are to be let down, and few would advocate it, such friction as has been incidental to the present legislation is not unlikely to lead to the necessity of exclusion by act of Congress. It is needless to say this would provoke much trouble. Finally, this legislation may well lead to commercial loss, for our Asiatic markets are quickly affected by a popular resentment against what is regarded as unfair treatment.

Professor Millis insists that the agreement with the Japanese Government, made in 1907, denying passports to intending immigrants of the laboring class, "except such as (1) have been residents of the United States and are returning here, (2) are parents, wives or children of residents of this country, or (3) have and already possessed right to agricultural land," has been faithfully kept by the Tokyo Government.

The anti-alien right legislation in California, he says, is not to be explained in the light of reason.

It follows other measures—such as the restriction upon Japanese immigration itself, the boycotting of restaurants, laundries and the like conducted by or with the aid of Japanese, the prohibition of marriage between Caucasians and Asiatics, and the attempted segregation of school children—and is to be interpreted chiefly as an incident in the struggle against the so-called "Asiatic invasion." Incidentally it is designed to meet some real and other fancied evils connected with the agricultural advance of the Japanese.

The deep-seated and general opposition to the Japanese grew largely out of differences in standards and competition upon unequal terms. More specifically, it developed out of prospective numbers, racial differences, contrast in mode of life, competition upon unequal terms, and the cleverness and ambition of the Japanese immigrants. It sprang into existence all the more quickly because of the successful fight which had been waged against the Chinese, who came from the same quarter of the world; it became more pronounced because of the grouping of the Japanese in restricted areas, and was fanned into a flame by the Asiatic Exclusion League and other organizations. Like causes have begotten the same opposition to some, if not to all, races of Asiatic immi-

grants in many parts of the world, with the result that they have been discriminated against in Australia, South Africa, Chile, Peru, and Canada.

The essence of it all, says Professor Millis, is that Japanese competition has been on a lower plane than that set by the white man's standard, although the Japanese are capable and desirous of more than common wage labor.

It has been an unequal competition not limited to the field of labor. With time it has tended strongly to extend to farming, and to certain branches of business as well, and the difference in standards has not been bridged. Of course, there have been other immigrant races, as, for example, the Greek and Italian, who have also competed on a lower scale, but the degree of difference in the labor market and elsewhere has been less than in the case of the Japanese. Differences of degree lead to definition and discrimination.

CALIFORNIA'S CASE AGAINST JAPAN

THE state of mind of intelligent Californians on the Japanese question is dramatically illustrated by an incident that occurred during the session of the legislature which passed the alien land law, and is related by Chester H. Rowell, editor of the *California Outlook,* in an article in the *World's Work.* In reply to a legislator who pleaded for conservative action, "a gaunt farmer" arose to reply:

"Up at Elk Grove, where I live," he said, "on the next farm a Japanese man lives, and a white woman. That woman is carrying around a baby in her arms. What is that baby? It isn't white. It isn't Japanese. I'll tell you what it is—
"It is the beginning of the biggest problem that ever faced the American people!"

Psychologically, comments Mr. Rowell, this statement epitomizes the whole question: "What sort of baby shall prefigure the future Californian?"

Injustice has been the only American way of meeting a race problem. We dealt unjustly with the Indian, and he died. We deal unjustly with the negro, and he submits. If Japanese ever come in sufficient numbers to constitute a race problem, we shall deal unjustly with them—and they will neither die nor submit. This is the bigness of the problem, seen in the telescope of the imagination, and is the whole reason for the emotional intensity of California's agitation over a situation whose present practical dimensions are relatively insignificant. Californians are vividly conscious of their position as the warders of the Western mark. They hold not merely a political and geographic, but a racial, frontier—the border between the white man's and the brown man's world. To a keen sense of this trust, the possible crisis takes on the significance of a new Thermopylæ. Psychologically, this is the Japanese problem in California, and no view of the situation would be just to California if it omitted a sympathetic appreciation of this state of mind, and of its possible ultimate justification.

It is equally necessary to recognize that the question has a psychological aspect on the Japanese side also. At this very moment, while this is being written, twenty thousand people are surging through the streets of Tokyo, clamoring for war with America, all because the California legislature is considering a measure which is already the unprotested law of the United States, by three separate federal statutes, which is the law of five States, and has been immemorial law in Japan itself. Even a mob would not be so irrational on merely practical provocation. It is the whole revulsion of the brown man's race pride against the white man's race exclusiveness, concentrated for the moment on an otherwise inconsequential act of the white man's outpost province. It is a mutual state of emotional hyperesthesia.

As to the number of Japanese in California, this writer quotes the census figures of 1910, which tell us that there were, at that time, 71,722 Japanese in this country, of whom 55,000 were in California. The Asiatic Exclusion League estimates would nearly double these figures, for reasons which Mr. Rowell specifies in this way:

The number did not reach 1000 until 1891, and since 1907 it has officially included no laborers, but has included numerous "picture brides," many of whom have engaged in labor for hire after arrival. These women also naturally presage a new population of native-born Japanese, who will be American citizens. They are the weak point in the "gentlemen's agreement." If there are 55,000 Japanese men in the State (or 100,000, as the Exclusion League guesses), the privilege of each to send his photograph to Japan and marry it to a wife means a possible immediate increase of the population to 110,000 (or 200,000) with the potential permanent increase of the progeny of these marriages. These wives, of course, also increase the tendency of the Japanese to seek more fixed occupations. The picture bride is not permitted to leave Japan until her photograph husband has provided a place for her. "Catch 'em wife" is one of the motives commonly assigned by Japanese for taking up land leases. To these must be added whatever Japanese slip in from Mexico. The Exclusion League insists that there is a constant stream of Japanese immigration to insignificant Mexican ports near the border, with no increase in the Japanese population of those ports and no sign of its absorption elsewhere in Mexico.

Statistically, says Mr. Rowell, the quality of the Japanese immigrants is very good.

They bring in more money per capita than any but the English and German immigrants; they have less illiteracy than the immigrants from Southern Europe; they are nearly all of vigorous age and in good health; they do not become dependents nor provide many serious criminals; they are intelligent, energetic, and self-reliant, well able to take care of themselves. If white immigrants of equal quality were available, they would be welcomed enthusiastically in unlimited numbers.

At this point he makes the significant admission that "the opposition to the Japanese in California is wholly racial." After citing figures of the amount of Japanese participation in all business in California, Mr. Rowell makes this important statement:

While the Japanese do an inconsiderable part of the business of California, and very little of those sorts of farming which California has in common with other States, they practically dominate the labor of the characteristic agricultural and horticultural productions of California.

The explanation of this, the writer goes on to point out, is to be found in the migratory conditions of California, also particularly in the fruit crops, which are seasonable, "requiring a great deal of labor for a short time every year and very little labor the rest of the year." Oriental labor adapts itself to this movement and to the conditions it imposes, one of the principles of which is that the work must largely be done "squatting." Underbidding is the least part of the Japanese problem in California.

In the squatting occupations; in which the Japanese surpass white men in efficiency, they also earn more money. In their occupations the difference in wages is probably not much greater than the difference in efficiency. . . . White men shun an occupation in which Orientals are generally engaged, just as they shun a neighborhood in which Orientals largely reside, therefore the darker race can monopolize any occupation it enters, even without underbidding, simply by the retirement of the white men from it.

From the superficial American standpoint, says Mr. Rowell, the Japanese are probably less popular than the Chinese, whom they displace.

They are less docile and less fitted to that status of human mules which the American wishes the Oriental to occupy. Their moral and business standards also are more difficult for the white man to comprehend. It is a common observation that the Chinaman's only virtues are business virtues, whereas the chief faults of the Japanese are business faults. Therefore, the American business man, understanding no standards but business standards, judges the Chinese by his virtues and the Japanese by his faults.

American and Chinese civilizations are built on contract. Japanese civilization is built on personal honor and loyalty. So when the American business man sees the Chinese keeping his contract, he discovers in him the one virtue he knows how to appreciate. But when a Japanese finds himself in a contract which changed conditions have now made burdensome, he wonders uncomprehendingly how an honorable gentleman could desire to impose on him terms which are now unjust. And the honorable gentleman understands only that the Japanese wants to sneak out of an honest bargain. The two moral standards are incommensurable. The Japanese who may evade a business obligation but who will sacrifice his life to a punctilio of honor or patriotism—he is a mystery. But the Chinese who will rob his government, or perjure the member of a rival tong to the gallows, but whose business word is inviolable—he is easy to understand.

California, says Mr. Rowell, does not seem to appreciate that the present actual problem is acute at all, and that

to precipitate unnecessary action on the insignificant fraction of the problem within its immediate jurisdiction may jeopardize the far larger permanent responsibility in which California needs the coöperation of the nation and the world. Whether 10,000 acres of Japanese farms shall become 20,000 is not overwhelmingly important. That the two chief races of mankind shall stay each on its own side of the Pacific, there to conduct in peace and friendship the commerce of goods and ideas, and of the things of the spirit, but without general interpenetration of populations, or commingling of blood—that is precisely the greatest thing in the world.

The editors of the *Outlook,* in a note preceding an article on "White and Yellow in California," point out that

all the utterances of the Japanese, both in California and in Tokyo, all the statements by university men like Dr. David Starr Jordan, Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, and ex-President Eliot, all the statements made by missionaries in the Orient, dwell on international law and treaty obligations, and thus emphasize the Japanese side of the race question which is now agitating California. It is right that our treaty obligations should be insisted upon and should not be neglected, but this complicated and aggravated problem cannot be solved without a thorough knowledge of the attitude of the white mass of Californian population towards the immigrants from Japan.

The article is by Walter V. Woehlke, a student of political conditions in Europe and this country, a citizen of California, and one of the editors of the *Sunset,* a magazine of the Pacific coast. Mr. Woehlke is another witness to the racial animosity towards the Japanese, and he explains it in this way:

Before the Japanese came, every immigrant, whether from Northern Europe or Southern, from England, Germany, Sweden, Italy, or Greece, tac-

itly acknowledged the superiority of the native-born, accepted his position in the social scale humbly, without question, totally severed the tie that bound him to the old home. Peasant or college graduate, the immigrant realized—or was made to realize—that he was an apprentice, ignorant of the country and its ways, an uninvited probationer, marked as an inferior by speech, dress, and demeanor. Public opinion inexorably forced him to the bottom of the social ladder. So frequently was he reminded that no one asked him to come, so often was he urged, should he complain, to betake himself whence he came, that a very high valuation of that unattainable distinction, American nativity, grew up in the immigrant's mind. Even the educated, clear-thinking immigrant, no matter how specious the claim of racial superiority might appear to him, keenly felt the pressure of a patronizing, almost hostile environment, and often accepted, unconsciously perhaps, the subordinate rank accorded him and his nation by those born beneath the Flag. Of the force behind this grinding denationalizing process none but an immigrant can gain an adequate conception.

But this subtle process of self-degradation so pleasing to American nostrils never takes place in the Japanese soul. In his scanty baggage the immigrant brings from Nippon an abiding belief in the grandeur of his nation, a feeling of superiority over the rest of the world as unyielding, as well developed, as deeply rooted as the American pride of race. The Japanese is the first immigrant who has not only failed to pay homage at the shrine of American nativity, but who has also challenged the right of the Caucasian to march at the head of the procession. By his assertion of equality, the yellow Japanese immigrant has stung American pride to the quick. At the same time, his refusal to worship American nativity implied an assumption of superiority over the naturalized white immigrant who did thus worship. And the naturalized Americans, feeling the double slight, resented the implication bitterly. None is louder in the demand for Japanese exclusion than the white immigrant or his offspring.

THE QUESTION OF WHITE VERSUS BROWN

A VERY scholarly analysis of what he calls "The White Peril," is contributed to the *Japan Magazine* ("A Representative Monthly of Things Japanese," published in English in Tokyo), by Professor Ryutaro Nagai, of Wasada University, Tokyo. Professor Nagai reviews the injustices and oppressive acts perpetrated by the white race on other branches of the human family, and asks whether the whole question, far from being a yellow peril to the world, does not assume the character of a white peril.

From the point of view of the yellow races, the conduct of the white race is arrogant and unfair.

To seize the greater part of the earth and refuse to share it with the races who are hardly pressed for territorial space at home, even when the privilege is highly paid for by hard labor, is so manifestly unjust that it cannot continue. I remember that in 1909, when the British taxation bill was before Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George said in a public speech that London was not made for the gardens of the aristocracy, but for the poor people as well. And may we not say also that the world was not made for the white races, but for the other races as well? In Australia, South Africa, Canada, and the United States there are vast tracts of unoccupied territory awaiting settlement, and although the citizens of the ruling powers refuse to take up the land, no yellow people are permitted to enter. In Canada alone the unoccupied territory is said to be sufficient to supply one-half of the world with wheat. Thus the white races seem ready to commit to the savage beasts and birds what they refuse to intrust to their brothers of the yellow race. Even a yellow fisherman gleaning the sea along some solitary island coast is watched and apprehended for encroaching on the white preserves. Surely the arrogance and avarice of the nobility in appropriating to themselves the most and the best of the land in certain countries is as nothing compared with the attitude of the white races toward those of a different hue.

He closes with the following appeal to the Christ spirit in the white man:

We freely admit that the yellow races cannot boast of any superlative innocence or achievement, though we furnish most of the religious inspiration and motive of the world. We have in some respects much to learn in the way of further advancement along modern lines. There are amongst us glaring deficiencies in culture and conspicuous inefficiencies of mechanical contrivance. But in morals we can compare favorably with those nations to whose aggression and greed we have with reluctance been obliged to allude. If our immigrants be honestly compared with those of other nations, we have nothing to fear. The average yellow immigrant entering the United States is found to possess a larger amount of capital than those from other countries. As nations, the yellow people have never waged war of any kind on the white races, nor in any manner provoked them to jealousy or resentment. When we fight, it is always in self-defense. The white races preach to us, "peace, peace," and the futility and waste of armamental expansion; while all the time they are expending vast sums on armies and navies, and enforcing discrimination against us. Now, if the white races truly love peace, and wish to deserve the name of Christian nations, they will practise what they preach, and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld. They will rise to the generosity of welcoming our citizens among them as heartily as we do theirs amongst us. To cry "peace, peace," without rendering us justice, is surely the hollowest of hypocrisy. Any suggestion that we must forever be content to remain inferior races will not abide. Such an attitude is absolutely inconsistent with

our honor as a nation and our sovereign rights as independent States. We therefore appeal to the white races to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly coöperation.

A trenchantly written article under the title of "Are the Japanese Mongolian?" appears in the *North American Review*, from the pen of Dr. William Elliot Griffis. A pioneer educator in Japan, organizer of its first public schools, the only living white man who, from the interior of Europe, saw the feudal system in operation, and author of a number of widely read and authoritative books on Japan, Dr. Griffis is well qualified to speak on this subject. In answer to the question proposed in the title, he returns an emphatic negative. The substance of his article is given in the following:

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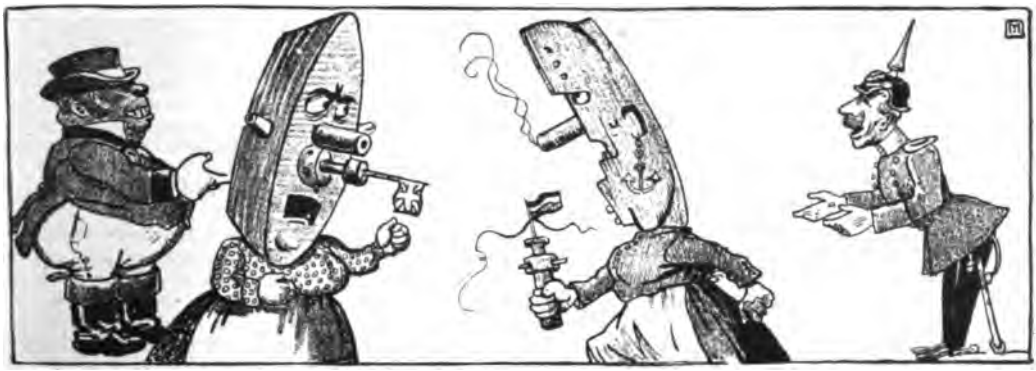
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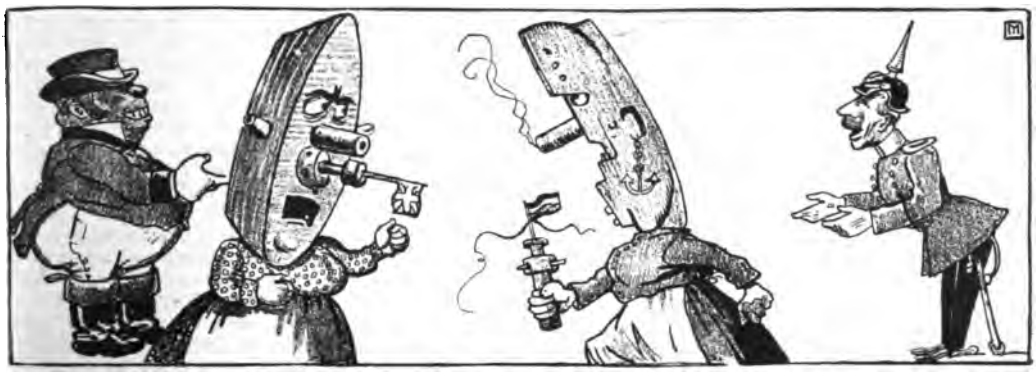
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English taxpayers will set the Government a limit which she dare not transcend, the future must show. At any rate, we see that a day may come, even for opulent England, when bounds will be set for its naval increase by the refusal of the country to pay the inordinately rapidly growing taxes.

On the second head he says in substance:

If, now, the question be asked what is to be done to prevent the decline of industry, the answer must be: Every possession is sustained by the same means by which it was acquired! The people must maintain the virtues by which they once accomplished great things—diligence, work, progressive striving; they must not yield to manners and customs which will lead them to forget what work is, or make it appear unnecessary. A people to whom a life of ease, sport, and amusement are the chief aims; where the great and rich do not set a good example to the lowly and poor, such a people will inevitably retrograde in industrial efficiency and will soon be unable to satisfy the requirements of a growing navy. It is widely asserted, even in England itself, that England is on the road of descent from the zenith of its industrial productivity. If that be so, it will soon set a limit to the increase of her naval armament.

Summing up the situation as regards the increasing disinclination to serve in the navy he says:

As elsewhere, so in England, in spite of the English love for and familiarity with the sea, the desire to serve in the navy is diminishing, because that service has lost a great deal of the charm of the days of sailing-vessels. The poetic trait which characterized it is lacking in this age of steam and electricity. It means now hard work with machines, boilers, bunkers, continued with the study and practice of ordnance and torpedoes movable only by machinery; the arduous watch on deck of the swiftly shooting vessel. It requires great self-sacrifice and self-control, with a curtailment, often abandonment, of the welcome respites in port. All this acts as a deterrent, particularly in England, where sport and amusements are the favorite occupations of all, where the people have been accustomed by wars with inferior foes to gain an easy victory. The desire to devote oneself voluntarily to such service has lessened greatly, while compulsory service, such as prevails on the continent, would, naturally, be repugnant to an Englishman, so intent upon the maintenance of his free will.

But it is not alone with obtaining recruits that the Admiralty has a hard struggle; the succession of officers is growing more scarce, or, at least, insufficient for the increased fleet. Recourse is therefore had to unusual means, such as appears in a recent order of the Admiralty which summoned reserve officers of twenty-two to thirty-two years to report for active duty.

It is evident, says this German writer in conclusion, that England has already reached, or is near, the point where she must decide whether she wants to maintain "a fleet which, though in number of vessels it transcends by far all the other Powers, is not fully manned and therefore not ready for war, or the opposite."

THE OLD CIVILIZATION OF IRELAND

AMONG writers on the early history of Ireland few have been more successful than Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, the talented widow of John Richard Green, in the preparation of whose "History of the English People" she was a valuable coadjutor. Mrs. Green has recently published a volume entitled "The Old Irish World," which forms the subject of a review by Father M. Kenny, S. J., in *America*.

In 1856, he tells us, Dr. Petrie, the eminent antiquarian, wrote to Lord Dunraven that "it seemed derogatory to the feeling of superiority in the English mind to accept the belief that Celts of Ireland or Scotland could have been equal, not to say superior, in civilization to their more potent conquerors, or that they could have known the arts of civilized life till these were taught them by the Anglo-Normans." During the past few years, however, a remarkable change of sentiment has occurred, and "there is now a public ready to be interested not only in the Danish and Norman civilization in Ireland, but also in the Gaelic culture which embraced these and made them its own,—a result due in large measure to the driving force of Mrs. Green's own historical erudition and rare literary power."

Of Mrs. Green's latest volume her reviewer presents the following critical analysis:

The first and last chapters are a detailed development of John Mitchell's dictum that England robbed Ireland, stripped and buried her, and then wrote lampoons on her tombstone; and also a triumphal vindication of Mrs. Green's historical thesis that Irish culture and prosperity were not advanced, but set back and finally destroyed by the English occupation. . . . The exposure of Professor Mahaffy's slanderous buffoonery is piquant reading, but more satisfying, because the subject is more worthy of notice, is the manner in which the author demolishes the attempted refutation of her famous book by the Cambridge Modern History's Irish representative. She has literary dexterity and argumentative acuteness, but authenticated facts and documented evidence form the substance of her proof that arts, commerce, industry, law, learning and prosperity, and social and

intellectual culture structured on religion and morality, obtained in Ireland before the Norman set foot on her shores; and that this deep-rooted Irish civilization, while assimilating what was good in Norse external methods, absorbed both Dane and Norman into Irish life and thought, and substantially persisted until Protestant penal laws eradicated all of it that force and ferocity could reach. Against her bristling array of proofs her opponent can only advance his personal preferences for the traditional version of the conquerors. The tracing of the wide vogue of this fallacious version is of special interest, and the laying of the "Scotch-Irish" legend, with the fanciful trimmings recently superadded by our late ambassador to England, should prove particularly instructive to Americans.

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But a certain element of voluntariness of such death does not permit the people to accept the same view of suicide. It is true, statistics have long shown the regular recurrence or not less regular increase and decrease in the number of suicides, that even in the selection of the instrument of death the suicides are not as "free" as it seems. But the apparent voluntariness of each individual suicide hinders the great public from understanding and recognizing the findings of science.

Stating that he does not think that the commonly accepted causes of suicide, such as "increase of necessities," "disappointment in life," "alcoholism," "nervousness of the age," "intense economic struggle," are the real causes, the writer continues:

If we agree that humanity has always produced and, it is likely, will long continue to produce groups of persons who end their lives by committing suicide, it will be necessary to recognize this manifestation as normal in a certain measure. The suicide of individual persons then becomes . . . a function of the social organism. . . . It can have different tendencies which would give it a definite character, form, and intensity. I would say that these tendencies, no matter how strange this may sound, can be healthy or unhealthy. For instance, the relative growth of the number of suicides in connection with the approach of old age can, so it seems to me, be called a healthy tendency. The non-changing number of suicides in different countries or its slow and gradual decrease or increase can also be added to the number of healthy tendencies. . . . On the contrary, the increase in the number of suicides among the active and the strong or a sudden epidemic of suicide among all classes of population of a given country would be something abnormal and would indicate that that society is undergoing a serious crisis.

In Russia the writer observes two unhealthy tendencies: a constantly rising number of suicides since 1905 and the predominance of young people among them. We find that, of 4175 cases of suicide in the years of 1906-1909, where the age was known, 59 per cent. were younger than 25 years, 34 per cent. were from 26 to 50 years, and only 7 per cent. over the age of 50.

It is the opinion of Mr. Volsky that the number of suicides is closely connected with the political and social life of a country, that it decreases when the people are united in some common cause and increases in the absence of such a unifying force. He says on this point:

We see in Europe where public organization is strengthening, where the social struggle is becoming more intense, the number of suicides for the last ten to fifteen years has been falling off: here in Russia, in the atmosphere of reactionary oppression and public dejection, the number increases at a terrific rate. In Western Europe they voluntarily end their lives who have done all they could on earth, people who have preserved only a human form, but have lost the fire of life. In Russia people depart in their prime. There life's energies have been expended and the exhausted organism naturally perishes; here the collective sense of life has been lost. . . .

And this is the remedy, as the Russian writer sees it:

The only possible way to combat the suicide evil is to fight against the disintegration of society. That man is a social animal finds a new confirmation in our epidemic of suicide. Only a group, only a collective body creates religion, morality, right, only in a collective body can man live. Only in society, in an organization of beings like himself, does man find freedom from the forces of the external world which are striving to enslave him, and only in such organization is he able to struggle against them. . . . Man is a slave to nature in general, and to his own in particular, when he is alone. Man is truly the king of creation when he is part of a collective whole.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING GROWING CHILDREN

ALL parents of growing children will read with interest the conclusions of modern anthropologists and ethnologists on the much-debated question in regard to the influences exerted respectively by heredity and environment on the stature and general development of the human body.

A thoughtful paper on this subject is contributed by Dr. F. Regnault to a late number of the *Revue générale des Sciences*.

The older school of anthropologists considered ethnic heredity, *i.e.*, the transmitted features of the race in question, the dominant factor. The authority Broca, writing more than forty years ago, declared that neither altitude nor latitude, poverty nor wealth, soil, food, nor other features of environment were of effect.

The modern view, however, is just the opposite. A study of localities based on physical geography instead of on political boundaries, has proved irrefutably that the fertility of the soil profoundly affects the physique of inhabitants, whether they be men or animals. Thus the Limousins, residing on the "cold" earths formed by talc schists, and the Morvandiaux bred on granitic mountains were alike small, lean, and ill-developed.

In a word, all the peasants who ate insufficient amounts of coarse and innutritious foods were

small and meager in size. It is the type popularly known in France as Jacques Bonhomme.

Before quoting Dr. Regnault further it is well to define the terms he uses. He prefers *format* to figure or stature, since it refers more definitely to size measured in all dimensions, *i.e.,* to volume. *Hypermetric* and *ellipometric* are more precise than giant and dwarf, since the latter names are properly applied to individuals suffering from certain disease. Thus he says:

Poor and starved savage peoples have been regarded as ellipometric; as, for example, the Bushmen of the Hottentots, the Utah Indians of the Red-skins, and the Kakalahari Negroes.

Hyponutrition does not produce merely diminution of stature; it modifies other properties, giving an elongated trunk, short limbs, a big head, wrinkled skin, enlarged joints, and projecting shoulder-blades. As these starved creatures swallow great quantities of innutritious food, often clay—they have bloated abdomens which give the pelvis a forward inclination. . . . They preserve an infantile aspect.

The same thing is true of animals, both domestic and wild, when raised on poor land where insufficient food is obtained; and also if the food is abundant but unsuitable, an instance being the Norwegian cattle fed on fish, which remain small and with small horns and have a retarded dentition. Severe cold has a similar effect, which explains the small size of the Shetland ponies; and according to recent investigations altitude, amount of sunshine, and geologic sub-soil are all highly important factors.

An unhealthful climate also acts unfavorably on development, and so do wasting diseases contracted during childhood or youth, such as malaria, scrofula, alcoholism, tuberculosis, etc. . . .

A state may be rich in the eyes of economists, yet comprise a majority of individuals poverty-stricken from a physiologic point of view.

It is reassuring to learn that "the figure varies under external conditions, but these variations have no fixity and are not transmissible"; and various cases of wild and domestic animals are cited to prove this point.

It is the same with men. When the adolescent Morvandiau, small and thin, descends into a fertile plain, he recommences a new youth; his height increases, his limbs develop, he becomes more vigorous.

Likewise young soldiers from barren regions often show amazing development after a few months of proper feeding on joining a regiment. And the opening up of an inaccessible country by railroads frequently alters the physical appearance of the populace, because of greater prosperity and better food.

An important point is the following:

The increase in size may even occur at a pretty late age, since ill-nourished persons conserve their cartilages of growth a long time intact. On the other hand men and animals that are too well-fed grow rapidly, acquire their teeth,—especially the permanent and wisdom teeth,—earlier, reach full growth early, become adult sooner, and pay for their precocity by premature old age.

For every race, human or animal, there exists a mean figure—an average format—with individual variations which oscillate between the minimum and maximum limits. . . .

In men these limits are narrower than is commonly supposed. For it is now recognized that the size of giants is due to a malady, such as acromegaly, . . . while dwarfs suffer from rickets, etc.

IS DAMASCUS TO SUCCEED CONSTANTINOPLE AS TURKISH CAPITAL?

THE events that are shaping themselves in Turkey since the cessation of hostilities in the Balkans make it appear as though the peace that has followed the war will prove to be little more than a truce so far as the Ottoman Empire, or what is left of it, is concerned. Already a process of detachment of Arabia and the other Arabic-speaking parts of Asiatic Turkey from the rest of the country is setting in, and in the region between the Mediterranean and the Persian gulf a movement has been set on foot for the separation of Arabia and Palestine from Anatolia and the other parts inhabited by the Kurds and Armenians. So pronounced is this movement that Field Marshal von der Goltz, the German military authority, whose name is well known in connection with the efforts to reorganize the Turkish army during the reign of Abdul Hamid, has written an article on the subject in the *Neue Freie Presse,* of Vienna.

In this article he lays down as the first requisite for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as now constituted after the Balkan War, the completion of the armaments in consequence of the gravity of the situation in Syria and the disorders in Arabia. He would also banish politics from the army; the navy he regards

as solid and loyal. But he particularly insists on the necessity of gaining over the Arabs, and without loss of time, to the defense of the State. The better to assure this he would have the capital of the Ottoman Empire removed from Constantinople to Aleppo or Damascus as a matter of political strategy to arrest the centrifugal action that is threatening it with disruption.

As regards the question of completing the armaments:

It has been announced that a contract has been entered into with the Krupps for a supply of guns and other war material valued at four millions of dollars, and the new battleship built in England is ready for delivery on the last payment being made.

But it is not on the material plane that the chief difficulties of any Turkish reorganization will be found. The trouble is one of long creation and can be easily traced to the ineradicable spirit of "Byzantinism" that pervades the atmosphere of Constantinople, and that will in time be as fatal to their successors as it has been to the Turks themselves and was to those before them. It was probably with the conviction of this in his mind that Marshal von der Goltz urges the radical step of removing the capital of the Ottoman Empire as far as possible from Constantinople and the cutting loose from all the influences of the *genius loci;* the shifting it from the extremity of the empire to somewhere nearer its center of gravity and to where it may become a link of union between the Turk and the Arab without which the empire must go to pieces.

Such action, however, is not of a kind to be taken without a full consideration of the circumstances and its ultimate consequences. The presumption is that the German Field Marshal's object is to strengthen and transform the Ottoman Empire into a modern state. On the other hand, there is the certainty that there are powerful influences opposed to this plan, especially if it is based on a continuance of the union of the temporal Sultanate and the spiritual Caliphate in the person of the Ottoman sovereign.

A strong Turkish or Ottoman State occupying one of the most important political and military strategical regions on the globe, with its ruler exercising at the same time the supreme spiritual influence over hundreds of millions of co-religionists subject to other governments in neighboring countries, would constitute a situation almost unparalleled in history.

A scheme was recently propounded in the London *Times* for the reorganization of Anatolia, but it had the defect from the Ottoman imperial and centralizing point of view that it practically treated that part of Turkey as separate in its interests from Mesopotamia and Arabia, omitting also Palestine; nor did it appear to contemplate a change of the Ottoman capital.

The general trend of the policy indicated in the scheme in question would be to break up Asiatic Turkey into three or even four parts, with varying interests, still governed from a point at the far northwestern extremity of the empire, subject to the corrosive influences and aggressive policies of the Balkan States and Russia. Those parts would be Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Palestine.

With regard to the last, a letter from Jaffa, written in May, spoke of a movement on foot for the acquisition by a great Jewish organization of a large area of territory on the Syrian-Egyptian frontier to add to Palestine, and of its failure because of the opposition of the Egyptian Government.

The other areas included in the plan of this organization are in the north, and comprise the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hamah, Aleppo, Antioch, and Aintab, containing, with Palestine proper, an area of about eighty thousand square miles fit for colonization. To this it is proposed to add the eastern half of the island of Cyprus, just definitely acquired by Great Britain, after thirty-five years of occupation.

Such a subdivision of Asiatic Turkey as here outlined would seem to be incompatible with the underlying principle of the Von der Goltz proposition, and would clash with the evident intentions of the German group which has obtained the concession for the construction of a great port at Alexandretta with the docks, warehouses and other requirements of a railway terminal, drawing to itself the commerce of the Euphrates valley and Southern Anatolia.

The inclusion of Aleppo and Damascus in a territory specifically distinct from the rest of the empire would disqualify either of them from becoming its capital.

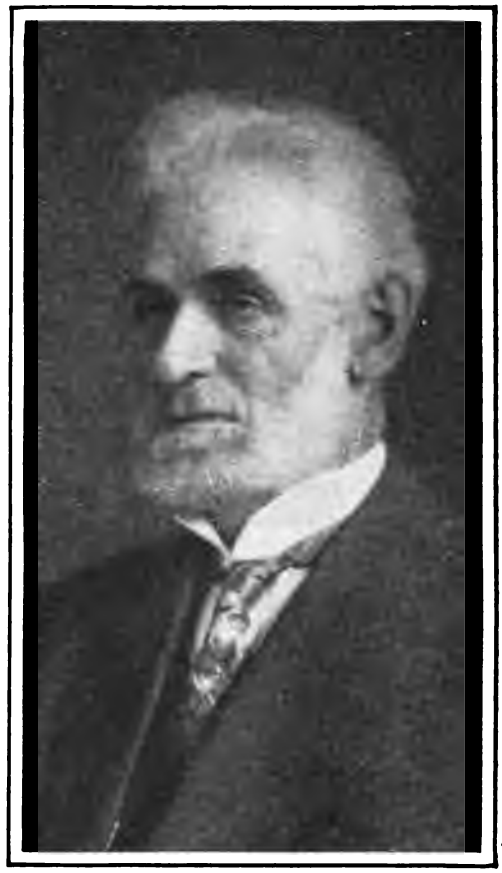
One of the two projects, therefore, must give way to the other, and the probability is that when the change of capital for the Ottoman Empire comes to be determined on the Von der Goltz proposition is the one that will prevail, unless the influences working for its disruption are stronger than those striving for its consolidation. Thus the Balkan War, so far from settling anything except the subtraction of territory from the sovereignty of the Sultan, has raised new questions of far greater moment.

THE "DIAL'S" PURITAN EDITOR

ON more than one occasion in years past this REVIEW has made reference to the admirable editorial work of Mr. Francis Fisher Browne, of the *Dial* (Chicago). The recent death of Mr. Browne in Southern California, after many years of ill-health, has called forth many tributes from literary men and from those of other callings who knew and appreciated the qualities of his work. A few pages of the *Dial* for June 1 are devoted to these expressions and to a brief summary of Mr. Browne's career.

Born in Vermont, in 1843, of New England Puritan stock, Mr. Browne had learned the printer's trade in his father's newspaper office in Western Massachusetts, and at the outbreak of the Civil War enlisted in the 46th Massachusetts Regiment, and later served with the Army of the Potomac. After beginning the study of law, and later returning to the printing office, Mr. Browne, after his marriage in 1867, decided to engage in literary work, and chose Chicago as the scene of his endeavors. There he built up the first Western magazine of consequence, the *Lakeside Monthly,* which rapidly enlisted as contributors the best writers of the West and took a high rank among American periodicals. Although such a venture could hardly hope for financial encouragement at that time, it survived the great fire of 1871, and had it not been for the editor's breakdown in health, it might have continued to flourish for many years. After its suspension, Mr. Browne acted as literary editor of a weekly journal and special editorial writer for some of the leading Chicago newspapers. At length, however, he was able to interest the publishing house of Jansen, McClurg & Co. in a journal of literary criticism, following some of the lines of such English reviews as the *Athenaeum* and the *Academy,* and in May, 1880, appeared the first issue of the *Dial.* This journal was published for twelve years as a monthly, under the auspices of Jansen, McClurg & Co. with Mr. Browne as the responsible editor. In 1892, however, Mr. Browne himself acquired the interest of the publishing house, enlarged the *Dial,* and made it a semi-monthly. From that time until his death the *Dial* appeared uninterruptedly under Mr. Browne's guidance and control.

In addition to his writings in the *Dial,* Mr. Browne is the author of a small volume of poetry, "Volunteer Grain," and of "The Every-day Life of Abraham Lincoln." He also compiled and edited several anthologies: "Bugle Echoes," a collection of Civil War poems; "Golden Poems by British and American Authors"; "The Golden Treasury of Poetry and Prose"; and seven volumes of "Laurel Crowned Verse." Of the personality of their late chief, his colleagues write in the *Dial,* referring to one of his most recent portraits:



FRANCIS FISHER BROWNE
(For thirty-three years editor of the *Dial*)

> One need not be a student of human nature to read in this face the essential characteristics of the man—the kindliness and sincerity and fearlessness, the mingled strains of gentleness and strength, of idealism and practicality, of frankness and reserve, of tolerance and pride. Dowered with that best of all inheritances, the New England conscience and ideals, he held faithful to these through fifty years of struggle and discouragement, of ill-health and poverty. The "gradual furnace of the world" tempered and refined but never crumbled his spirit. It is amazing how even those with whom he came most casually in contact felt and retained the impress

of his powerful personality. Those who knew him intimately invariably loved him. Poor as he always was in material things, he was rich beyond most in all that ministers to the spirit—in friendships, the love of nature, the appreciation of literature, kinship with little children and with the humble of earth. His feeling for poetry was of a sort that now seems almost extinct in the world. Few have ever possessed such stores of it in memory; few could recite it so well. With all the best of English and American verse he was thoroughly familiar, but his favorites—Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold, Burns, Byron, and Tennyson—he knew literally "by heart." For Arnold—the one poet, as he used to say, who never told untruths—he had probably the strongest affection.

Simplicity, sincerity, courage, persistency—these were the predominant notes in his character. Almost equally marked, however, was a certain faculty of analytical insight which enabled him to realize at a glance, as it were, the true bearings and relationships of things—to arrive almost intuitively at the essential truth of a situation or a problem. This, in the ordinary concerns of life, seemed only a sort of inspired common sense. But in the larger field of public affairs it amounted to an instinctive passion for justice which placed him constantly with the minority, but seldom led him astray.

A CUBAN PEN PICTURE OF THE SPANISH FLEET AT SANTIAGO

HISTORY is making so fast that the not far distant days of our Spanish War are still removed sufficiently from our consciousness to enable us to appreciate the esthetic side of its episodes. This aspect has been well brought out by an eye-witness of the doings at Santiago de Cuba, Señor Alfonso Hernández Catá, extracts from whose book, "La Estrella," soon to be published in Madrid, are given in *Cuba Contemporánea,* the review of Havana:

The piers were alive with people. Now and again from the file of ships, sometimes swinging obliquely at their anchorage but never changing their relative intervals, would shoot out a boat bearing marines to the shore. When they landed, the crowd would open up to let them pass and a respectful murmur would follow them. The officers wore blue uniforms, brilliant with gold lacing. They represented the common hope of all, and perhaps for this very reason, at times, feeling the eyes of the crowd fixed upon them, they would bow their heads as though oppressed with the weight of so many hopes. For the populace Spain's power seemed incorporated in those six dark craft, which had steamed in so triumphantly one morning, glancing in the sunbeams, flags and pennants fluttering in the breeze, amid plaudits of joy, their very salutes communicating a dash of heroic enthusiasm to the throng gazing at them from the shore. In the evenings, among the groups discussing the latest rumors on the Plaza de Armas, some expert would vanquish the pessimism of the timid by reading extracts from a Madrid newspaper, in which by a comparison of the fleets of the contending powers, it was demonstrated to what extent fate and foresight combined favored Spain in tonnage, guns, and skill. . . . The mere names of the warships evoked an atmosphere of patriotism and power: *Infanta Maria Teresa, Cristóbal Colón, Almirante Oquenda, Vizcaya, Furor, Plutón.* And here they were in this insignificant port, revealed to the world's notice by a hazard of war, like six bristling claws arming one of the Spanish Lion's formidable paws outstretched from afar to guard the prey above which the Eagle was circling.

And then came the day of the great tragedy, one of the most poignant in all naval history. Yet, terrible as it was, we can scarcely fail to see that it set a stamp of dignity and heroism upon Spain's hopeless effort that did much to make us forget the many and grievous faults she had committed in her treatment of the Cuban revolutionists. The departure of the fated vessels is thus touchingly and eloquently described by the Cuban writer:

One morning the marines who had been disembarked to reinforce the contingent in the trenches were recalled to their ships. They marched down toward the piers, formed in a column of four files, flanked by their officers at regular intervals. The rhythmic beat of the steps sounding in the ill-paved streets, announced their coming from afar, and the people turned out to see them pass. They marched with long strides, unhesitatingly, no smile on their faces, but with an expression testifying as much of heroism as of unconcern. An old man watching them from a window said to a woman at his side: "They are going to their death." . . .

From the esplanade behind the piers but few witnessed the departure of the fleet. It took place in the early morning. From the funnels of the warships arose dense clouds of smoke which combined in the air to form a kind of pall that hovered above them. When they got under way a profound silence reigned; the minds of all seemed oppressed by the same anxious thought. The sun, causing the water to glow like a funeral pyre, lighted up the gay colors of the flags and pennants. As the flagship entered the first bend of the channel, a "viva" rang out through the air. It was a single sonorous, enthusiastic outburst, succeeded by dead silence. Not a wave ruffled the water, not a breeze stirred the air, not a cloud dimmed the sky. One after the other the warships passed out of sight, leaving the bay deserted. . . . Only the distant and continuous booming of cannon gave the certainty that at this moment a supreme combat was taking place, with all its horrors of destruction and death, behind the serene hills gilded by the sun's rays.

BIOGRAPHY, AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND REMINISCENCE

THE publication of the autobiographical books of August Strindberg will tend to correct the unpleasant impression made by his morbid plays, of which "The Countess Julia" is an example. "The Son of a Servant"[1] relates the principal events of his boyhood, and reveals the conditions of life in the Strindberg household that fostered the rebellious spirit that in after years poured out vials of wrath and tears upon the printed page.

Strindberg's Self-Revelation

"The Inferno" is the trial of a soul, and Strindberg is the accused, the judge, and the advocate in one. His sickness is of body as well as of mind; he sees things during these years that are not to be seen and hears things that are not to be heard; he touches the edge of the realm where all things are horrible, chaotic, and illusory. Two unfortunate marriages have embittered him. He refers to his second wife, the Austrian, as his "jaileress"; he regards woman as a sensuous feeder upon husks, who will not concede freedom to man even in the realms of spirit. Always he feels himself to have been born out of time and place. Freedom, always more freedom, is his cry, yet he cannot be free; his fate is inevitable; he cannot escape. "I look for God and find the Devil," he writes; and again: "How is one to explain the fact that every step of progress in virtue gives rise to a fresh sin"? Strindberg is at last rescued from his "Inferno" by a return to physical health and by his study of the Northern Seer, Swedenborg.

The last and perhaps the greatest (surely as philosophy the greatest) of Strindberg's books is the one which closes and epitomizes the vast literary record of his life, "Zones of the Spirit," a compilation from the book of personal experience which he kept (*Das Blau Buch*).

Here we discover Strindberg once more a Christian. Swedenborg's spiritual philosophy had swept his mind clear of the rubbish of atheism. It is the end of what Mr. Claude Field calls the "Moral Comedy," as suggested by the familiar words of Dante:

> "Surge ai mortali per diverse foci
> La lucerna de mondo."

His third marriage has failed, being dissolved by mutual consent, but his bitterness against woman has gone. He writes of marriage and of love with deep and passionate understanding of the delicacy and beauty of perfect devotion. He defines true marriage as perhaps no other Scandinavian has done, and his exaction from ideal marriage is the exaction of the Ultra-Moderns. Woman must understand man's states of soul: life must to her be a musical instrument upon which she executes a superb harmony; she must enter into the holy of holies of life, regenerate, transfigured, a soul loving another soul "as it is in heaven."

Strindberg advises you to read Swedenborg with your Emerson in one hand. This advice will also hold for Strindberg. Also it is best to read Strindberg backwards, for only by the knowledge of the man will you understand the lonely boy of "The Son of a Servant."

What is the summary of his research as scientist, writer, and philosopher? What was so plastic in his faith that it assumed all forms, yet stubbornly resisted transmutation? Here is the "Summa Summarum":

"Pray, but work; suffer, but hope; keeping both the earth and the stars in view. Do not try and settle permanently, for it is a place of pilgrimage; not a home, but a halting place. Seek truth, for it is to be found, but only in one place, with Him who Himself is the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

A biographical character sketch of Ellen Key, the celebrated Swedish writer on social and economic topics, particularly the feminist question, has appeared in English translation from the Swedish. It is entitled "Ellen Key: Her Life and Work,"[2] and is by Louise Nyström-Hamilton, and the English translation is by A. E. B. Fries. It is written from intimate knowledge, by the wife of the founder of the People's Hospital in Stockholm, where, for more than twenty years, Ellen Key taught and lectured. There is an appreciative introduction by Havelock Ellis, and a frontispiece and other portraits.

Ellen Key's Life Work

A series of amazingly intimate reminiscences of the royal courts of Europe is given in the life story of Countess Marie Larisch.[3] It is the first full and detailed account ever published of the tragedy of Meyerling, in which, twenty-four years ago, the Archduke Rudolph, heir to the throne of Austria, lost his wife. Countess Marie Larisch is a niece of the late Empress Elizabeth of Austria (being the only daughter of Duke Ludwig of Bavaria). She tells many interesting and new things about her august and unfortunate aunt, and about court life at Vienna. The chief interest of the book, however, is the fearful, tragic story, told now in the minutest detail, of the last hours of Archduke Rudolph and the beautiful, unfortunate Countess Mary Vetsera, who perished with him. The book is entitled "My Past."

Austrian Court Life

A few other noteworthy works of biographical and historical reminiscent interest include: "The World's Leading Conquerors" (Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, the Ottoman Sultans, the Spanish Conquistadors, and Napoleon), by W. L. Bevan, of the University of the South, in the series, "The World's Leaders," edited by W. P. Trent[4]; "Princess and Queen of England, Life of Mary II," by Mary F. Sandars[5]; "Royal Women" (Elizabeth,

[1] Son of a Servant. By August Strindberg. Putnam. $1.25

[2] Ellen Key. By Louise Nystrom-Hamilton. Translated by Anna E. P. Fries. Putnam. 187 pp., ill. $1.25.

[3] My Past. By Countess Marie Larisch. Putnam. 379 pp., ill. $3.50.

[4] The World's Leading Conquerors. By W. L. Bevan. Holt. 473 pp., ill. $1.75.

[5] Princess and Queen of England; Life of Mary II. By Mary F. Sandars. Duffield. 386 pp., ill. $4.

Mary Queen of Scots, Marie Antoinette, and the Empress Josephine), by Mary Ridpath-Mann;[1] "Richard Jeffries: His Life and His Ideals," by Henry S. Salt;[2] and "Mark Twain and Happy Island," ("a record of days in Bermuda"), by Elizabeth Wallace.[3]

A Civil-War Statesman

That rugged figure in Civil War politics, one of the best-loved and best-hated men of his time, Thaddeus Stevens, is the subject of a new biography by Professor James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University.[4] It is natural, and in fact almost inevitable, that Professor Woodburn should develop his book from a biographical sketch into a rather elaborate study of political history in the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Now that the thought of this generation has been turned to the stirring events of that period by the observance of many semi-centennial anniversaries, it is fitting that the statesmanship of the period, as well as the military leadership, should be properly recognized. Stevens, in his day, was known as the Great Commoner, and there was much in his career that warranted such a characterization. Whatever may be thought of his partisanship, Stevens, by his direction of the financial policy of the Union during the war, and in dealing with the money stringency, proved himself one of the ablest parliamentary leaders of our history.

The Hero of Pickett's Charge

Almost simultaneously with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Gettysburg appears an appreciation of "Pickett and His Men," by the widow of General George E. Pickett.[5] Mrs. Pickett has based her account of the battles in which her husband took part on the official and other reports of eye witnesses and participants. She declares that she has purposely avoided reading histories of the war by authors on both sides, and has based her own narrative upon strictly original material, excluding every disparaging statement which the facts of history and justice to all participants would possibly permit. The spirit of the book is admirable, and will be read with almost equal interest by the survivors of both armies.

A Typical American

"A Sunny Life" is the apt title of the biography of the late Samuel June Barrows, by Isabel C. Barrows, his wife.[7] One can hardly imagine such a career as having been lived elsewhere than in America. It will doubtless be news to many of Mr. Barrows' friends of his later years that he was born in New York's old East Side. He was self-supporting from the age of eight. An errand-boy in a printing-office at nine, teaching himself shorthand, becoming a newspaper reporter, and later secretary to William H. Seward, then Secretary of State in the early reconstruction period, a newspaper correspondent with Custer on the plains during the '70's, he became a divinity student at Harvard, and, for sixteen years, was editor of the *Christian Register,* the official organ of Unitarianism in America. Even these varied activities formed only the vestibule, as it were, of Mr. Barrows' public career, for he became a member of Congress at the time of the Spanish War, and during the last ten years of his life served as Secretary of the New York Prison Association, and at the time of his death was president of the International Prison Congress, being recognized as one of the leading penologists of the United States. Mrs. Barrows, herself a skilled and practised writer, has had the great advantage, in this instance, of a special knowledge and sympathetic interest in her subject.

SOCIOLOGY AND GOVERNMENT

Dr. Wallace on Social Ills

SOME months ago the newspapers reported Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace as saying that the civilized world had made no progress in morality since the days of the Egyptians. Dr. Wallace, now in his ninety-first year, was the co-discoverer with Darwin of the principle of evolution, and such a verdict upon social conditions from a man of his ripened judgment seemed discouraging indeed. His point of view is set forth clearly and convincingly in his book, "Social Environment and Moral Progress," which has just come from the press.[6] It is a sad and dark picture that he paints: "Our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom, and the social environment is the worst that the world has even seen"—this is his verdict. In justification of it, he recalls to our minds, with stinging, incontrovertible logic, all the social, political, and economic wrongs and injustices from which we suffer to-day. After treating of morality in general, and of character as a permanent attribute of humanity, he devotes a chapter to environment during the nineteenth century, tracing the gradual urbanization of life in civilized countries, the drift from country to crowded city, and all the ills of "hectic industrialism." A few of the words and phrases in his chapters show the range of his indictment: Insanitary Dwellings, Adulteration, Bribery, Gambling, Immoral Justice, Prostitution, Alcoholism, and Suicide. The result of the vast economic revolution which has come of the advance of man's power to utilize the forces of nature has been, says Dr. Wallace, "almost entirely evil"; all our remedies "have been petty and ineffectual." Closing with what he calls "the root cause and the remedy, Dr. Wallace says:

"If we review with care the long train of social evils which have grown up during the nineteenth century, we shall find that every one of them, however diverse in their nature and results, is

[1] Royal Women: Their History and Romance. By Mary Ridpath-Mann. McClurg. 216 pp., ill. $1.25.
[2] Richard Jefferies; His Life and His Ideals. By Henry S. Salt. London: A. C. Fifield. 119 pp. 25 cents.
[3] Mark Twain and the Happy Island. By Elizabeth Wallace. McClurg. 139 pp., ill. $1.
[4] The Life of Thaddeus Stevens. By James A. Woodburn. Bobbs-Merrill. 620 pp., ill. $2.50.
[5] Pickett and His Men. By LaSalle Corbell Pickett. Lippincott. 313 pp., ill. $2.50.
[6] Social Environment and Moral Progress. By Alfred Russel Wallace. Cassell. 181 pp. $1.25.
[7] A Sunny Life: The Biography of Samuel June Barrows. By Isabel C. Barrows. Little, Brown. 323 pp., ill. $1.50.

due to the same general cause, which may be defined or stated in a variety of different ways:

"(1) They are due, broadly and generally, to our living under a system of universal competition for the means of existence, the remedy for which is equally universal coöperation.

"(2) It may be also defined as a system of economic antagonism, as of enemies, the remedy being a system of economic brotherhood, as of a great family, or of friends.

"(3) Our system is also one of monopoly by a few of all the means of existence: the land, without access to which no life is possible; and capital, or the results of stored-up labor, which is now in the possession of a limited number of capitalists and therefore is also a monopoly. The remedy is freedom of access to land and capital for all.

"(4) Also, it may be defined as social injustice, inasmuch as the few in each generation are allowed to inherit the stored-up wealth of all preceding generations, while the many inherit nothing. The remedy is to adopt the principle of equality of opportunity for all, or of universal inheritance by the State in trust for the whole community.

"These four statements of the existing causes of all our social evils cannot, I believe, be controverted, and the remedies for them may be condensed into one general proposition; that it is the first duty (in importance) of a civilized government to organize the labor of the whole community for the equal good of all; but it is also their first duty (in time) to take immediate steps to abolish death by starvation and by preventable disease due to insanitary dwellings and dangerous employments, while carefully elaborating the permanent remedy for want in the midst of wealth."



DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

A stimulating discussion of the "Larger Aspects of Socialism," particularly on its intellectual and spiritual sides, is Mr. William English Walling's latest contribution to the literature of socialism.[1] Starting out with a quotation from a public speech of the late Señor Canalejas, Premier of Spain,—"Socialism is not only a doctrine, a system, a method; it is all this and more; it is a civilization,"—Mr. Walling deliberately argues his way through philosophy, science, biology, history, society, morality, education, man, woman, and socialism. He buttresses his statements with copious quotations from socialistic and anti-socialistic writers, devoting considerable space to the ideas of Ellen Key, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Olive Schreiner. There is an appendix on socialism and pragmatism and on socialism and religion.

The Meaning of Socialism

A vigorous exposition of syndicalism in philosophy and practice, together with a concise statement of its present status all over the world, is made by Mr. André Tridon, in his book, "The New Unionism."[2] This is a study of industrial agitation all over the world, under whatever name it may appear: Industrialism (I. W. W.) in the United States, Revolutionary Syndicalism in France, Localism or Anarcho-Socialism in Germany. In order to make the picture more appealing, Mr. Tridon gives us literary sketches of some of the leaders in the movement, including Haywood, Ettor, Giovannitti, Tom Mann, Pataud, Yvetot, Ferri, Por, and others. There are many helpful documents included in the text, in extenso or in summary.

Syndicalism

"We live," says Walter Lippmann, in his brilliant essay, "A Preface to Politics,"[3] in a revolutionary period, "and nothing is so important as to be aware of it." The measure "of our self-consciousness will more or less determine whether we are to be the victims or the masters of change." The age, says Mr. Lippmann, in conclusion, "is rich with varied and generous passions," and that is the hope for it.

An Age of Change

In seven crisp chapters Mr. Edward Sandford Martin discusses from the standpoint of mere man why the minds of modern women are so much disturbed; what social changes they seek; whether these changes would be beneficial; and whether the suffrage would help to bring them about.[4] He pays his respects to President Thomas, of Bryn Mawr; Mrs. Belmont, Miss Jane Addams, Miss Inez Milholland, and others, closing with his own idea of what the "fuss" is all about.

Women and Social Change

[1] The Larger Aspects of Socialism. By William English Walling. Macmillan. 403 pp. $1.50.
[2] The New Unionism. By Andre Tridon. Huebsch. 198 pp. $1.
[3] A Preface to Politics. By Walter Lippmann. Mitchel. Kennerley. 318 pp. $1.50.
[4] The Unrest of Women. By Edward Sandford Martin. 146 pp. $1.



H. G. WELLS, AS THE ARTIST OF "THE NEW AGE" SEES HIM

The eminent Swiss scientist and psychologist, Dr. F. W. Foerster, lecturer in ethics and psychology at the University of Zurich, some year or so ago brought out his book "Marriage and the Sex Problem."[1] This has gone through five or six editions in the German original, selling more than 40,000 copies, and has been translated into three languages, English now making the fourth.[1] Dr. Foerster writes from the standpoint of the psychologist and educator, but comes to the conclusion that the Christian marriage ideal best answers the physical, ethical, and spiritual needs of humanity. There is a section, written with admirable clarity and restraint, dealing with the education of boys and girls.

Marriage

A very keen analysis of the attitude of thinking men of to-day towards the problems of the future was made recently by that brilliant Englishman, H. G. Wells, in an address recently delivered at the Royal Institution. This address has just been published in book form, under the title "The Discovery of the Future."[2] There are two types of mind, says Mr. Wells, utterly divergent, and to be distinguished chiefly by their attitude toward time. The first, the predominating one, that of the majority of living people, he says, is that which seems "scarcely to think of the future at all, which regards it as a sort of blank non-existence upon which the advancing present will presently write events." The second, which Mr. Wells characterizes as more modern and much less abundant, "thinks constantly, and by preference, of things to come, and of present things mainly in relation to the results that must arise from them." The first type he calls the legal, or submissive; the second, the legislative, or creative, or masterful. "Things have been, says the legal mind, and so we are here. The creative mind says we are here because things have yet to be."

Three recent books on British governmental structure and problems are: F. W. Bussell's "A New Government for the British Empire."[3] Carlton Hayes's "British Social Politics"[4]; and H. S. Perris's "Pax Britannica."[5] Dr. Bussell, who is fellow and vice-principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, and author of a number of books on the politics of government and the government of politics, enters a special protest against the "rancor of party spirit," which, he says, brings about such a state of affairs in political and social Britain that "while the real character of our complex nation remains sound, all public and political influences, methods and vocabulary are alike demoralizing." The matter with England, in his opinion, is chiefly "the opportunism and avowed helplessness of our public men." Professor Hayes's book points out briefly and clearly what has recently been accomplished along the lines of social reform and the welfare of the workingman: workmen's compensation, trade unionism, child welfare, old-age pension, unemployed, sweated labor, housing and the problems, the Lloyd-George budget, curbing the Lords, and national insurance. Mr. Perris is secretary of the British Committee of the British-American Peace Centenary. His "Pax Britannica" is a study of the history of British pacification—"a point of view which is new in history books, but which is vital in the thought and aspiration of this present age."

British Problems

A very painstaking, comprehensive, and useful compendium is Professor Frederic Austin Ogg's new work on "The Governments of Europe."[6] The treatment follows three general lines: a comparative study of political institutions; a summary of historical origins; and a brief, impartial exposition of political parties and of the institutions of local administration. Necessarily, a work of this kind is more or less encyclopedic in style, but its thoroughness and scope make it a very useful addition to the ever lengthening list of works on political history and political institutions.

European Governments

[1] Marriage and the Sex Problem. By F. W. Foerster Stokes. 225 pp. $1.35.
[2] The Discovery of the Future. By H. G. Wells. Huebschl 61 pp. 50 cents.
[3] A New Government for the British Empire. By F. W. Bussell. Longmans, Green. 108 pp. $1.25.
[4] British Social Politics. By Carlton Hayes. Ginn. 590 pp. $1.75.
[5] Pax Britannica. By H. S. Perris. Macmillan. 319 pp. $1.50.
[6] The Governments of Europe. By Frederic Austin Ogg. Macmillan. 668 pp. $3.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL, EXPLORATION AND ADVENTURE

AN Englishman's impressions of the Golden State,[1] in a tour "guided rather by a vagrant taste for idling than by any desire to tilt against the windmills of great national problems," affords some interesting reading. The author, Arthur T. Johnson, has a keen eye and the courage of his convictions. He does not always say "nice" things, but one is impressed by the justice of most of his observations.[1]

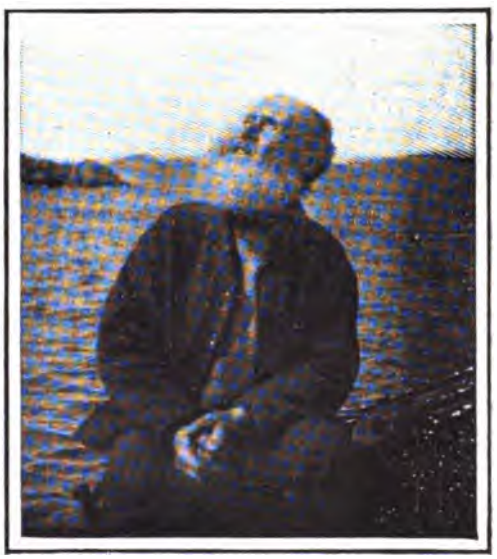
An Englishman in California

A series of sketches of famous pioneers who carried the Christian gospel to the American Indian has been gathered and edited by Mary Gay Humphreys under the title, "Missionary Explorers Among the American Indians."[2] John Eliot, Samson Occum, Daniel Brainerd, Marcus Whitman, Stephen Riggs, and John Lewis Dyer are the subjects of the volume.

Missionary Explorers

Labrador is interesting far out of proportion to its material attractiveness. Its sparse population, living, as it does, under such severe physical conditions, in a comparatively unknown region of vast extent, would appeal to the outside world in only meager degree, were it not for two things, the cod and seal fishery and the uplift work of Dr. Grenfell. A comprehensive, one might almost say a last-word, account of Labrador and all about it, covering 529 pages, by Dr. Grenfell and some others, furnishes an illustrated book of description that is well worth doing. There are appendices and an excellent bibliography.[3]

Little-Known Labrador



THE "PRAYER LEADER" OF LABRADOR
(One of the quaint characters described by Dr. Grenfell in his latest book)

[1] California: An Englishman's Impressions of the Golden State. By Arthur T. Johnson. Duffield. 346 pp., ill. $3.50.
[2] Missionary Explorers Among the American Indians. Edited by Mary G. Humphreys. Scribner's. 306 pp., ill. $1.50.



THE PRESENT OCCUPANTS OF THE ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON HOUSE AT MONTEREY
(From a photograph taken by Arthur T. Johnson and reproduced in his book on California)

According to George Palmer Putnam, the completion of the Panama Canal will mean the rediscovery of Central America. This region he characterizes as "a delightful pasture new, wherein the traveler, who is equipped with a moderately healthy liver, a passable temper, and an inquisitive disposition, may browse with peculiar satisfaction." These words are quoted from the first chapter of Mr. Putnam's book "The Southland of North America."[4] There are plenty of interesting pictures in the volume and some quite entertaining reading.

Central America

[3] Labrador. By Wilfred T. Grenfell and others. Macmillan. 529 pp., ill. $2.50.
[4] The Southland of North America. By George P. Putnam. Putnam. 425 pp., ill. $2.50.

Two new books on Panama that have a lively interest, as well as the value of first-hand information, are: "Zone Policeman 88,"[1] by Harry A. Franck, and "Panama and What It Means,"[2] by John Foster Fraser. Mr. Franck, who made himself known almost all over the world a few years ago by his "Vagabond Journey," is a born story-teller and a born tramp. When that combination goes into a book of travel, the reader gets something worth while. In this book, which is full of speaking pictures, the reader gets not only a picture of the Canal Zone as seen by the curious tourist in a hurry, but the life and spirit of all the great engineering country. Mr. Fraser writes in a more serious vein, but with a picturesqueness that is almost equally appealing.

Panama and the Zone

A new book on Chile which supplies much information not given in the text-books is W. H. Koebel's "Modern Chile,"[3] with illustrations and a map. There are chapters on the intellectual and temperamental qualities of the people, as well as the economics of their country.

Chile and the Chileans

"Magnetic Paris," by Adelaide Mack, is a vivid, rapid account of several weeks spent in the French capital by an American girl who knew "more or less French." The pictures are clever and generally illustrate the text.[4] Another book of Paris from the inside is "The Spirit of Paris,"[5] by Frankfort Summerville. It is written in lively style and illustrated in color.

Impressions of Paris

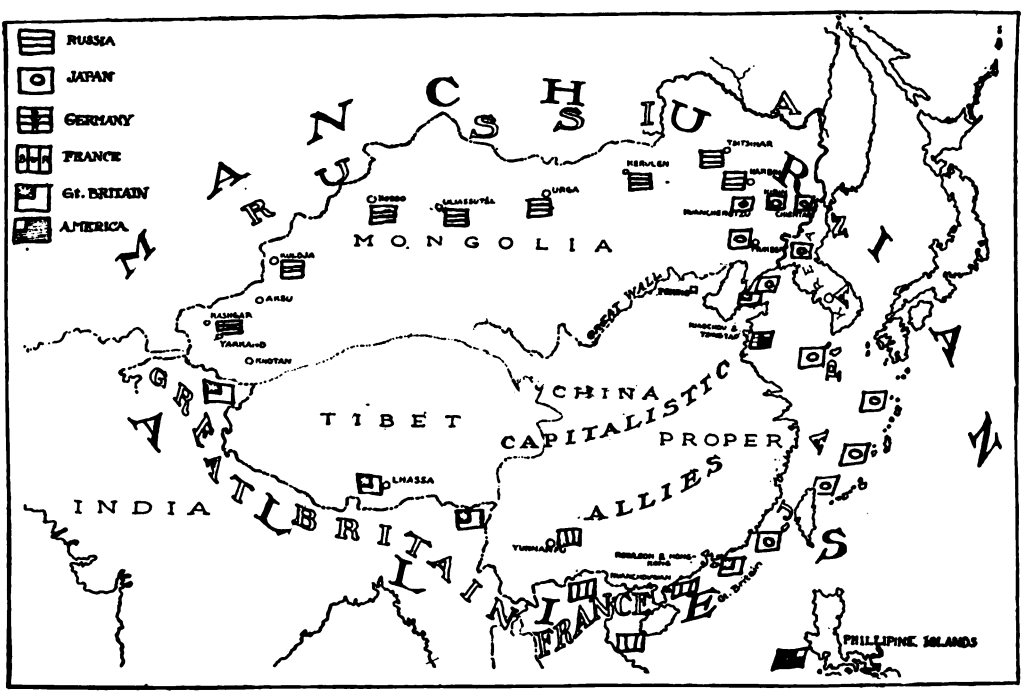
And still the press issues books of description, argument, explanation, and laudation on the Balkan War. "With the Turks in Thrace," by Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, the brilliant war correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph*,[6] gives the story of the retreat of the Ottoman forces before the Bulgars to the accompaniment of some excellent illustrations. "With the Bulgarian Staff," by Noel Buxton, M. P.,[7] tells the story from the other side. It is also adequately illustrated, chiefly from photographs. The Bulgarians, says Mr. Buxton, in closing, "according to all the theory of the militarists, ought to be feeble for want of fighting. He had fought no war worth mentioning; he had not even won his own freedom, like the Greek, the Serb and the Montenegrin; he was a parasite *protégé* of his Russian patrons. Yet, in spite of all, he developed a character as energetic, as virile, as resourceful, and as brave as any in the world."

The Balkan War

An account of a journey to Mecca and Medina, the first made by an Englishman in more than half a century, and the story of the Turkish attempts to subdue Yemen are given by A. J. B. Wavell in "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca."[8] The text is enlivened with many characteristic illuminating incidents.

An English Pilgrim

[1] Zone Policeman 88. By Harry A. Franck. Century. 314 pp., ill. $2.
[2] Panama and What It Means. By John F. Fraser. Cassell. 291 pp., ill. $1.75.
[3] Modern Chile. By W. H. Koebel. London: G. Bell & Sons. 278 pp., ill. $2.50.
[4] Magnetic Paris. By Adelaide Mack. Bobbs-Merrill. 244 pp., ill. $1.75.
[5] The Spirit of Paris. By Frankfort Summerville. London: Adam and Charles Black. 269 pp., ill. $2.
[6] With the Turks in Thrace. By Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett. Doran. 335 pp., ill. $3.
[7] With the Bulgarian Staff. By Noel Buxton. Macmillan. 164 pp., ill. $1.25.
[8] A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca. By A. J. B. Wavell. Small, Maynard. 349 pp., ill. $2.80.



THE FOREIGNER CLOSING IN ON CHINA
(Map used by Frederick McCormick in his book, "The Flowery Republic." See next page)

Life in Russia

A tramping diary with notes and reflections, with chapters on town and country life, journalism, and seaside resorts,—this is the latest volume of Stephen Graham (author of "Undiscovered Russia" and "A Vagabond in the Caucasus"), which he has entitled "Changing Russia."[1] Mr. Graham has the faculty of seeing the significant, typical things in any country and of writing about them in a thought-provoking style. He tells a great deal about the inner life of the Russian bourgeois, of whom, by the way, he has a very, very poor opinion. Russian literature, he tells us, is stagnant. "The intelligentia, aided by the spirit of the West, is in steady conflict with the national spirit, and neither will give way." The book is full of anecdotes and incidents casting an instructive light upon Russian life. A good deal of the same sort of side lights on the life of Russian masses, particularly the peasants, in this case, is given in A. S. Rappoport's "Home Life in Russia."[2]

The Chinese Republic

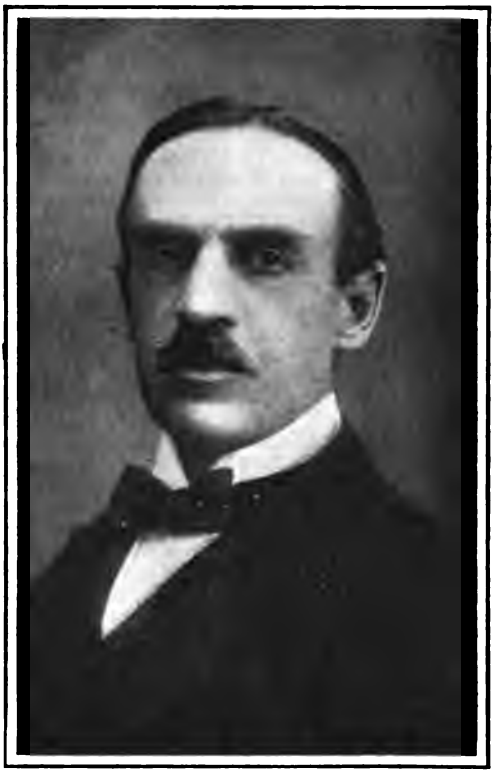
A strong new, authoritative book on China under the title "The Flowery Republic" has been written by Frederick McCormick.[3] For a dozen years Mr. McCormick has been special writer and war correspondent for a number of the best-known metropolitan journals of this country. He has been in China for years, was with the Russians and Japanese alternately during the war, and talked with most of the big men on both sides. His style is entertaining and impressive, and he has added much to the book by the exceedingly interesting and unusual pictures.

Modern Japan

A new edition (the ninth) thoroughly revised and brought down to date, of Ernest W. Clement's "A Handbook of Modern Japan," has been brought out by McClurg.[4] The view-point, the writer tells us, is that of greater Japan as it is to-day.

Germany Through American Eyes

Price Collier, who always sees the significant thing in his world experiences and knows how to describe it so stimulatingly and illuminatingly, has done nothing better than his "Germany and the Germans From an American Point of View."[5] He has aimed, he tells us in his introduction, to write not a guide book, certainly not a history; rather a sketch of "what is on the other side of the great doors when the announcer speaks your name and you enter Germany." Mr. Collier's frankness is amazing. His faculty for appreciation is as evident as the keenness of his literary scalpel. There are twenty-two pages of "Conclusion" in the last chapter. The sum and substance of it all, however, is that "many of the weaknesses and much of the strength of Germany are artificial. They have not grown, they have been forced." Germany "is the most over-governed country in the world." Germany "has shown us that the short cut to the governing of a people by suppression and strangulation results in a dreary development of mediocrity. . . . From the American point of view any sacrifice, any war were better than the domination of the Prussian methods of nation-making."



PRICE COLLIER
(Whose latest book, "Germany and the Germans," is noticed on this page)

[1] Changing Russia. By Stephen Graham. Lane. 309 pp., ill. $2.50.
[2] Home Life in Russia. By A. S. Rappoport. Macmillan. 287 pp., ill. $1.75.
[3] The Flowery Republic. By Frederick McCormick. Appleton. 447 pp., ill. $2.50.
[4] A Handbook of Modern Japan. By Ernest W. Clement. McClurg. 436 pp., ill. $1.40.
[5] Germany and the Germans From an American Point of View. By Price Collier. Scribner's. 602 pp., $1.50.

A FEW MODERN PLAYS

"THE Lower Depths," a play of "to-day and to-morrow," by Maxim Gorky,[1] as written in the argot of the underworld. It is constructively, a variant of "The Third Floor Back," or more definitely, of "The Servant in the House." All three are based upon the appearance in differing social groups of a mysterious man who, in spiritual influence, typifies the Christ.

Gorky's "The Lower Depths"

Mikhail Ivanoff Kostiloff and his wife, Vassilisa, are keepers of a night shelter, a miserable cellar where vagabonds and tatterdemalions seek refuge. In this shelter live Andree Klesshtsh, a locksmith, and his wife, Anna, who is dying with lung trouble; Nastya, a street-walker; Pepel, a thief; Kvashnya, a hawker of meat pies; "The Actor," a chronic drunkard; Alyosha, a bootmaker; Satine, a cynic, and other birds of a feather. A pilgrim enters—Luka, an old man. He surprises the inmates by simply being kind. They nickname him "Grandpa" and "Daddy," in contempt of his good-nature, but gradually each in some spasm of acute misery of mind or body turns to him for comfort—Natasha, for defense of the silly novel she is reading; Anna for strength to die. He comforts all. To Anna he says: "You're going to die and then you'll be at peace, there'll be nothing more yer need fear, nothing. Death—it settles all ——. They'll lead you up to God, and they'll say, 'Lord, look here, behold here is Thy servant, Anna'—— Then He'll say, 'Take her, that Anna, into Paradise. Let 'er be at peace—for I know 'er life, it was very hard—she's very weary.'"

To brawlers, Luka says: "I only say that is one man 'asn't done good to another 'e 'asn't done well"; and again to Pepel, the thief, who asks Luka if there is a God, he whispers: "If you believe it—there is; if you don't believe it, there's not—that which yer believe in that is——"

Throughout the play the old man works upon the minds and hearts of these children of the "lower depths." He relates the touching story of an ignorant man in Siberia who believed that there was on earth, actually, a land of righteousness. A scholar comes to exile in Siberia and by means of maps makes it quite clear to the simple man that there is no land of righteousness on the earth, and in his despair the simple man hangs himself. He tells them also a story of a carpenter who came to live for the "better man," "such a carpenter as never was in all the world." Then, amid a scene of crime and confusion, he vanishes; he is gone "like smoke before the fire" and only the memory of his words remains with the outcasts. Opposed to Luka, Gorky, with consummate art, has placed Satine (the name suggests his character), who hurls the Neitzchean doctrine of the Superman against the creed of the Galilean, and sardonically watches it crumble to dust and ashes before the power of a living faith. The play is translated by Lawrence Irving and was produced at the Kingsway Theater, London, December 2, 1911.

Judas has remained down the centuries the one psychological mystery of the twelve Apostles. The thirty pieces of silver have seemed entirely insignificant in comparison to the enormity of his deed. Theologians have on the one hand considered him the tool of predestination, and, on the other, so lost to virtue and loyalty that the pieces of silver outvalued his Master. Neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory. The first denies free will; the second places Judas on so low a mental and moral plane that he could never consistently nor voluntarily have become the disciple of the Master.

A New Portrayal of Judas

Mr. Harry Kemp offers another explanation (though by no means a new one) in his drama, "Judas."[2] Here is Judas' reasoning as voiced by Mr. Kemp:

"'Twill be a glorious betrayal—caught at last in a trap from which there is no escape, save by superhuman means, He will hesitate no longer; He will withhold His divine strength no more; He will pronounce the Mighty Word, the night will straightway flash everywhere with winnowing wings of fire, and, at a moment, the Kingdom will have come."

To the last, Judas believes that He will step from the cross and yet fulfil His faith. Mr. Kemp's handling of his subject matter is to be highly commended. The phrasing is simplicity itself, yet it carries conviction with its reasoning.

"The Americans," by Edwin Davies Schoonmaker,[3] is a curious kind of a play, mystical, driving far from reality, yet on the instant turning back to the commonplace and the practical. It is intended to be an epic of labor, a drama of the struggle between capital and labor which emphasizes the necessity for unionized, militant opposition of the masses to the classes. The end brings tragedy, the bugles sound, and real industrial warfare commences. The reader must draw a sharp dividing line between this drama as an acting play and as social philosophy. As a play, it is well written, energetic, vital, and powerful; as social teaching, it seems in error. The "Cause," that is, justice to labor, the "beautiful river flowing through the land," to quote Mr. Schoonmaker's phrase, is not confined to thoroughfare in the hearts of the proletariat alone at the present time.

A Drama of Labor

Cosmo Hamilton offers a brilliantly written play, "The Blindness of Virtue."[4] It emphasizes the truth that ignorance and its accompanying innocence offers poor protection for young girls in any walk of life. He quotes: "Virtue is an angel, but she is a blind one, and must ask of knowledge to show her the pathway that leads to her goal." Despite the seriousness of its teaching, the play is fortunately a comedy.

A Serious Comedy

[1] The Lower Depths. By Maxim Gorky. Translated by Laurence Irving. Duffield. 191 pp., $1.

[2] Judas. By Harry Kemp. Kennerley. 254 pp., $1.50.

[3] The Americans. By Edwin Davies Schoonmaker. Kennerley. 304 pp., $1.50.

[4] The Blindness of Virtue. By Cosmo Hamilton. Doran. 127 pp., $1.

REFERENCE BOOKS

AN EXCEEDINGLY useful handbook of current information on almost every conceivable subject connected with history as it is being made is the "Britannica Year-Book" for 1913.[1]

Annuals

This, as the publishers inform us on the title-page, is "a survey of the world's progress since the completion in 1910 of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'" The "Year-Book," which is on the thinnest of paper, is not a thick volume, although it contains 1226 pages. The matter is so arranged that while it forms a reference book, it also supplies excellent continuous reading. The method, in the main, is not statistical or tabular, although there is much statistical and tabular material, but rather the narrative form, brief, concise, and illuminatingly edited. The editor, Hugh Chisholm, who was the editor of the eleventh edition of the "Britannica," makes the modest claim in the preface that this "Encyclopædia Year-Book" "takes up the running where the 'Encyclopædia' stopped." A diary of events from January 1, 1911, to December 31, 1912, is the first feature. The data on American affairs, including State legislation, are exceedingly useful.

Each issue of "The New International Year Book" shows advance over its predecessors in extent and variety of contents and adequacy of treatment. The issue for the year 1912 is a veritable encyclopædia.[2] It excels most other annuals in the fulness of its biographical, political, agricultural, and religious topics. The Presidential campaign of last year receives unusually full and helpful treatment. The Balkan War is given in detail. Other particularly useful articles not likely to be found in other publications are on the *Titanic* disaster, the minimum wage, syndicalism, and railway accidents. As heretofore, the "Year Book" is edited by Frank Moore Colby.

"The Statesman's Year-Book" for 1913[3] is a jubilee issue. This excellent, authoritative handbook of the world's governments and peoples was founded just fifty years ago. In the present volume, which contains all the features hitherto included in this useful reference work, an attempt has been made, in the maps, which are unusually full and comprehensive, to indicate the contrast in certain of the States of the world during the life of the year book. Recent changes in Tripoli, Morocco, and the Balkan peninsula have been incorporated as far as was possible at the date of going to press with the book. A new feature is the treatment of each separate Canadian province.

New issues of the "Home University Library," to which we have had occasion to refer appreciatively more than once in these pages, are:

Standard Books for the Home

"Napoleon," by Herbert Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University; "The Newspaper," by G. Binney Dibblee, late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; "Dr. Johnson and His Circle," by John Bailey; "Comparative Religion," by J. Estlin Carpenter, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford; "The Victorian Age in Literature," by G. K. Chesterton; "Painters and Painting," by Sir Frederick Wedmore; "The Origin and Nature of Life," by Benjamin Moore, Johnston Professor of Bio-Chemistry, University of Liverpool; "The Literature of Germany," by J. G. Robertson, Professor of German in the University of London; "The Literature of the Old Testament," by George Foot Moore, of Harvard University; "Writing English Prose," by William Tenney Brewster, Professor of English in Columbia University; and "From Jefferson to Lincoln," by William MacDonald, Professor of American History in Brown University. These are published by Holt, in uniform size, at the uniform price of fifty cents.

A work that will be appreciated by all who have to do with modern methods of book and magazine illustration, whether from the technical or the editorial view-point is "Horgan's Half-Tone and Photomechanical Processes," recently published by the Inland Printer Company, of Chicago. The author of this book, Mr. Stephen H. Horgan, has long had a unique reputation in the craft of process-workers. In his own lifetime he has seen the culmination of wood engraving in the United States, the rise of photo-engraving, the struggle for supremacy between the two processes, and the wide popularization of what is generally known as process work or photomechanical engraving. As long ago as 1874, Mr. Horgan was initiated into the mysteries of pictorial reproduction in the offices of the old *Daily Graphic*, of New York City. In more recent years he has conducted a department in the *Inland Printer*, which has become a sort of clearing-house of ideas on up-to-date photomechanical methods. The present volume is the direct result of all this focusing and interchange of knowledge. It gives the student a clear insight into photo-lithography, and thence passes to photogravure, photo-electrotype, relief-line engraving, and the ordinary half-tone process. It is Mr. Horgan's pride that all the processes and formulas described in this book have been evolved by practical use. Preference has been given to the methods that have proved entirely practical and are either in use to-day or are merely awaiting application. The illustrations of the volume are peculiarly effective, and, as might be expected of the Inland Printer Company, are as near to mechanical perfection as human limitations permit.

Mechanism of Picture Printing

[1] The Britannica Year-Book. Edited by Hugh Chisholm. New York; The Encyclopædia Britannica Company. 1226 pp. $2.25.

[2] The New International Year Book. (1912) Edited by Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead. 822 pp., ill. $5.

[3] The Statesman's Year-Book. Edited by J. Scott Keltie. Macmillan. 1452 pp. $3.

Horgan's Half-Tone and Photomechanical Processes. By Stephen H. Horgan. Chicago: The Inland Printer Company. 234 pp., ill. $3.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE man who invents a successful plan for preventing investment losses will, of course, deserve the proverbial fortune which belongs to all epoch-making inventors. Perhaps it is futile even to mention such an ideal, so impossible of attainment does it seem. Yet the one subject which transcends all others in this field, which indeed overlays and underlies all others, is that of preventing loss. Making profits and securing large returns in the way of interest or dividend payments are of relatively minor importance.

How far, for example, may such losses as those sustained in New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company stock be guarded against or prevented. The recent reduction from 8 to 6 per cent. a year in New Haven dividends means an annual loss to the owners of $3,137,530. The vast majority of shareholders have comparatively small blocks of stock; more than half of them are women, and 90 per cent. are located within four States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York. Until a month or two ago, New Haven had paid dividends of from 8 to 10 per cent. a year ever since 1872. The stock had long been looked upon as rock-ribbed and the property it represents has long been, and is, of commanding value, enjoying a dense and regular traffic unequaled by other American railroads. And yet the price of the stock has been falling pretty steadily for several years.

Or take the case of the Rumely Company, the big farm-implement concern, whose preferred stock has dropped from 103 to 49 in a year's time. These shares were widely sold by a prominent firm of investment bankers as a high-grade investment, and the company's business was large and growing. But now the 7 per cent. dividend, which a year ago was regarded as assured, is to be stopped and the management has undergone a violent shaking up.

The two cases are utterly different, but are equally suggestive and extremely disquieting. If the investor is to be governed by prestige, seasoned quality, a long dividend record, immense underlying value, regular business, and the most illustrious financial connections in America, there has been no reason for years past why he should not buy New Haven stock. If he is to be governed by the fact that the stock was being sponsored and sold by a firm of high standing, and by statements of earnings and other financial data of impressive nature, there was no reason why he should not have bought Rumely preferred when it first was brought out. The only conceivable criticism at that time was that the stock lacked seasoning. In the case of the New Haven it has been apparent for some time that the company was straining its resources, but it is so intricate and powerful a concern that even the trained observer might have been deceived in his analysis.

What is the investor to do? Must he place his reliance wholly upon the reputation of the firm he buys through, or must he study and analyze for himself? There are two answers to the question. In the first place, there is no such element of danger when the investor becomes a creditor, that is, a bondholder, as when he becomes an owner, or shareholder. Of course, there are some so-called bonds which are not as valuable intrinsically as New Haven stock, or perhaps even as Rumely preferred. The point is that ordinary precaution is far more certain to insure against loss with regard to most bonds than when stocks are under consideration. The second answer to the direct question of what the investor is to do is that both methods of getting at the value of securities should be employed, especially when stocks are purchased. Lean upon the judgment, experience, and good faith of the investment banker, but also do a little work of your own.

Expert information regarding the better class of securities is easy to get. At this season of the year, the great, bulky manuals are published—"Poor's" and the "Corporation Service." "Poor's" is issued in three huge volumes, and the "Corporation Service" in two. These five volumes contain a wealth of information regarding all the standard securities. Then there is Moody's "Analyses of Investments," which contains not only general information, as do the other books, but records showing savings-bank legality of every important issue, classification and ra-

ting of issues, and full analysis of every important property by the editor. Even the investor who does not care to buy such extensive volumes would do well to get access to them in the office of a bank or securities dealer before actually writing out his check and taking the perhaps irremediable and certainly irrevocable step of buying bonds or stocks about which he knows little. The coldly impersonal attitude of a book which analyzes thousands of securities has a value which is readily apparent.

While there are good and bad securities of almost every class or type, there is no gainsaying the advantage of knowing which are the better classes or types. This is a subject on which expert opinion naturally differs. But it may be helpful to the readers of this page to reproduce a list of seventeen classes of securities, stated in their order of stability, according to the deliberate verdict of a leading authority on investment subjects. The writer of this article does not pass judgment on the list, but presents it for what it is worth, the reader bearing in mind that it was made up by a man whose opinion is entitled to close attention. The seventeen classes of securities, stated in order of their stability—the most stable being mentioned first—are:

1. United States and Foreign Government Bonds.
2. State Bonds.
3. Municipal Bonds.
4. Railroad Mortgage Bonds.
5. Gas and Electric Lighting Bonds.
6. Equipment Trusts.
7. Street Railway Bonds.
8. Steel and Iron Company Bonds.
9. Short-Term Notes.
10. Bank Stocks.
11. Railroad Convertibles and Debentures.
12. Equipment Company Bonds.
13. Manufacturing Company Bonds.
14. Copper Mining Bonds.
15. Coal Bonds.
16. Irrigation Bonds.
17. Preferred Stocks.

Even the investor who studies his subject closely and deals with reliable firms is often doomed to suffer loss. But, as this department has so often emphasized, the risk may be distributed and the loss minimized by a wide diversification in the purchase of securities. This is the ordinary business precaution taken by life and fire insurance companies, and, as a principle, is already well known to readers of this magazine. But the principle is one which needs repetition because there are frequent apparent exceptions to the rule. The recent death of Henry M. Flagler, one of the largest stockholders of the Standard Oil Company and one of its founders, draws attention to the business career of a man who appeared to have placed all his eggs in one basket.

Mr. Flagler made a fortune in the Standard Oil Company, and at an advanced age invested a vast sum, probably about $45,000,000, in railroads, hotels, and other enterprises in the State of Florida. He was credited with owning all of the $5,000,000 stock of the Florida East Coast Railway, and all but $10,000,000 of its $31,000,000 bonds. At the time these investments were made, Florida was in a most elementary stage, industrially speaking, and no large immediate return could be expected. But Mr. Flagler probably built for the far distant future,—something the ordinary investor cannot afford to do. He was old and very rich when he put so much capital into enterprises which might not pay regular interest or dividends at the start. It was as much a hobby as an investment. Moreover, he went to Florida to live, watched every development, and was the dominant personality in the State. The man who invests $5000 in bonds or stock cannot expect to dominate anything. He had better insure himself against risk by parceling out his modest sum into four or five different securities.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 463. SOME ATTRACTIVE LISTED INDUSTRIAL AND PUBLIC UTILITY BONDS AND STOCKS

I have $10,000 to invest and want to place it in first-class bonds and stocks, which must be listed on the New York or Boston Exchanges. I presume from 4½ to 5 per cent. would be the highest rate I could expect to get on the class of bond I want. I will appreciate a few suggestions of first-class securities, both industrial and public service, stating interest rates and what they yield at present market prices.

Under prevailing market conditions you have set your requirements within very reasonable limits. Prices for standard investment securities are low, but, as you suggest, the highest quality cannot be had to net more than 5 per cent., although there are many attractive opportunities to pick up sound issues netting more than that. For example, among the seasoned industrial and public utility stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange, the following well-established dividend-payers might be mentioned as selling at an average yield of better than 5 per cent.: General Electric, paying dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. annually, now selling to yield nearly 5¾ per cent.; American Telephone & Telegraph, paying dividends at the

rate of 8 per cent. annually, now selling on about a 6 per cent. basis; American Locomotive preferred, paying dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. annually, now selling to yield more than 6½ per cent.; Peoples Gas of Chicago, paying dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. annually, now selling to net about 6¼ per cent.; and American Tobacco preferred, a 6 per cent. stock, now selling to yield about 6¼ per cent. From among the listed industrial and public utility bonds you could pick issues like the New England Telephone first mortgage 5's, listed on the Boston Exchange, where they have sold recently at about 101½, to yield 4⅞ per cent.; Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing 5's, now selling at a price to yield 5¾ per cent.; Du Pont Powder 4½'s, selling to yield 5¾ per cent.; Liggett & Myers debenture 5's, selling to yield 5¼ per cent.; and Western Union funding and real estate 4½'s, selling to yield close to 5 per cent. These industrials are all good bonds, though possibly not representative of the very highest grade issues of their class.

No. 464. TAX-EXEMPT SECURITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS

I have several thousand dollars in savings banks, which I would like to invest for larger income, provided I can get ample security. My attention has been called to bonds. There seem to be plenty of good 5 and 6 per cent. issues, but taxable in Massachusetts, though exempt in other States. There must, however, be millions of bonds in this State escaping taxation. What I wish to know especially is how this is done—if it can be done honorably. My desire is not to escape taxation, *per se*, but to escape double or unjust taxation. If bond investment is impossible for citizens of Massachusetts without being subjected to taxation, would you advise savings bank depositors to take preferred utility stocks, such as Boston & Worcester 6 per cent. preferred at 120; Springfield Railway 4 per cent. preferred at 92; Boston & Eastern Electric convertible 6 per cent. notes at 97; Gardner Electric Light 5 per cent. preferred at 107? Would you counsel investors in my class against stock investments, even standards, such as Boston & Maine, Boston Elevated and American Telephone & Telegraph, which are tax exempt, but undergoing some fluctuation—perhaps temporary—at the present time?

The only bonds exempted by law from taxation in Massachusetts are United States bonds, Massachusetts State bonds or certificates of indebtedness issued since January 1, 1906, and the bonds of Massachusetts municipalities, issued since May 1, 1908. Of course, none of these would be likely to appeal in a case like yours, inasmuch as they do not offer yield that is any more satisfactory than the rate your money is earning in the savings banks, assuming that you are getting an average of about 4 per cent. It may be true that, as you suggest, there are millions of other bonds escaping taxation in the State—indeed, it would be surprising if there were not—but we do not know how it is possible for their holders to escape legally and honorably. Your only alternative appears to be the general class of securities to which your attention has been attracted, and we think, moreover, that the specific issues named in your list are of high average quality. They represent, in fact, the best of their type. American Telephone & Telegraph and Boston Elevated shares might also be regarded as meeting such requirements as yours, but we do not believe Boston & Maine could be recommended. It is a question to what extent it is advisable for savings-bank depositors to go into securities like these, notwithstanding their merit. In the very nature of the case, money so invested is not as safe as it is in a sound, well-managed savings bank, and before taking such a step as your inquiry contemplates the investor ought to weigh carefully every consideration and make his decision in accord with his own peculiar circumstances. In other words, your suggestion is one that could not be made to savings-bank depositors generally.

No. 465. LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE UNIFIED FOURS

I wish you would kindly tell me if Louisville & Nashville unified 4's are a good investment for a widow whose fortune of $20,000 is equally divided between improved real estate and local title company mortgages, and street railway and lighting bonds, these securities netting 6 per cent. and safety. The object desired is a security that is safe and that may not be redeemed until it matures. The money to be invested is the income from the above-mentioned investments. How long do the Louisville & Nashville bonds run, and taking them at their present selling price, say 93½, what per cent. do they net the holder? What is the reason for this security dropping off in price in the past few weeks? A few years ago it sold at 98 or 99. Is it apt to drop much farther; and, if so, how far? Isn't the security behind the bonds as sound as it was when they sold for 98? Have the bonds declined any more than other railroad bonds in the same period?

The bonds in question are undoubtedly suitable securities for such an investment as you describe. They represent the highest type of railroad securities, and have fallen off in price during the last few months, not because of any inherent weakness, but because of general conditions affecting capital and fixed interest-bearing obligations. Many close students of investments hold the opinion that prevailing prices of gilt-edged bonds are about the lowest that will be seen on this movement. We are not ready to commit ourselves to the view that there is no possibility of further decline, but we do think, if there is another drop, it cannot reasonably be expected to amount to much. The Louisville & Nashville unified 4's at 93½ are within a point and a half of the lowest price at which they sold during the 1907-1908 panic, and their yield at this price is approximately 4.40 per cent., considering that they mature July 1, 1940—almost exactly twenty-seven years hence. The highest price at which the bonds ever sold was 106 in 1905. Since January 1, this year, they have sold as high as 99½, and their range in 1912 was between 99⅝ and 96¾. Other bonds in about the same category have shown price ranges this year as follows: Atchison general 4's, between 98½ and 92¾; Chicago & Northwestern general 4's, between 98¼ and 92¾; Burlington joint 4's, between 96¼ and 93⅞; Norfolk & Western consolidated 4's, between 99 and 92½; Northern Pacific prior lien 4's, between 98⅝ and 93¾; and Union Pacific first and land-grant 4's, between 99¼ and 95⅛.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE "NIAGARA," PERRY'S FLAGSHIP, RAISED FROM LAKE ERIE'S WATERS TO TAKE PART IN THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORY AT PUT-IN-BAY ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1813

(The picture shows the old brig (480 tons; 110 feet long) as she appeared just after she was lifted out of the harbor at Erie, where she had lain for nearly a century. She has now been restored and refitted and will make a tour of the Great Lakes, visiting all important ports during August and September. The celebration of Perry's victory began at Put-in-Bay, near the scene of the battle, on July 4)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Underwood Tariff Becomes a Certainty

By the action of the caucus of Democratic Senators, which completed its consideration of the Tariff bill on July 7, it became reasonably certain that the great Underwood measure would become a law without change of its essential character. It may be well to record certain of the more important tariff dates. Mr. Underwood, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced the Tariff bill on April 7, which was the opening day of the extra session. Thus its approval in the caucus of Democra ic Senators occurred exactly three months after its introduction in the other house. It had passed the ordeal of revision and approval at the hands of the caucus of House Democrats on April 21. Its consideration on the floor of the House had extended from April 22 to May 8, when it was passed by a vote of 281 to 139, five Democrats having voted against it, while four Progressives, two Republicans and one Independent joined the Democrats in voting for it.

Its Course in the Senate

On May 9, the Senate received the bill from the House, and after a general debate it was referred to the Finance Committee, with instructions not to hold public hearings. From that date until June 20, the bill was considered by the Democratic majority of the Finance Committee, in private session, the work being performed to a large extent by small subcommittees dealing with the separate schedules. A large part of the time was taken up with the attempt to arrive at agreement upon several notable points of difference. A great many changes of detail, several hundred altogether, were made in the bill by virtue of the work of the committee over which Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, presides. The Democratic majority of this committee reported its work to the full caucus of Democratic Senators, on June 20. Here began the critical period in the whole process of securing tariff revision. It had been known from the first that a tariff bill that should be agreed upon by the Underwood committee and the Wilson Administration would readily go through the House of Representatives with an overwhelming majority. But it has not been customary in times past for the Senate to acquiesce readily in a House Tariff bill.

A Brilliant Triumph for the President

It is only very recently that the Senate has become nominally Democratic by a small majority. There are now fifty-one Democratic Senators, forty-four Republicans, and one Progressive. It was believed, earlier in the period of tariff discussion, that a number of the more con-



HOW THE PRESIDENT FEELS ABOUT THE TARIFF BILL:
"He grows more like me every day"
From the *Globe* (New York)

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servative or "reactionary" Democratic Senators would be greatly out of sympathy with the tariff bill that was introduced with the stamp of President Wilson's approval. It was, of course, well known that there were several who were dead against free wool, and a still larger number who were opposed to free sugar. The question was whether they could be induced to yield their individual views regarding particular schedules, and act in such a way as to present to the country a united party supporting a great Administration measure. The difficulty in the past had always been that there was so much trading and "log-rolling" that the effort to protect an interest here and an interest there could only succeed by virtue of a system of indulgences involving items in every other schedule of the entire tariff. As a result of concentrated and determined effort, which will have made a bold and memorable page in American tariff history, President Wilson succeeded, beyond all expectation, in securing the united support of Democratic Senators for the Underwood measure in all of its main features.

House and Senate in Essential Harmony

There was no tyrannical effort to prevent the amendment of the bill in a vast number of details. There are several thousand points and items in a general tariff bill, and it was to be expected that in a measure originally framed like the Underwood document there would be many minor changes, and some important ones, in the process of reaching final results. But the Senate caucus took no action whatsoever upon any part of the bill that results in a marked divergence of policy or practice between the two houses. This, let it be noted, is a very remarkable thing. So far as we are aware, it has never before happened in the history of the country that a general tariff bill, going up from the House to the Senate, has sustained the ordeal of several weeks of consideration by the ruling party without undergoing any fundamental changes to be subsequently fought out in protracted sessions of the conferees of the two houses. We make these comments upon the assumption that the work of the Democratic caucus, as completed by the vote of July 7, was virtually the end of the difficult and momentous task of tariff revision in the year 1913. It is true that the bill had not even been considered by the full Finance Committee, had not been put upon its passage in the Senate, and had yet to undergo the formality of a debate that everyone expected would last until the middle of August, while there were predictions that it would not end until some time in September.

Spirit and Effect of the Caucus

The one object of the caucus had been to make a party measure of the bill as a whole, and to secure the explicit pledge, or at least the moral understanding, that every Democratic Senator, however greatly he might desire to change some items, would give his vote for the whole bill on its final passage, and thus make sure that it should not be mutilated or compromised. The chief struggle in the caucus had been concerned with the sugar schedule, and the only other fight of much importance had to do with the question of free wool. A very small group of Senators, gallantly led by Mr. Ransdell, of Louisiana, made a stand against the provision that puts sugar on the free list after 1916. On May 26, while the bill was in the hands of the Democrats of the Senate Finance Committee, President Wilson had made his attack upon tariff lobbyists, as commented upon in this magazine last month. An investigation,—immediately begun in pursuance of Senator Cummins' resolution,—was in progress for many weeks after the President made his charges; and this ventilation of lobby schemes and methods, while not vital as a determining influence, would seem to have tended towards Democratic solidarity in sup-



PROTECTING BARBARA
"Who touches a hair of yon gray head,
Dies like a dorg! March on!" he said
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

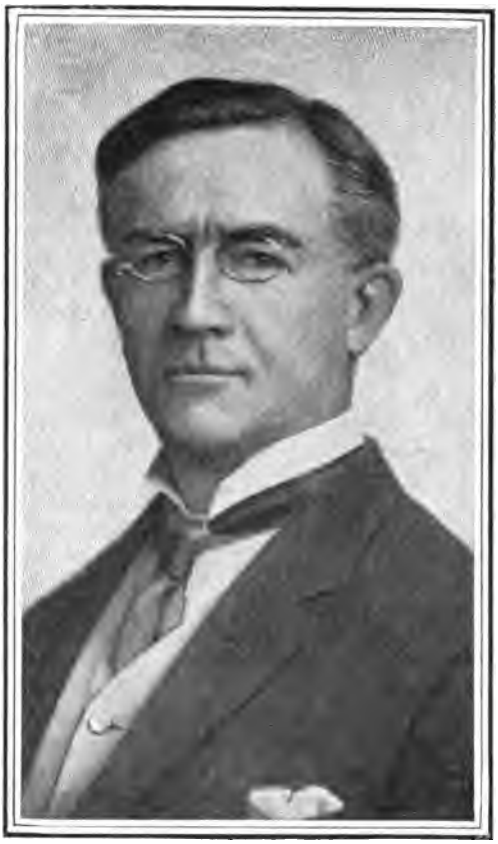
port of the Underwood bill. The burden of proof—as regards public duty—seemed to rest strongly upon any Democratic Senator who might dissent from the bill because of his desire to keep the benefits of high protection around some industry of which he was supposed to be a legislative guardian.

Influence of the Lobby Inquiry

It was not so much that a particular Senator had been influenced by lobbyists, as that the lobbyists had also been busying themselves in the same direction. If anything was demonstrated, it was the simple fact that lobbyists are a great nuisance and highly detrimental to the interests that they are hired to serve, subjecting honest legislators to much embarrassment in their legitimate efforts on behalf of their constituents. Business men have now, as always heretofore, an inalienable right to tell their own Representatives, and also the members of Congressional committees, how they think that proposed legislation would affect their interests. This is one thing; but the employment of professional lobbyists to work for the securing of desired benefits is a very different thing. Regardless of any particular disclosures resulting from the lobby investigation of June and July, it may be asserted that the unexpected unity of the Democratic Senatorial caucus had been somewhat promoted by the sensational notoriety given to the subject of lobby influences in the history of tariff-making.

Concurrence and Dissent in Caucus

When the call for the vote was reached on July 7 in the caucus, forty-five Senators arose as their names were pronounced, and gave unqualified pledges to support the Tariff bill as approved by the caucus, and to follow the lead of the Finance Committee in the support of any amendments made during the process of final debate. Senator Newlands, of Nevada, and Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, expressed their intention to act with the majority and to support the bill, but preferred not to be bound by pledges. Senator Newlands had advocated very ably and cogently a more moderate course of action as regards several important questions, particularly wool and sugar. Senator Shafroth, representing the beet-sugar interests of his part of the country, had contended strongly against the proposal to place sugar on the free list. It was entirely permissible, in view of their frank statements, to regard these two Senators as fully intending to subordinate their personal views to the final decision of the majority.



SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, OF NEBRASKA

Two other Democratic Senators—Culberson, of Texas, and Hitchcock, of Nebraska—were absent from the caucus. Culberson stands unqualifiedly with the forty-five, and was kept away by illness. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, had been fully identified with the administration movement for tariff reform, but upon one important issue he had desired to go farther than the pending bill. He had taken the position of a strong advocate of the view of Attorney-General McReynolds regarding a graduated tax upon the income of tobacco companies. He had gained hopeful support in the caucus, but not quite enough to carry his amendment. He had withdrawn from the caucus, not because opposed to the Tariff bill as a whole, but because he desired to be in a position of freedom to present and work for his tobacco-tax amendment during the passage of the bill in the Senate. Only two Democratic Senators recorded their flat refusal to support the measure as it stood. These were Ransdell and Thornton, of Louisiana. The people of that State feel that the pending tariff will wipe out their sugar industry; and the two Senators regard it as



A QUENCHER

(This cartoon, from Senator Hitchcock's own paper out at Omaha, shows that Mr. Spencer, his cartoonist, is ably backing up the absent statesman in attacks upon the Tobacco Trust)

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)

their duty to their constituents to act against a tariff bill that includes the proposal of free sugar after three years.

Elements of Republican Opposition

Apart from the fifty-one Democratic Senators, there are forty-four Republicans and one Progressive. This Progressive is Mr. Poindexter, of the State of Washington. The aggregate of forty-four Republicans includes Messrs. Penrose, Gallinger, Smoot, and the other "stand-pat" Republicans. It further comprises what might be called the "intellectual moderates," like Root, Lodge, Burton, Townsend, and Smith, of Michigan. And it also embraces Messrs. Cummins, LaFollette, Bristow, and their associates in the progressive wing of the party. In the tariff session of four years ago, the real fight in the Senate, up to the taking of the final vote, lay between two opposing Republican groups. It would have been hard to believe at that time, or even two years ago, that any change in the tide of politics could bring these two groups of Senators into united action upon a tariff bill. It is, indeed, conceivable that both of these groups, having been thrown into party opposition, might vote against a Democratic measure. But from the constructive point of view the progressive Republican Senators are much nearer to the Democrats than they are to the "stand-patters." If the forty-four Republicans, the one Progressive, and the two Louisiana Senators should vote in the negative on the final passage of the bill, they would count a total of forty-seven, as against forty-nine supporters—on the supposition that Newlands, Shafroth, and Hitchcock would vote with their party. If one of these three men should vote against the bill, and if the forty-seven, as above mentioned, should all vote against it, there would be a tie,—forty-eight to forty-eight. In that case Vice-President Marshall, as presiding officer, would have a vote, which he would cast in favor of the bill.

Prospects of the Debate

While the situation thus seems a little too close to be entirely comfortable for President Wilson, it is to be said that well-informed Republican Senators expressed themselves in private last month as confident that the bill would have the requisite majority and would become law after a due period of debate. It was the desire of the Democrats that this debate should not be excessively prolonged. They had done their work in family conference, so to speak, and having given three months of the present session,—following many months of preliminary work,—to the shaping of a measure that they could agree upon, they had no wish to occupy much time in midsummer debate with the Republicans. They merely wished to exercise their voting strength at the earliest possible moment, in order to put the bill on the statute books and get a breath of vacation before the regular session that must begin on December 1. They were the more anxious to avoid protracted debate because of President Wilson's insistence that they must



"WHO'S GOING TO TAKE CARE OF US?"

From the *Sun* (New York)

also pass a currency and banking bill before going back to their homes and escaping Washington's heat.

Republicans Led by Smoot of Utah

Thus they had agreed among themselves that they would try to avoid being led into long speeches by their opponents, and would economize time to the utmost. It was well known that their opponents would speak elaborately. There was not much indication that any members of the opposition would filibuster or use obstructive means, or speak merely to kill time and prolong the session. The long speeches were to be made by men who had things they desired to say in order to make a party record, to establish a personal position, or to vindicate the demands of an industry or a region. Senator Smoot, on behalf of the regular Republicans, had caused a very elaborate analysis and criticism of the bill to be prepared and printed as a basis of party attack. As the most active tariff controversialist now remaining in the Senate of the Republicans who framed and passed the Aldrich bill four years ago, Mr. Smoot was evidently the man who would take the lead in fighting the Democratic rates step by step in running debate all through the weeks of discussion. Representing his colleagues of the high-protection party, he was prepared to propose substitute rates all along the line.



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SENATOR REED SMOOT, OF UTAH, WHO LEADS THE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW TARIFF BILL

Senator LaFollette in Tariff History

Senator LaFollette, who had worked amicably with the Democrats in the previous term of Congress, and had helped to send the compromise Underwood bills up to Taft to be vetoed, was now prepared to turn against the forces with which he had so recently cooperated. It seemed a little bit like the Balkan States fighting against one another after having stood together in a hard campaign against the Turks. The broad fact is that the country set out, four or five years ago, to get tariff revision. Both houses of Congress were Republican. The Democratic minority in the House of Representatives did not impress the country with any great show of zeal, or reforming instinct, at that time. Under the Reed-Cannon rules of the House, there was, indeed, no chance for any show of real fight by the minority against the Payne bill. Only a few days or hours were allowed for House debate, and the measure was sent up to the Senate, where it was swallowed in the hopper of the Aldrich-Hale-Smoot-Penrose Finance Committee, and reappeared on the floor of the Senate as the Aldrich bill. Then came the great fight of the "insurgents," or progressive Republicans, in the course of which LaFollette, Dolliver, Cummins, Beveridge, Bristow, Clapp, Bourne, Dixon, Borah, and several others, proceeded to give the country a real tariff debate, and to create a situation that led on, irresistibly, through a series of political and legislative episodes, to the present culmination. Senator LaFollette may now put in his own substitute bills, by way of showing his views as to proper percentages in the wool schedule and elsewhere; but he should remember that the future historian of the tariff will assign to him a considerable part of the responsibility for the Democratic tariff revision of 1913, by reason of what he did in 1909 and the three subsequent years.

A Season of Speech-Making

Senator Cummins has distinct tariff views, and will doubtless have occupied his full share of time in the debate. But he had expected to



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SENATOR LA FOLLETTE OF WISCONSIN

put his views on record in an extended speech or two, and not to participate greatly in the running debate on the details. It was understood that Senator Burton, Senator Lodge, Senator Root, and others, representing established convictions and large experience in the orthodox Republican camp, would make important and creditable speeches. Thus it was likely enough that a period of from four to eight weeks might be taken up in the necessary debate upon the schedules, the administrative sections, the income tax, and the internal revenue features, together with the elaborate set speeches that fully fifty Senators would expect to make. The Democrats, in order to give opportunity for this routine work and great mass of oratory, were planning to begin the day at an earlier hour and, if necessary, to hold evening sessions.

Our Forthcoming Analysis of the Bill

Four years ago, upon the passage of the Payne-Aldrich bill, we published in this REVIEW an article especially prepared for us by a tariff expert, summarizing the act and comparing it with the Dingley law which it superseded. The article was not very agreeable to the chief apologists for the new tariff. It was reprinted throughout the country, and it was never successfully assailed in its proof that the Payne-Aldrich tariff, instead of reducing rates, might justly be said to have slightly increased them. It stood the test of criticism better perhaps than any other article ever written in analysis of an American tariff. This year we shall publish a similar article, analyzing the Underwood-Administration tariff, and comparing it with the Republican law which it repeals and replaces. We cannot say in what number of the REVIEW the article in question will appear, because no one can yet tell how long the Senate debate will last, nor can anyone predict how many days may be taken up in conference before differences of detail are adjusted as between the two houses, and the completed measure is laid before President Wilson. This may, indeed, occur by the middle of August, and it may not take place until after the middle of September.

Some Tentative Changes

In any case, it would hardly be necessary for us at this moment to take up in much detail the tentative changes in the House bill made by the Finance Committee and Senate caucus. There are some changes in dates. The income tax, for example, is to be in force from the beginning of last March, rather than from the beginning of January. The sugar schedule of reduced duties is not to go into effect until some time next spring,—this, however having no relation to free sugar after 1916. The income-tax exemption is reduced from $4000 to $3000, in case of those having no dependent families, while under certain circumstances—allowing for children, and so forth—the exemption may amount to $5000. Agricultural products are more sweepingly free in the Senate bill than in that of the House. Certain inconsistencies have been removed. The House bill made flour free, while it kept the duty on wheat. It made beef and hides free, while keeping a duty on cattle. The Senate bill makes wheat and cattle also free.

The Tax on Bananas

The Senate bill puts a tax of five cents a bunch on bananas. This is inconsistent and objectionable, and will probably be so thoroughly condemned by the country that it will have to be dropped. Bananas are imported in vast quantities, and have come to be a very valuable article of food for poor families. The



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THE SENATE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE LOBBY CHARGES AT WASHINGTON DURING JUNE AND JULY

From left to right: Senators Walsh, Reed, Overman (Chairman), Nelson, and Cummins

tax would be paid in advance by the principal agencies in the banana trade, and they would in turn recoup themselves by collecting twice as much from the dealers, who would collect it with an extra profit from the consumers. It is ridiculous from the standpoint of scientific taxation to levy an import tax on a necessary food article like bananas, while refusing to levy a tax upon so appropriate an object of taxation as coffee and tea. As a whole, however, the Senate bill actually reduces the average rates of the House bill, upholds the essential features of the original measure, promises a slightly increased revenue yield, and conforms fully to the demands made by President Wilson.

Why Business Suffers Depression

The assertion that the tariff situation is responsible, at least in part, for the depression that has been prevalent in certain lines of finance, industry, and trade is quite sound and true. It does not follow, however, that the trouble will be permanent, or that it is due to the prospect of lower rates. If there could have been a joint resolution adopted by Congress at the opening of the session, to the effect that—whatever new tariff rates or revenue laws were adopted—no changes would go into effect until next year, the whole of this business depression, due to uncertainty, would have been obviated. It is a barbarous thing to make radical tariff changes and put them into effect at once. The sudden and ruthless overthrow of a complicated tariff and revenue system, under which the country is actually doing business, is as brutal and stupid a thing as would be the calling in of a rough butcher to do the work of a skilful surgeon. Bad as the Payne-Aldrich tariff may be, it is far better than anything that could possibly be substituted for it in an abrupt way. It may be better to have the children out in the open air than on the top floor of a tenement building; but that does not justify throwing the babies out of the window. They could be carefully taken downstairs.

The Retroactive Income Tax

Senator Newlands made a plea for a sliding-scale reduction of certain rates, so that free trade might be reached in—let us say—five years. The idea is an entirely reasonable one. A stupendous scheme of income tax is to be thrust upon the nation without any previous discussion, and with no clear public opinion about it. And its promulgators are not even



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THREE PROMINENT MEN WHO TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE REGARDING THEIR WORK IN BEHALF OF THE SUGAR TARIFF

(The first man on the left is Truman G. Palmer, who has represented the sugar men at Washington; the next is Henry T. Oxnard, the well-known sugar refiner; and the third is John T. Yerkes, legal counsel for the sugar men)

content to let it take effect at the beginning of next year, which, after all, would be only two or three months after the passage of the act. This income tax, with its high exemption and its undemocratic scheme of progressive rates on large incomes, was not the kind of tax that Chairman Underwood himself favored. As it passed the House, it was made retroactive, to take effect at the beginning of last January. But this was not only unfair in itself, but manifestly unconstitutional, because at that time Congress had not been authorized, by the action of the States, to levy a direct income tax. The amendment giving Congress such power did not become a part of the Constitution until late in February. The Senate saved that situation by changing the date from January 1 to March 1.

Losses Due to Uncertainty

The pending tariff changes hurt business chiefly because nobody knows when the act is to become a law and to go into force. Importers do not dare to buy goods abroad on the basis of Payne-Aldrich rates at the custom-houses, with the likelihood of selling them on a market considerably changed by the adoption of the Underwood bill. If we could have been simply assured that the Payne-Aldrich tariff and revenue system would remain in force until January 1 (or, what would have been far better and more just, until the end of the next fiscal year, June 30, 1914) we would have been saved a vast amount of business unrest, and some hundreds of millions of dollars of actual value in business transactions. Every industry, if it knew that the Underwood tariff would go into effect on the first day of next July, would have time to study the new rates, investigate competitive conditions at home and abroad, and prepare deliberately and cheerfully to meet the situation. And this would not be a long time, but a very short time, in which to ask manufacturers, merchants, farmers, and other business people to make changes so great as are those involved in readjusting their business from the basis of the Payne-Aldrich tariff to that of the Underwood tariff. But the tariff is always "in politics."



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COL. MARTIN M. MULHALL

(Who made some sensational disclosures regarding lobbying activities last month, and who was formerly the agent at Washington of the National Association of Manufacturers)

Better Methods Needed Henceforth

Most of the objection to the radical reduction of rates would disappear if only there could be a date fixed long enough ahead to permit business men to learn the law and to endeavor to meet its requirements. This, after all, suggests a principal reason why legitimate industries have tried to protect themselves from the atrocities of so-called "statesmanship" at Washington, and have at times resorted to indefensible methods. American business is founded upon intelligence, skill, and economic conditions of intrinsic strength. It will survive any sort of tariff revision. But other countries have also great intelligence and skill, and their business is not placed at such a disadvantage by ridiculous and abrupt changes of governmental policy. Our nation should take a mighty vow that this year shall see the end of rule-of-thumb tariffs, made by politicians on unscientific ground, and forced upon the country without being understood even by those who make them. The business men of no other country in the world are subjected to indignities of this kind. There had to be tariff revision and reduction. The colossal impudence of the Payne-Aldrich bill made the present Underwood bill both necessary and inevitable. But from this time forth our system of national taxation should be studied maturely and carefully by competent men, and changed only gradually, with due and ample notice and without partisan haste or factional motive. The tariff commission must follow.



THE BIGGEST YET
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

"Lobby" Testimony at Washington

The special committee of the Senate has continued its inquiry into the so-called "lobbying" methods used by certain interests to promote or retard legislation affecting their welfare. The appearance of the Senators themselves before this committee, as commented upon in these pages last month, had been followed by the summoning of persons who had sought in one way or another to influence the lawmakers. Some novel testimony was furnished by Mr. David Lamar, a New York stock-market operator, who told of impersonating Congressmen, in telephone conversations, in order to attain certain desired ends. Another interesting witness was Mr. Martin M. Mulhall, who formerly represented the National Association of Manufacturers at the national capital. Mr. Mulhall asserted that he—acting in the interest of the association—had influenced and bribed Representatives to secure the adoption or rejection of business and labor legislation. He named the men whom he accused; and a number of them later rose upon the floor of the House to deny the charges and demand that they be made the subject of a special inquiry. A committee of seven Representatives was therefore appointed, on July 9, and endowed with broad powers of investigation.



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DAVID LAMAR
(One of the principal witnesses before the Senate lobby investigation committee last month)

President Wilson's Currency Appeal

With the completion of the work of the Senate Finance Committee on the tariff, President Wilson proceeded to remove all doubts as to his intention to secure the passage of a currency and banking bill in the present session. On June 23 he made his second formal appearance before Congress assembled in joint session, and read a message urging the law-making body to lay aside all considerations of personal comfort and even of health, and to remain in Washington long enough to "give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them [by virtue of the Tariff bill]." The address was very brief, but eloquent and persuasive. It entered into no details, but declared that the President, in conference with the chairmen of the Currency committees of Congress, had prepared an Administration bill for submission and as a basis of action. The closing paragraphs of the President's address indicated clearly the principles on which the proposed action is based:

The principles upon which we should act are also clear. The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings.

Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.

The committees of the Congress to which legislation of this character is referred have devoted careful and dispassionate study to the means of accomplishing these objects. They have honored me by consulting me. They are ready to suggest action. I have come to you, as the head of the Government and the responsible leader of the party in power, to urge action now, while there is time to serve the country deliberately and as we should, in a clear air of common counsel.

I appeal to you with a deep conviction of duty. I believe that you share this conviction. I therefore appeal to you with confidence. I am at your service without reserve to play my part in any way you may call upon me to play it in this great enterprise of exigent reform which it will dignify and distinguish us to perform and discredit us to neglect.

The Bill Presented to Both Houses

Three days later, the bill to which President Wilson referred, which had been prepared after much preliminary conference as representing the administration and the party in power, was introduced in the Senate by Hon. Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, chairman of the Senate's new Committee on Banking and Currency, and simultaneously in the House by the Hon. Carter Glass, of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The measure had received great study, also, on the part of Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. John Skelton Williams, Assistant Secretary, and other leaders, including members of both houses. Its first reception throughout the business community was evidently one of relief and approval. Notes of dissatisfaction came chiefly from the bankers of the very large cities, and the press which represented their views. This dissent was expressed courteously, and was accompanied with a great deal of approval, criticism being directed chiefly towards one or two main points. It should be remembered that this bill had not been subjected to the ordeal of legislative committees. It was introduced in order that it might be referred to the committees for their study and revision, and subsequent report to their respective bodies. The House Committee's Democratic ma-



THE PRESIDENT'S SUMMER SCHOOL
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)



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PRESIDENT WILSON ENJOYING A BRIEF HOLIDAY AT HIS SUMMER HOME AT CORNISH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AFTER HIS SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG ON JULY 4 (SEE PAGE 183)

jority consists largely of new members not known to be experts in the intricate subjects covered by the bill. The Senate committee includes a number of men of admitted knowledge and experience. Neither committee has waited for the other, and both have been at work trying to perfect the measure. Chairman Owen has believed that by having public hearings the Senate's work on the currency question can be greatly advanced, even during the period of the tariff debate. As for the House, with the tariff question disposed of, it can readily give major attention to the perfecting and passage of the bill.

Its Main Features Outlined

Since the measure as introduced is probably not in final form as regards some important aspects, it is not necessary here to summarize it in all its details. It can, however, be explained in such a way as to be clearly understood in its main provisions. Its object is to make the monetary system of the country more simple and uniform, and more readily available for the needs of business, both as to quantity and as to local demand and supply. As respects machinery, it sets up a central body at Washington, known as the Federal Reserve Board. This consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Controller of the Currency, and four other members to be appointed by the President, one of whom must be a practical banker. This board is to have large authority and discretion relating to the other parts of the mechanism and their functions. These other parts consist chiefly in a series of agencies, each to be a center of banking power for its region. Presumably, there might at first be anywhere from ten to twenty federal reserve districts in the United States, each laid out from the standpoint of a particular banking center, such as Boston, St. Louis, Denver, Atlanta, New Orleans, Seattle, San Francisco, and so on.

The "Federal Reserve Banks"

These federal reserve districts having been laid out, there is to be created, in each one of them, a federal reserve bank. The stock of this bank must be subscribed for by all the national banks in the district, each subscribing to the amount of 20 per cent. of its own unimpaired capital. There are to be no other stockholders, except as State banks within the district may also be permitted to become members upon application. Each of these districts must be large and important enough so that the original subscriptions to the stock of its federal reserve bank shall provide a capital of at least $5,000,000. There are to be no depositors in this Federal



HON. WILLIAM G. M'ADOO, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Who was one of the leaders in framing the administration's currency and banking bill, and who, upon its passage, will be chief manager of the great federal reserve system)

Reserve Bank of a given district, except the banks themselves and the United States Government. The Government will no longer deposit its surplus funds in ordinary banks as now, nor let them lie unused in the vaults of sub-treasuries; but, rather, will put them in these federal reserve banks subject to the supervision of the central board at Washington and to the direct authority over them of the Secretary of the Treasury. The bill provides for an issue of $500,000,000 of new treasury notes of the United States. These can be apportioned to the several federal reserve banks, and by them in turn supplied to the ordinary banks at such times as money is especially needed, as when the crops are moving, and so on. This currency will be secured by the deposit with the federal reserve bank of commercial paper. The rates of re-discount would be fixed by the federal reserve bank, subject to the authority of the central board at Washington. The federal reserve banks have each a board of nine directors,—three of whom are chosen by the membership banks of the district from their own banking fraternity, three others chosen by the same members from the business community at large, and three others designated by the federal reserve board at Washington. The earnings of the federal reserve banks may pay to the stockholders 5 per cent. upon the paid-up capital. There are provisions facilitating the exchange of the present large outstanding issue of 2 per cent. bonds for bonds drawing 3 per cent. The act contemplates the definite extinction in due time of the present banknotes based upon the deposit of 2 per cent. bonds. The 3 per cent. bonds would not have the so-called "circulation privilege." The bill contains provisions requiring what are deemed proper reserves, to be held in bank vaults or placed on deposit by the banks with the federal reserve bank of which they are members.

Government Control Criticized

The chief criticism of the bankers is directed against what they call "government control" of the banking business through a central agency at Washington that might be involved in politics. This central board has, indeed, large powers. It is not our opinion that its powers would be improperly exercised, or that it would be used as a partisan or personal agency for the exercise of authority in a harmful way. It could not act except in an open and public manner; and the principles upon which its power must be exercised involve no mysterious discretions, but only those of business precaution in the interest of the public. Mr. Bryan has expressed approval of the bill, because he believes that the money system of the country should be governmental in its nature and ultimate control. Provided the nature of the system be sound, its governmental oversight is in accord with the views of the great majority of the American people. At present the monetary and banking power of the country is controlled by a voluntary group of banking agencies centered in the so-called financial district of New York. That the leading thinkers among these powerful bankers are not conspirators against the country is evidenced by the fact that for many years they have been foremost in trying to persuade Congress to enact sound and modern banking and currency laws, which would provide something better than clearing-house certificates for times of emergency, and which would give legitimate business the support of the banks at times when credit is especially needed.

A Workable Measure

It is our opinion that the administration bill as introduced would work fairly well if put in practice, and that it could easily be amended after its relatively weak points had become apparent. But it is also our view that just now,

while the matter is before Congress and the country, the bill could be made better than it is, and could be passed as a veritable triumph of patriotic coöperation on the part of all who are concerned and who understand the questions at issue. In some regards the bill could be improved by taking on a more sweeping and more simple character. It could provide more completely for a uniform currency that would give us one form of United States Government notes, in place of the different kinds of paper money now outstanding. It could find a speedier way to retire the 2 per cent bonds, doing full and handsome justice to their holders.

Party Planks on the Banking Question

The pending measure is not out of harmony with the plank in the last Republican national platform. That plank states exceedingly well the need of legislation and the ends to be attained. The pending administration measure is in especial accord with the plank in the National Progressive platform, which was as follows:

We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The issue of currency is fundamentally a Government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the Government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands not subject to effective public control.

This measure, in its general principles, is also sufficiently in keeping with the less carefully written plank of the last Democratic national platform, which we herewith quote in full:

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill for the establishment of a central bank, and we believe our country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities in which such relief is needed, with protection from control or domination by what is known as the money trust.

Banks exists for the accommodation of the public and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public, and the complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing Government funds in a few favored banks largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and state, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities, and subject to call by the Government.



MR. BRYAN LIKES THE YOUNGSTER
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

Unconvincing Efforts at Criticism

Some important newspapers, particularly those published in New York, have given their readers almost unlimited quantities of attack upon this bill from the standpoint of imagined dangers lurking in the power that might conceivably be exercised by the Federal Reserve Board at Washington. At best, their arguments amount to nothing but an academic query. They are not in the least convincing. They are, indeed, of such slight weight that some of those who were in doubt before have thereby been made content to accept the administration's plan. For surely there must be some control; and the arguments against the authority that this bill reposes in a board at Washington might be used with far greater force against any other plan of regulating the issue and distribution of currency and the oversight of banking reserves. There was action in the House Currency Committee, by the middle of July, that made it clear that there would be complete party unanimity in upholding the proposed plan of the Federal Reserve Board with full Government control, and that the plan of the series of federal reserve banks would be sustained. It was declared that the bill would be made a Democratic caucus measure, and that it would pass the House, after a reasonable period for the

study of its provisions (especially those relating to note issues), with as much certainty and celerity as the Tariff bill, and probably with an even larger support from non-Democratic members.

A Threatened Railroad Strike

The imminent threat of a great railroad strike last month was happily averted by an agreement reached in a White House conference held on Monday, July 14. The brotherhoods of conductors and trainmen on the Eastern railroads (including the whole network of lines east of Chicago and the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac) had demanded a new scale of standardized and increased wages; and the railroads, acting through a managers' committee, had refused the demands and declined to negotiate. The men had thereupon taken a strike vote by an overwhelming majority, and had put the matter in the hands of their leaders. These leaders were ready at all times to arbitrate their demands, under the provisions of the federal law known as the Erdman Act, which had recently been invoked on behalf of the demands of the railroad firemen, with the result of an increase of 10 or 12 per cent. in firemen's wages. The railroads, on the other hand, were not willing to arbitrate under the Erdman Act because of the admitted defects of that measure.

Inertia as a Serious Menace

Everyone concerned has known for several years that the Erdman Act ought to be amended. Nobody has opposed this idea. Railroad presidents, labor leaders, and public-spirited citizens belonging to such agencies as the National Civic Federation, have not only agreed that the Erdman Act ought to be amended, but have not differed materially in regard to the changes desired. The trouble has been to arouse Congress from its lethargy and lack of practical efficiency, so that it might do a simple thing that the public interest demanded and that nobody opposed. After the prospect of a strike that would tie up all the railroads had become ominous, Mr. Seth Low and others succeeded in getting the Senate, through the agency of Senator Newlands and the Interstate Commerce Committee, to pass the desired amendments. The problem of getting the House of Representatives to "take notice" seems to have remained unsolved. And yet the House had nothing in particular to do, because the Tariff bill had been passed, and the Currency bill had not yet been reported. At length a strike that would have cost the country perhaps a thousand million dollars, was within forty-eight hours of being declared.

Momentum and Action at Last

The device was used of getting the President interested, and having him preside over a conference in the White House. This was held, as we have said, on Monday, the 14th. Several railroad presidents and several chiefs of railroad brotherhoods were on hand, as were the Secretary of Labor, the chairmen of Congressional committees, and Mr. Seth Low and his associates representing the arbitration committee of the Civic Federation. Everybody was in perfect agreement. The President favored the immediate passage of the desired amendments, and so also did the railroad men—both presidents and labor leaders. The statesmen from the law-making chambers on the Capitol hill had no possible objection to doing what everybody wished. It was merely a matter of getting waked up and setting the machinery in motion. They promised that the bill should be passed and sent to the President for signature on the very next day, and this accordingly was done, and the strike was averted.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. SETH LOW

(President of the National Civic Federation, who took the leading part in securing the new national arbitration act)

Why the Erdman Act was Defective

The Erdman Act had provided a plan of friendly and informal mediation, in which the Commissioner of Labor was especially active, and in case of failure to settle trouble by mediation there was a provision for three arbitrators, the contending parties each naming one and the third being chosen by these two, or else selected by the Government. In the case of a small trouble over one definite point on a single railroad, this plan was good enough. But where large and varied issues were involved, and where a number of railroads, operating under different conditions, were associated together in a single arbitration, the board of three did not suffice. Two of the arbitrators were merely advocates contending against each other. There was only one real judge, yet the other two had the power of judges. There could be no result except some kind of compromise, or "splitting of the difference."

Nature of the Amendments

When the most serious of these railway questions was arbitrated a year ago (the dispute between the locomotive engineers and the railroads), a board of seven arbitrators was chosen by voluntary agreement. The railroads named one, the engineers named one, and Chief Justice White, Judge Knapp, and Commissioner Neill named five from a larger list that had been referred to them. After weeks of patient and thorough consideration, a series of decisions on disputed points was announced, in all of which the five impartial judges had been able to reach unanimous agreement. The next contest to be arbitrated was that between the same railroads and the locomotive firemen. In this case the Erdman Act was followed, and Judge Chambers was the third arbitrator. The experience of this arbitration again demonstrated the imperfections of the method. As now amended, the act provides for an independent board, consisting of a Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation, to be named by the President, and two other Washington officials who will act with the commissioner. Where mediation fails, it is provided that there shall be a Board of Arbitration chosen, of six members, of whom each contending party will name two. The remaining two will be named either by the four first chosen, or else by the Board of Mediation. It was at once arranged that the demands of the conductors and trainmen should be submitted to such a board. President Wilson coöperated with the utmost promptitude, and signed the bill on July 15.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York.

WILLIAM G. LEE
(President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen)

The Trainmen and Their Position

Strikes which would stop the traffic of all railroads serving more than thirty millions of people are not to be contemplated with an acquiescent mind. The rights of the public, in such case, are of vastly greater consequence than those of either the railroads or the employees. If the conductors and trainmen had precipitated a strike without giving ample opportunity to the public to protect itself, they would have been entitled to no sympathy whatsoever. It should be remembered that as recently as 1910 the conductors and trainmen of the New York Central system made demands that were arbitrated and that resulted in a very substantial increase of wages. The railroad had accepted two labor leaders of high standing as arbitrators. A similar situation, involving another railroad, had resulted in the acceptance of the New York Central's award, whereupon the settlement in the New York Central case was adopted quite generally, and became the standard throughout the Eastern half of the United States for conductors and trainmen. It was in consequence of this great victory of the conductors that the engineers and firemen last year made their partially successful demands for standardization and increase of pay throughout the same territory. It should not

be supposed, therefore, that the conductors and trainmen are now making their demands in the wake of the engineers and firemen. This would be to reverse the sequence. The general advance given the conductors and trainmen in 1910 has been too recent to justify extensive new demands, with a general strike on all railroads as the alternative. It will be necessary sometime to put the railway services in a position where the concerted strike will be impossible. Railroads are of just as essential a public character as are forces of policemen and firemen, or the postal clerks and carriers. The strike is not a proper weapon to be used by men in such employments. A concerted railroad strike would necessitate the operation of railroads by military power, in order to supply the people of cities with food and other necessities. Since, however, the strike is not morally permissible under these circumstances, there is the more reason why the public should see that railway servants have exceptionally good treatment as regards wages and all conditions of employment and service. On reasonable terms, and at proper intervals, they should have opportunity to secure arbitration of all well-formulated claims and demands.

The Problem of Dissolving a "Merger"

One of the most important business proceedings with which the new Administration has been concerned is the agreement upon a plan for carrying out the decision of the United States Supreme Court which, late last year, ordered the dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad systems,—the culminating achievement in the late Mr. Harriman's career as a railroad financier. The case against the roads had been begun by President Roosevelt, and was carried through to the Supreme Court by Mr. Severance, of St. Paul, as special attorney for the Government. The United States Circuit Court had decided that the merger was not contrary to law, but the Supreme Court had reversed this decision. Mr. Lovett, head of the Union Pacific system, and his associates in control of the great properties involved, had been trying for some months to hit upon a plan of dissolution that would satisfy the Attorney-General and the courts. The merger had been brought about through the acquisition by the Union Pacific of a controlling interest in the stock of the Southern Pacific. The practical question was how to get rid of this stock by a sale that was not merely nominal, with the result of bringing about a real separation of the two systems. So divergent were the minds of those concerned that there was danger of receiverships and consequent injury to legitimate investors by depression of stock-market prices.

The Attorney-General Approves a Plan

The decision of the court had, however, been a warning to other railroad systems which were somewhat similarly situated. The Pennsylvania, for instance, had, some years ago, acquired such large blocks of the stock of the Baltimore & Ohio as to be a dominating power behind the scenes. There was danger of a Government suit to compel the Pennsylvania to break up a disguised combination with the B. & O. A very remarkable way out of two large difficulties was found when someone proposed that the Pennsylvania should trade its B. & O. stock for a large quantity of the Union Pacific's holdings of Southern Pacific stock. The firm and uncompromising mind of Attorney-General McReynolds yielded at last when this plan was broached to him by Mr. Lovett. It was laid before President Wilson, who found it acceptable. The Department of Justice, in quick order, put the plan before the United States Circuit Court at St. Paul, which approved it as meeting the conditions of the decree. The Pennsylvania road gives up $42,000,000 of B. & O. stock, and takes in exchange $38,000,00 of Southern Pacific stock. This, incidentally, relieves the Pennsylvania from all danger of prosecution. The remaining $88,000,000 of the Union Pacific stock in the other system is to be placed in the hands of a trustee, to be gradually and properly disposed of without injury to any interest, and under conditions to prevent such re-purchase as would in effect renew the merger. The solution seems to be a felicitous one, and its acceptance by the President and the Attorney-General on June 28, and by Circuit Judges Sanborn, Hook, and Smith on June 30, afforded a real relief to the overstrained business situation in Wall Street.

In re McNab vs. McReynolds

In another matter, the Attorney-General has had a prominent part which has been less universally commended. On a certain day—namely June 21—Mr. John L. McNab, United States District Attorney at San Francisco, sent his resignation to President Wilson in a sensational telegram that was given to the newspapers and headlined all over the country. This Mr. McNab is a brilliant man, who writes scathing English of a qual-

ity that would indicate a study of Edmund Burke. He defined certain shocking and outrageous cases, where indictments had been brought, which in his opinion required immediate trial. Against his repeated protests, the Department of Justice at Washington had intervened and ordered him to postpone the trials until fall. Mr. McNab, as the Republican incumbent, had intended to resign in the near future, but had desired to complete pending business and to conclude certain necessary prosecutions. The Department of Justice attempted to meet Mr. McNab's attack with some sort of explanation; but McNab proceeded to produce the telegrams and letters, and to prove beyond a question that the Attorney-General was wrong and had made a grave mistake, if nothing worse.



HON. JOHN L. M'NAB, OF SAN FRANCISCO

(The retiring United States District Attorney whose telegram of resignation to President Wilson caused a widespread sensation)

How McReynolds Had Made an Error

What could have been Mr. McReynolds' motives, and how did it all happen? Let us try to answer. The new Commissioner of Immigration is a progressive Democrat from California, named Anthony Caminetti. He had served one term in Congress and a great many years in the California State Senate. He is a man of honor and intelligence, said to be duly qualified for the office he now holds. His son is one of two culprits, both men with families, who were indicted for having taken two young high-school girls to another State, deserting their families and inflicting irreparable wrong. They were brought back to California, were indicted, and were about to be tried. The unhappy father, entering upon his official duties at Washington, wished to have his son's trial put off until fall. He laid the matter before his immediate chief, who is Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor. Secretary Wilson has been a labor leader, and has learned the arts of influence and persuasion. He went to the Attorney-General and requested him to interfere with the course of justice and order the postponement of a trial out in San Francisco, which should have been allowed to proceed. Doubtless Mr. McReynolds at first supposed that this would make no particular difference. But as correspondence between him and Mr. McNab over the matter ensued, it would seem that the Attorney-General's mind had hardened into a rigid and unyielding attitude and one, of course, quite indefensible.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. ANTHONY CAMINETTI

(The new Commissioner of Immigration at Washington)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

ATTORNEY-GENERAL JAMES C. M'REYNOLDS

President Wilson Overrules

For it is a shocking affair that an administrative officer, like a member of the cabinet at Washington, should interfere with the due process of law where a case is already in the hands of the courts. A matter of such gravity found its way, of necessity, to President Wilson. Many newspapers were declaring that McReynolds must go. Mr. Wilson had studied the history of the preceding Administration closely enough to understand that in all such matters action must be quick. He ordered the Caminetti-Diggs cases to be tried immediately. He accepted McNab's resignation without comment, and appointed a new United States Attorney to carry on the prosecutions. He exonerated the Attorney-General from any intentional wrongdoing. He vindicated himself as an exceedingly good executive and a very practical politician.

The Needed Chastening of a Department

This McNab-McReynolds row is one of the best things that has happened for ten years. It is likely to put an end to a tendency which in recent years has made the Department of Justice a menace to liberty and a rather contemptible thing in the opinion of the country. That department, during the past three or four years, has been guilty of so much interposition, so much of private negotiation touching matters that ought to have been publicly dealt with, that it is high time the thing should be exposed and stopped by reason of the sheer sensationalism of a case in point. It was never intended that the Department of Justice at Washington should "mess" in the administration of justice all over the United States, merely because a local case may happen to get into the Federal rather than into the State courts. Mr. McReynolds is a fine lawyer, and he made a great record in his work as special attorney in prosecution of the tobacco trust. He was wholly out of sympathy with the methods of the department under its late chief in giving effect to a plan of reorganization that seemed to nullify the Government's victory. He had no private motive or wrong intent in his yielding to the solicitations of Secretary Wilson and Mr. A. Caminetti.

Power and Its Abuses

But he was wholly wrong in acting as if he supposed that his appointment to his present office in the cabinet could have been intended to confer upon him the power to oblige his friends, in a personal way, by meddling with a matter of public moment in a pending case in the State of California. The very fact that the President and the members of his cabinet are intrusted with vast power constitutes a reason why they must not use that power in a light and easy fashion, as if it were a private affair of their own. Commissioner Caminetti is to be deeply commiserated; but he has no more right to ask the Attorney-General to postpone the trial of his scapegrace son than has any other citizen of the United States to ask similar favors. Mr. McReynolds should have resented the faintest suggestion that there was any authority vested in him that could possibly be used in such fashion. Happily, he has had this lesson very early in his administration; and, since he is a genuine man and well worthy of his office, he may be relied upon henceforth to resist such requests for private favor and indulgence, from whatsoever source.

McNab Slated for a Higher Honor

As for Mr. McNab, a thing of this kind would not hurt his feelings permanently. It is said that he had already been slated by the standpat Republicans as their candidate for Gover-



INSTALLING THE NEW INDIAN COMMISSIONER IN THE PRESENCE OF NUMEROUS REPRESENTATIVES OF INDIAN TRIBES

(The new commissioner, Judge Cato Sells, is seated on the right of Secretary Lane, who occupies the central place in the picture)

nor of California, and that there are behind him all those powerful forces, working from opposite directions, that are seeking to disintegrate the support of Governor Hiram Johnson and the Progressive leaders. One-half of the voters of California are now women; and it was said that the so-called "white-slave" issue involved in the Caminetti-Diggs cases might bring much of this new voting strength over to the support of the eloquent Mr. McNab. However that may be, there is always something brewing in California politics that is interesting enough to deserve attention from coast to coast.

Lane's Work in the Interior Department

And, speaking of California, it is a fortunate thing that a Californian possessing so rare a combination of qualities and experiences is now at the head of the Interior Department. Secretary Lane's comprehensive knowledge of Western men and affairs is one of the foremost assets of the present Administration. He is also an administrator of firm grasp, of abounding health and industry, and of vivid imagination associated with humor and tact. He perceives problems constructively, and has the legal knowledge and training to handle them in detail. Few men have ever taken up the work of the Interior Department with so high a promise of fine achievement for the public. Being a man of power, Mr. Lane is also human and genial, and believes in team work and fellowship. Having sat for many years as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, he is accustomed to the close coöperation of a group of able men. The Interior Department, besides its general functions, includes several great bureaus and establishments, and several others of importance but of smaller scope. The great ones are the General Land Office, the Patent Office, the Bureau of Pensions, and the Office of Indian Affairs. The smaller and more special ones are the Bureau of Education, the Geological Survey, the Reclamation Service, and the Bureau of Mines. While the Secretary of the Interior is administrative chief over all these services, they are quite unrelated to one another in their organization and work. Mr. Lane has believed it best to bring their directors into closer touch with one another, and to give the department itself a more unified and harmonious character.



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PROF. ADOLPH C. MILLER, OF CALIFORNIA
(Assistant Secretary of the Interior)

Appointments under Mr. Lane

He has endeavored, where there were vacancies, to secure the best possible men for commissionerships. The new Assistant Secretary is Mr. Jones, of New Mexico, whose picture appeared in the REVIEW last month. The second Assistant Secretary is Prof. A. C. Miller, of the University of California, who is a well-known political economist and who has been put by Mr. Lane in especial charge of business relating to the national parks. The new Commissioner of the General Land Office is Mr. Clay Tallman, accredited to Nevada and recently in the department as chief law officer of the Reclamation Service. The Commissioner of the Patent Office, as appointed last month, is Mr. Thomas Ewing, Jr., of New York, who has practised patent law for many years and has been identified with politics and philanthropy in his home city of Yonkers. He is the son and grandson of distinguished Ohio Democrats of the same name. For Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Hon. Cato Sells, of Texas (formerly of Iowa), was selected by the President and Secretary Lane. Judge Sells was one of the foremost of the original Wilson men, and was active in last year's campaign. His appointment, however, is not in the nature of reward for political services. A painstaking search was made for a man who would represent both idealism and common sense in managing the Indian Office. Commissioner Lane has definite views upon the future of the nation's Indian wards. He would have a high-class, independent Indian Commission appointed, under the direction of which the Government's oversight of Indians should steadily be reduced to the vanishing point. He would encourage the evolution of Indians into full and self-directed citizenship.



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HON. CLAY TALLMAN
(Appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office)

Mr. Lane is fortunate in finding at the head of the Bureau of Education Prof. P. P. Claxton, of North Carolina and Tennessee, one of the ablest educational men now living in the world, whose work at Washington cannot be too highly praised. The Geological Survey, the Reclamation Service, and the Bureau of Mines are organized on the basis of permanent technical and professional services, and are under faithful and competent direction. Mr. Lane has enlightened and sensible views on the great problems of conservation, and is finding the best working plan upon which to reconcile public and private interests in the granting of water-power rights on the public domain, the leasing of coal lands, and kindred topics. He has, also, firm views regarding the development of Alaska, favoring a Government railroad system with low freight rates and

reasonable leasehold privileges for coal mining on Government lands.

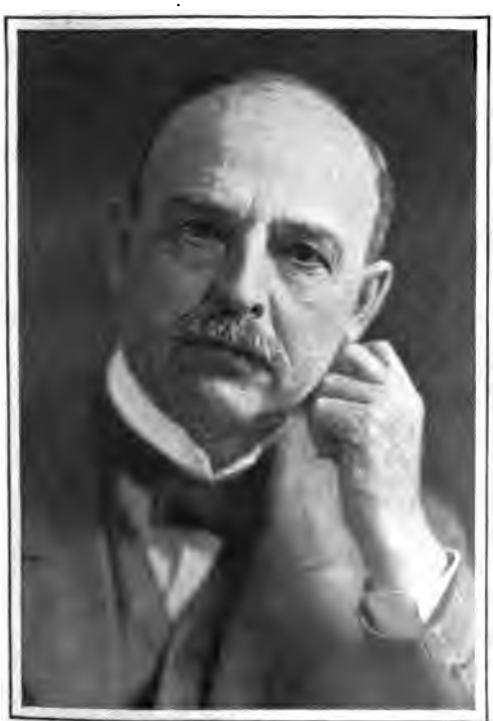
Our New Ambassadors and Ministers

The newspapers have commented upon the tardiness of the President in making diplomatic appointments. This, however, is to imply that we have no professional diplomatic service, and that our chief foreign posts are to be treated as of political character, like cabinet officers. As regards some of the positions, it would, indeed, appear that the Administration has fallen a little short of giving full regard to what had been previously accomplished in reforming our diplomatic and consular services. The pressure for appointments has been terrific, and the Wilson Administration has upon the whole resisted it in heroic fashion. As regards a few leading posts, it was expected by everyone that new appointments would be promptly made. The sending of Mr. Walter H. Page to London has been duly noted. Colonel Myron W. Herrick had continued to serve gracefully at Paris, while Mr. McCombs was reported from time to time as possibly inclined to reconsider. Mr. Curtis Guild had also been performing duty in his gallant way at St. Petersburg, knowing that if Mr. Charles R. Crane should be sent there in due time, the whole country would be well pleased. The raising of our post at Madrid to ambassadorial rank is coincident with the appointment of Hon. Joseph Willard, of Virginia, who has served his state as Lieutenant-Governor and in other capacities, and is an excellent choice. It was much desired that a new Ambassador be sent to Berlin, and the appointment of Judge James W. Gerard, of New York, seems to meet satisfactorily the requirements of that growingly ostentatious court. A delightful and admirable appointment is that of Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, to be Ambassador at Rome. Mr. Page is not merely a writer of good books and a representative of American literature, but he is a man of strong character, of legal training, of wide acquaintance with diplomats, and versed in international affairs. Mr. Frederic C. Penfield, who has been appointed Ambassador to Austria, is also eminently worthy of such an honor. He has had much previous diplomatic experience, having been



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HON. THOMAS EWING, JR.
(The new Commissioner of Patents)



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JUDGE CATO SELLS
(The new Indian Commissioner)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

DR. HENRY VAN DYKE
(Minister to the Netherlands)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. JAMES W. GERARD
(Ambassador to Germany)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. PLEASANT A. STOVALL
(Minister to Switzerland)



HON. JOSEPH E. WILLARD
(Ambassador to Spain)

Minister to Argentina, Consul-General in Egypt, and so on. He has written important books upon Egypt and the East, and has contributed very valuable articles upon foreign questions to this REVIEW and other periodicals. Dr. Henry van Dyke's appointment to be Minister at The Hague, while most fitting in every other way, has an added touch of felicity due to the fact that, as his name shows, his ancestors came from Holland. As exchange professor lecturing at the Paris Sorbonne, and elsewhere in Europe, he has recently served as one of the real though un-



HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD
(Ambassador to Austria)

official representatives of America in continental Europe. Mr. Pleasant A. Stovall, the new Minister to Switzerland, is a prominent Georgia editor and legislator. Several appointments have been made to diplomatic posts in the Latin-American republics, but these we shall find it convenient to comment upon at another time.

The Troubles of Mexico

No new Ambassador to Mexico had been appointed; and Mr. Henry Lane Wilson had remained on duty for the simple reason that a new man could not be sent without our according recognition to the Huerta Govern-



HON. THOMAS NELSON PAGE
(Ambassador to Italy)

ment, which had thus far been withheld. On July 16, Mr. Wilson was instructed to come immediately to Washington for a conference. Mexican affairs had been forced upon the attention of President Wilson by communications received from one or more of the European powers. All interests in Mexico have for many months been in jeopardy. Nearly all of the other foreign governments have recognized the Huerta régime. The forced resignation of the lawful President, Madero, and his abominable assassination, occurred only a few days before President Taft went out of office. Our Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, regarded it as best that we should give prompt recognition to the Huerta-Diaz military and personal dictatorship, in order that our influence might help them to establish a strong enough government to give protection to American and other foreign interests. But there was great abhorrence in this country of the treachery and crime of which Madero had been the victim, and there was much belief that the people of Mexico would



Photograph by the American Press Association

PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT HUERTA, OF MEXICO (IN THE CENTER), AND GENERAL FELIX DIAZ, BOMBARDED WITH CONFETTI ON A RECENT FETE DAY IN THE CITY OF MEXICO

at an early day rid themselves of the usurpers. The movement which had sent the elder Diaz to Europe had been followed at once by an election, and Madero became a constitutional President. Huerta had promised to adopt the same policy, but dates have been deferred and there is no likelihood that such an election will be held even in October, as more recently announced. Revolutionary fighting against Huerta is going on in different parts of Mexico. This present government wishes to raise money by a foreign loan, but lacks the necessary prestige because of the refusal of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, thus far, to recognize the lawful status of the actual rulers. Our relations with Mexico for more than half a century have been such that the world expects us to adopt and declare a definite policy. The great powers of Europe would like to have the United States intervene in Mexico, because that would give promise of full and responsible protection of their citizens and their property interests.

No Reason for Haste

The best opinion in this country, however, is to the effect that our Government has no possible reason for invading Mexico and trying to establish order there. It is quite possible for American citizens who cannot live there in safety to return to this country. American investments are very great in Mexico, but they were never guaranteed by our Government, and have always been subject to the vicissitudes of a revolutionary country. President Wilson thus far has shown himself to be both firm and cool-headed. There is no need of his doing anything about Mexico until he has deliberately decided upon a course of action that satisfies his judgment. It was reported last month, whether truly or not, that Huerta had just caused the execution of twenty or thirty men who were supposed to have been plotting the assassination of himself and Diaz. He will have to live in a bomb-proof vault if he expects to prolong his own days very greatly, under the existing conditions. His enemies are everywhere, and violent men usually come to violent ends.

Roosevelt for Strength and Peace

While responsible public men, regardless of party, do not wish to have our army and navy used for the restoration of peace and order in Mexico, there are many who think that conditions might arise which would make it necessary. Colonel Roosevelt, speaking at Newport early last month, made a strong argument for the further development of a strong navy and the maintenance of our military force. He declared that the only safe course for us to pursue was to "combine absolute courtesy and justice toward other nations with that preparedness for war which is the only means of averting war." This is the view of great peace advocates like Mr. Choate, and like Mr. Oscar Straus, who is in Europe to attend the peace celebration at The Hague. Colonel Roosevelt went for a long visit in the Far West last month, and later in the autumn he will go to Argentina to give certain lectures and to see the great countries of South America. It is not ex-



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT NEWPORT ON "NAVY DAY," JULY 2, WHERE HE MADE A PLEA FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE

(The Colonel is accompanied by Captain Wells and Admiral Dayton, and is reviewing the apprentice seamen's brigade)

pected that he will take active part in the New York State and municipal campaigns of the present year. He is, however, in full sympathy with the movement to give further advance to the existing non-partisan municipal government of the metropolis, and his championship of the cause of Governor Sulzer, in the great battle for reform at Albany and for State-wide direct primaries, is well known.

Governor Sulzer and His Fight

Although Governor Sulzer had made a strong appeal to the people, there was no reason to suppose that so completely hostile a Legislature would enact his Direct-Primary bill in the extra session that he called for that purpose. The Legislature again passed the so-called Blauvelt bill, which the Governor had twice vetoed in the regular session. One thing, however, is plain. The party machines, in fear of the people, have been yielding a little more from time to time, and are consenting to steps in the direction of direct control of nominations that they had refused to take a few months ago. Every conceivable effort has been made by the mercenary politicians to break down the Governor's public strength and private reputation. Their methods, however, have made him stronger than ever, and have given him a standing as a courageous fighter and a serious reformer that the whole country recognizes as never before. Already he has accomplished notable things. He has so exposed the iniquities of the prison system that its reform becomes inevitable. He has uncovered the rottenness of the State's financial system; and past practices cannot be revived. He has made necessary a reform in the expenditure of vast sums for such improvements as State highways. He has made possible a reform of health administration throughout the State that will be of incalculable benefit. He has made many admirable appointments, and has got rid of many objectionable officials. His record of achievement is great already, and nothing can deprive him of its credit.

Recent Decisions as to Price Fixing

Manufacturers and distributors of merchandise have found cause for great uneasiness and strong protest in the situation left by the recent Supreme Court decision denying the right of the maker of a patented article to control, after he has sold it, the terms of resale. The Bauer Company, manufacturers of a patented tonic food, had sold their goods to a retailer with the stipulation that the price should not be cut below one dollar per package. A Washington druggist persisted in quoting a lower figure, and the manufacturers brought a suit to enjoin him from selling at any price but the one fixed by them. The majority of the court—four Justices dissented—refused to interpret the right "to make, use and vend," conferred by the patent laws on a patentee, as covering his right to maintain a fixed price for his product after it has passed from his hands into the legal possession of a middleman.

The Maker's Right to Fix Prices

Thus the maker of a "dollar" watch protected by patents may not sell a quantity of his instruments to a jobber with any effective stipulation that the small dealer, after purchasing from the jobber, shall sell to the ultimate consumer only at the price of one dollar. If the manufacturer can perfect an organization of merchandising which gives the retail dealer a legal status as agent of the maker, then the latter can protect his price. Otherwise, if the retail dealer wishes to attract customers to his shop by offering "dollar" watches at fifty-nine cents, even though he may have paid the jobber seventy-nine cents, the manufacturer has no recourse. It is obvious in this instance that the manufacturer suffers in at least two ways: first, the consumer who, a few days before, paid the full dollar for a similar watch, feels injured, and resentful, and suspicious of that brand of timepiece; second, the retail dealer across the street from the cut-price shop sees assailed in some degree the very foundation of his enterprise, since customers who have paid him the full price for these watches come to the conclusion that they have been "gouged" in his shop, and those who only see the difference in quotations on watches in the two shops are thereby warned against the "regular" shopkeeper. And if the cut-price store is one of a "chain," belonging to a powerful combination of capitalists, there is a real opportunity here, by maintaining such cut-price tactics for a time, to drive out of existence the small individual retailer across the street.

A Social Danger in Price Chaos

Furthermore, there is danger in such a situation to the whole process of orderly, self-respecting and efficient retail buying and selling. Assuming a wholesale lapse from the honored custom of giving each citizen the opportunity of purchasing the same article for the same price, there would seem to be an inevitable tendency toward haggling over every retail purchase. With the shopper perfectly aware that prices can be cut, and the retailer knowing that he must do as his fellows or lose his trade, it does not require a great deal of imagination to picture our shops reduced some way toward the standards of an Algerian bazaar, where the seller starts the price at twice the figure he expects to get and the sale is consummated after a half hour of wasteful and disreputable controversy. The most notable of the American merchant princes have been prouder of the one-price-to-every-customer policy which they fought to build up and maintain than any other of their achievements in bettering trade customs.

Remedial Legislation Improbable at Present

The strongest point made by the manufacturers in their attack on the logic of the court's decision is in their contention that their right to "vend," conferred by the patent laws, has not been completed, from the standpoint of retail price fixing, when they turn over their goods to a jobber, and that the vending is only completed when the article passes into the hand of the person who uses it. Color is given this theory by the law's approval of their course when they accomplish the identical result they are after by the device of making the retail dealer their agent. It is very doubtful whether the temper of the present Congress is such as to promise any relief from the evils that might result from a chaos of retail prices, and it may be that the only present solution of the manufacturer's problem will come from such a drastic reorganization of the channels of distribution as will allow a very considerable extension of retail selling by agents. Certain it is that all the recent court decisions have tended in the direction of this latest dictum. The famous Bobbs-Merrill case, and the long drawn-out battle between the Publishers' Association and the Macy Department Store ended in the failure of the publishers to extend their copyright privileges to a right to say that a book, once sold by them to a middleman or retailer, could be sold to the consumer only at the list price for consumers originally fixed by the publisher.



THE HOUSE OF LORDS ATTEMPTING TO STEM THE RISING TIDE
From the *Irish World* (New York)

air—will cost $321,000,000. The French military-service bill, which had been the main project of the new Premier, Barthou, was adopted on July 7. It lengthens the term of compulsory service from two to three years, resulting in an immediate increase of 50,000 men. The plan in its entirety will necessitate the borrowing of $200,000,000.

Home Rule Bill Advanced

The Liberal party in Great Britain, under the leadership of Premier Asquith, brought to a conclusion last month the second stage, in three, of the legislation which will grant Home Rule to Ireland. This was the chief measure of the session. The scheme for providing self-government for Ireland is unalterably opposed by the House of Lords; and in order to become a law its course through Parliament must of necessity be a long and arduous one. Under the Veto Act of 1911, it is necessary for a measure opposed by the upper house to pass the lower branch three times without important amendment. A bill thus passed will receive the royal assent despite the Lords' veto. The Irish Home Rule bill was introduced for the first time, by Premier Asquith, on April 11, 1912. More than nine months were required for its passage, and the measure was debated with great vigor and earnestness by the Liberals and the members of the Opposition. It passed its third reading on January 16, last, by vote of 367 to 257. Just two weeks later, as had been expected, it was overwhelmingly rejected by the House of Lords, with only 69 votes recorded in its favor out of a total membership of 636 and a vote of 395. The bill was reintroduced on May 7, for its second passage through the House of Commons. This time it required but two months of debate, and was sent to the upper house on July 7. It was vetoed for the second time on the 15th of last month. Upon its third passage in the Commons, next year, the measure will become a law.

The Proposed Irish Parliament

As American readers may have lost sight of the main provisions of the measure, it may be helpful to restate them here. An Irish Parliament is to be created, consisting of a Senate, with forty members, and a House of Commons, with 164 members. Power is given to make laws for peace, order, and good government. The parliament will not, however, have the right to interfere in matters relating to the crown, the army and navy, imperial affairs, and such matters as the old-age pension and insurance laws, postal savings banks, public loans, and so forth. Nor will it be permitted to make laws affecting religious equality. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is to have power to veto or suspend any bill on the instruction of the Imperial Executive. The collection of taxes is to remain in the imperial service, but the new parliament will have power to reduce or discontinue taxes, with the exception of that on incomes and the stamp and estate duties.



Photo by Paul Thompson

PRESIDENT POINCARÉ, OF FRANCE, DRIVING FROM VICTORIA STATION WITH KING GEORGE AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN LONDON ON JUNE 24



KAISER WILHELM, OF GERMANY, AND HIS SIX STALWART SONS

(From left to right: The Emperor, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince Eitel Friedrich, Prince Adalbert, Prince August Wilhelm, Prince Oskar, and Prince Joachim)

Bulgaria's Undue Ambition

It will take some time to be sure of one's basis of fact upon which to render judgment. But it would seem as if the position of the Bulgarians had been technically correct, even if it had been both ungenerous and unsafe. Bulgaria could easily have withstood either Greece, on the one hand, or Servia on the other. But she was not in position to overcome a simultaneous attack by both of her recent allies, neither of which had suffered as much in the war against Turkey as had the Bulgarian forces. The unwisdom of Bulgaria was further shown in the fact that Rumania had been making demands for a strip of Bulgarian territory as a reward for not having stolen that territory while Bulgaria was fighting the Turks. When the Bulgarian armies, early in July, were forced back by those of Greece and Servia, the well-organized army of Rumania safely began its march of invasion. Bulgaria, in order to avert a greater calamity, was obliged to declare her consent to cede the demanded territory to the Rumanians. The Turks, meanwhile, were asserting themselves and seeking every possible advantage out of the predicament of their disunited enemies. Cabinets were falling and rising, and every day was reporting some new aspect of the terrible situation. The news at the moment when these pages were closing for the press brought hope of armistice.



PRINCE SAID HALIM
(Appointed Grand Vizier of Turkey following the assassination, on June 11, of Mahmoud Shefket Pasha)

Another Proof of War's Folly

The apostles of international peace could hardly find lessons more significant than those afforded by the recent history of Southeastern Europe and the Turkish Empire. There were evils; but they have not been remedied by resort to arms. In view of all that they have lost, the Balkan states have paid far too dearly for the little that they may have gained. To have conserved their slender resources of men and materials, and to have cultivated all the arts of peace and civilization, would have brought them nearer to the goal of their ambition, in the course of a reasonable period of time, than the taking up of arms will have brought them. Turkey was in a sad predicament because she was at war with Italy over a worthless province in North Africa. Thus the Balkan allies formed their compact and entered upon what might have seemed, from a long and safe distance, a brilliant campaign. But at its best this war against Turkey was a mistake. On another page of this number we publish an article containing glimpses of the awful misery of the peasant populations, due to the price paid for victory over the Turks. No further comment is justified at this time, because it will be needful to wait, in order that authentic news may be available and that the great episode may round itself out.

German and French Army Bills

The troubles of these six nations in the southern part of Europe have at times during the past few months seemed likely to involve several of the larger powers. The situation created was undoubtedly responsible to a great extent for the wave of militarism which swept over the Continent, particularly in Austria, Russia, Germany, France, and even in Belgium and the Netherlands. The radical plans of Germany and France for increasing their standing armies have been successfully piloted through the law-making bodies, although they met with much opposition. The German measure was passed on June 30. It provides for an increase of 136,000 officers and men, placing the army on a peace footing of 800,000. It is estimated that the complete scheme of defense—upon water and land, and in the



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THE HOUSE OF LORDS ATTEMPTING TO STEM THE RISING TIDE
From the *Irish World* (New York)

air—will cost $321,000,000. The French military-service bill, which had been the main project of the new Premier, Barthou, was adopted on July 7. It lengthens the term of compulsory service from two to three years, resulting in an immediate increase of 50,000 men. The plan in its entirety will necessitate the borrowing of $200,000,000.

Home Rule Bill Advanced

The Liberal party in Great Britain, under the leadership of Premier Asquith, brought to a conclusion last month the second stage, in three, of the legislation which will grant Home Rule to Ireland. This was the chief measure of the session. The scheme for providing self-government for Ireland is unalterably opposed by the House of Lords; and in order to become a law its course through Parliament must of necessity be a long and arduous one. Under the Veto Act of 1911, it is necessary for a measure opposed by the upper house to pass the lower branch three times without important amendment. A bill thus passed will receive the royal assent despite the Lords' veto. The Irish Home Rule bill was introduced for the first time, by Premier Asquith, on April 11, 1912. More than nine months were required for its passage, and the measure was debated with great vigor and earnestness by the Liberals and the members of the Opposition. It passed its third reading on January 16, last, by vote of 367 to 257. Just two weeks later, as had been expected, it was overwhelmingly rejected by the House of Lords, with only 69 votes recorded in its favor out of a total membership of 636 and a vote of 395. The bill was reintroduced on May 7, for its second passage through the House of Commons. This time it required but two months of debate, and was sent to the upper house on July 7. It was vetoed for the second time on the 15th of last month. Upon its third passage in the Commons, next year, the measure will become a law.

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Mt. McKinley Scaled

A number of attempts have been made to reach the top of North America's highest mountain, the most notorious, probably, being that of Dr. Cook, while more recently Professor Herschel C. Parker, of Columbia University, attained to within 300 feet of the highest point. It remained for an Episcopal missionary, Archdeacon Stuck, to scale the very highest summit of Mt. McKinley, which he estimated to be 19,500 feet high. He and his party reached this topmost peak of North America on June 7, planting thereon a six-foot cross and reciting the Te Deum.

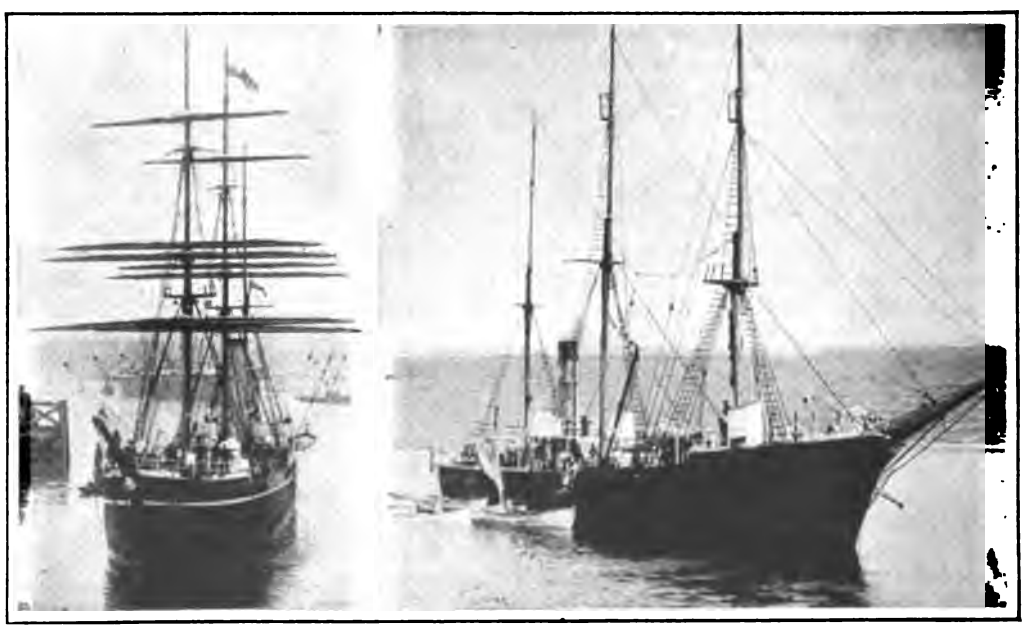


Photograph by American Press Association.

ARCHDEACON HUDSON STUCK, WHO, WITH HIS PARTY, SCALED THE TOP OF MT. M'KINLEY

More Arctic Exploration

Within a month of the homecoming of the *Terra Nova* from the Antarctic, two North Polar expeditions have started on three-year voyages of exploration. One, headed by Dr. Donald B. McMillan, left New York on July 2 to search for Crocker Land, which Peary believed to be a new continent, covering something like a million square miles in the region of the North Pole. Vilhjalmar Stefansson, whose most recent feat was the discovery of the "blond Eskimos" last year, is also heading an expedition which started northward in June, sailing from British Columbia. One of the main purposes of Stefansson's expedition is stated to be the exploration of the million or so square miles near the Pole. This object seems to be similar to that of the McMillan expedition, although Mr. Stefansson avers that their respective fields differ geographically. The *Diana* stranded on the Labrador coast, and will probably have to be replaced.



Photographs by American Press Association.

HOME FROM THE SOUTH POLE

(The *Terra Nova*, which carried Captain Scott's Antarctic expedition, arrived at Cardiff, England, in June last, after an absence of three years)

BOUND FOR THE NORTH

(The whaling vessel *Diana*, in which the McMillan expedition sailed from New York on July 2, in search of Crocker Land in the Arctic regions)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(*From June 16 to July 15, 1913*)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 18.—The Senate passes a measure raising the rank of the diplomatic post at Madrid to an embassy.

June 23.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by President Wilson on the need of currency legislation.

June 25.—The House unanimously passes a measure imposing an internal revenue tax of $200 a pound on opium sold for smoking.

June 26.—In both branches, the administration's currency-revision bill is introduced and referred to the Committees on Banking and Currency.

July 9.—The House unanimously authorizes an inquiry into the charges that the National Association of Manufacturers has maintained a lobby to influence legislation improperly.

July 11.—In the Senate, the Tariff bill is reported by the Committee on Finance.

July 15.—Both branches pass a measure amending the Erdman Act in order to avert the threatened strike of conductors and trainmen on the Eastern railroads.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

June 16.—The special session of the New York legislature opens with attacks upon Governor Sulzer by the Democratic leaders in both branches. . . . The American troops in the Philippines lose seven men during a second successful attack upon rebellious Moros, driving them from their position in the Bagsag Mountains.

June 17.—The President nominates Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to Italy, and Pleasant A. Stovall, of Georgia, to be Minister to Switzerland.

June 20.—The Underwood tariff bill, as altered by the Senate Committee on Finance, is laid before the Democratic caucus of the upper house.

June 21.—John L. McNab, United States District Attorney at San Francisco, resigns because of postponements ordered by the Attorney-General in two important cases. . . . The President sends to the Senate the nominations of Henry van Dyke, of New Jersey, as Minister to the Netherlands; John D. O'Rear, of Missouri, as Minister to Bolivia; Thomas Ewing, Jr., of New York, as Commissioner of Patents; and the nine members of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

June 23.—President Wilson signs the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, which President Taft had vetoed, but protests against the section exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations from prosecution, with the funds appropriated, for anti-trust law violations.

June 24.—The President accepts the resignation of District Attorney McNab, and expresses his approval of the course of Attorney-General McReynolds, but orders the immediate prosecution of the two cases in dispute. . . . Governor Sulzer's direct-primary bill is rejected for the second time by the New York Assembly, in special session.



THE LATE EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY

(For twelve years a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Mr. Murphy withdrew from the ministry ten years ago to engage exclusively in educational and civic work. He was executive secretary of the Southern Education Board and organizer and first secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, as well as of the Southern Society for the Consideration of Race Problems. He was not merely a sectional, but a truly national leader in social progress)

June 25.—The Democratic caucus of the Senate adopts, with but six votes in opposition, the free-wool and free-sugar paragraphs of the Underwood tariff bill. . . . The Democrats of the House, in caucus, decide to abolish the Commerce Court. . . . The New York Senate rejects without debate Governor Sulzer's direct-primary bill. . . . The Pennsylvania Senate passes the House measure prohibiting the marriage of imbeciles or those infected with transmissible disease.

June 26.—The President nominates Richard L. Metcalfe, of Nebraska, as a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission; Albert G. Schmedemann, of Wisconsin, as Minister to Norway; and Benton McMillin, of Tennessee, as Minister to Peru. . . . Governor Dunne signs the equal-suffrage measure passed by the Illinois legislature. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission decides to



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MISS JESSIE WILSON, DAUGHTER OF THE PRESIDENT, WITH MR. FRANCIS B. SAYRE, WHOM SHE IS SOON TO MARRY

(Miss Wilson is the President's second daughter, a graduate of Goucher College, Baltimore, and interested in settlement and Y. W. C. A. work. Mr. Sayre is a native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of Williams College and Harvard Law School, and a Y. M. C. A. worker)

hold an inquiry into the Eastern railroads' demands for a 5 per cent. increase in freight rates.

June 28.—The Attorney-General agrees to a plan of dissolution of the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific railway merger, including the exchange of $38,000,000 of Southern Pacific stock for Baltimore & Ohio stock held by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

July 2.—David Lamar, a Wall Street operator, testifies before the Senate lobby investigating committee that he frequently impersonated Congressmen and other public officials in telephone conversations. . . . Dr. John H. Finley, president of the College of the City of New York, is appointed Commissioner of Education in New York State. . . . The city of Cincinnati seizes and operates eight ice plants which were idle because of a strike of operatives. . . . Ex-President Roosevelt and other party leaders address the National Progressive Conference at Newport, R. I.

July 7.—Forty-five Democratic members of the Senate, in caucus, agree to support the Tariff bill as amended; one member votes against the resolution, three refuse to vote, and two are absent. . . . Frederic Courtland Penfield, of Pennsylvania, is nominated by the President as Ambassador to Austria-Hungary.

July 8.—Governor Sulzer nominates Charles J. Chase, a locomotive engineer, as a member of the New York Public Service Commission, and James M. Lynch, president of the International Typographical Union, as Commissioner of Labor.

July 9.—The Interstate Commerce Commission criticizes the financial operations of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad as "wasteful in the extreme."

July 12.—Governor Tener signs the Pennsylvania primary act which abolishes State conventions.

July 14.—At a conference in the White House, attended by the President, the Secretary of Labor, leaders in Congress, and representatives of railroads and of conductors and trainmen, the threatened strike of employees is averted by agreement upon legislation which will be at once acted upon by Congress.

July 15.—President Wilson signs the bill amending the Erdman Act, immediately following its passage by Congress.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

June 16.—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of Emperor William is celebrated throughout the German Empire.

June 7.—The Welsh Disestablishment bill is passed by the House of Commons on its second reading. . . . Six suffragette leaders are convicted of conspiracy at London and sentenced to prison terms at hard labor.

June 19.—The British House of Commons, by vote of 346 to 268, acquits Attorney-General Isaacs and Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd-George of the charges arising out of their ownership of shares in the Marconi Company of America.

June 20.—The cabinet of Andrew Fisher, in Australia, resigns as a result of the recent elections, in which the Labor party lost its majority in the lower house.

June 21.—Joseph Hume Cook (Liberal) is requested by the Governor-General of Australia to form a new cabinet.

June 22.—The Servian ministry resigns for the second time because of complications with Bulgaria.

June 23-24.—Thirty-two men are hanged at Constantinople for participation in the assassination of Grand Vizier Shefket Pasha.

June 24.—The Danish Premier announces in the Rigsdag that his reorganized ministry will provide equal suffrage. . . . The Chief of the General Staff explains to the Russian Duma the Government's plans for strengthening the army for defensive purposes.

June 25.—The results of the elections in Holland show that the Liberals have obtained a majority in the Chamber, fifty-five Deputies against forty-five members of the Right.

June 27.—The Dutch cabinet under Dr. Theodorus Heemsterk resigns as a result of the recent elections. . . . The German Financial bill, covering the cost of the proposed army increases, passes its second reading in the Reichstag.

June 30.—The Reichstag passes the final reading of the Armament bill, increasing the army by 136,000 officers and men. . . . The Mexican "Constitutionalists" are reported to have captured the city of Guaymas after three days' fighting.

July 5.—After three days of rioting and bloodshed in Johannesburg, South African government officials bring about a settlement of a strike of

miners in the Rand district, called to compel the parliament to reform the law relating to working conditions.

July 7.—The French Chamber of Deputies adopts the three-year military service bill, by vote of 339 to 223. . . . The Irish Home Rule bill passes its third reading, on its second passage, in the House of Commons. . . . Major-General Erich von Falkenhayn is appointed German Minister of War to succeed General von Heeringen, resigned.

July 8.—The Welsh Disestablishment bill passes its third reading in the House of Commons, on its second passage.

July 14.—The bill abolishing plural voting in Great Britain passes its third reading in the House of Commons.

July 15.—The House of Lords rejects the Irish Home Rule bill for the second time; Premier Asquith announces that the Government will present at the next session its plan for abolishing the House of Lords. . . . Dr. Danev, the Bulgarian Premier, resigns.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 19.—A severe engagement occurs at Ettangi, Tripoli, between Italian troops and Arabs.

June 22.—The Servian Minister leaves Bulgaria owing to the territorial controversy growing out of the allies' war with Turkey.

June 24.—President Poincaré, of France, visits England as the guest of King George and the British nation.

June 25.—An attack by Bulgarians upon Servian troops on the Zletovo River, in northwest Macedonia, is repulsed with heavy losses on both sides.

June 28.—An agreement for the renewal of the arbitration treaty between the United States and Japan is signed at Washington by the American Secretary of State and the Japanese Ambassador.

June 29.—Actual warfare begins between the rival Balkan armies; Bulgarians and Greeks clash at Salonica, and Bulgarians and Servians battle at Zletovo and Istib.

July 4.—The Greek army reports the complete rout of Bulgarian troops after several days' battle at Kilkish, near Salonica; the Servian army reports the seizure of the Bulgarian position which commanded Kotchana.

July 5.—It is reported that Turkey will remain neutral in the Balkan conflict in consideration of the relinquishment by Bulgaria of claims for indemnity growing out of the war with Turkey. . . . Bulgaria reports the capture of the Timok division of 4000 Servians, with artillery and commissariat.

July 6.—A semi-official Servian statement places the losses in recent battles at 15,000 Servians, killed and wounded, and 20,000 Bulgarians.

July 8.—The Bulgarians are compelled by the Servians to evacuate Kotchana and Ishtib, with heavy losses on both sides.

July 9.—The Chinese House of Representatives ratifies the treaty with Russia regarding Mongolia.

July 10.—Rumania joins Servia and Greece in the war against Bulgaria; it is reported that Bulgaria has appealed to Russia to arrange an armistice; the Greek army reports that it has defeated the Bulgarians at Demirhissar and Istib.



JUDGE EDWARD F. WAITE, OF THE JUVENILE COURT AT MINNEAPOLIS

(The department of research established in connection with Judge Waite's court is described on page 214 of this magazine)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 18.—The Hamburg-American liner *Imperator*, the largest ship in the world, arrives at New York upon the completion of her first transatlantic voyage.

June 19.—The International Horse Show is opened at Olympia, London, with 4000 entries. . . . Maurice Prevost establishes a new aeroplane speed record, near Paris, flying 217 miles at the rate of 117 miles an hour. . . . Thirteen persons are killed in a head-on collision of two electric trains near Vallejo, Cal.

June 20.—Archdeacon Hudson Stuck, an Episcopal missionary, sends word to Fairbanks, Alaska, that on June 7 he and his party reached the summit of Mount McKinley, the highest point on the North American continent. . . . Ensign William D. Billingsley, U. S. N., is killed by the collapse of a navy hydroaeroplane above Chesapeake Bay.

June 22.—Nine members of a Government surveying party are drowned during a squall on the Mississippi River near New Madrid, Mo. . . . One hundred persons are injured by the derailing of a Pennsylvania Railroad excursion train near Genesee, N. Y.

June 24.—The 225th anniversary of the founding of New Rochelle, N. Y., by the Huguenots is commemorated by a historic pageant. . . . An explosion in a grain elevator at Buffalo results in the death of seventeen men and the serious injury of half a hundred others.

June 28.—A severe earth shock is felt throughout Calabria, Italy. . . . Flames are observed at the crater of Mount Vesuvius for the first time in five years. . . . The Lotschberg tunnel under the Alps is formally opened by the President of Switzerland and the Italian Minister of Public Works.

June 30.—The breaking of the runway leading to a floating municipal bathhouse at Lawrence, Mass., causes the drowning of eleven boys.

July 1.—The second International Opium Conference is begun at The Hague.

July 1-3.—The fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg is commemorated by a reunion of 50,000 Union and Confederate veterans on the battlefield.

July 2.—The Crocker Land expedition, under Dr. Donald B. MacMillan, leaves New York in the *Diana* for three years' exploration in the Arctic regions. . . . The French aviator, Marcel G. Brindejonc des Moulinais, completes his air voyage from Paris to St. Petersburg and return (3100 miles), having crossed France, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium.

July 4.—President Wilson addresses 10,000 veterans and visitors in the big tent at the Gettysburg reunion. . . . The Perry Centennial Celebration, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, is begun at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, with the laying of the corner-stone of the Perry memorial monument. [See Frontispiece.]



HENRI ROCHEFORT

(The French journalist and revolutionist, who died last month after a long and adventurous career)

July 5.—The four balloons which started from Kansas City in the elimination contest for the James Gordon Bennet cup come down in Michigan, the *Kansas City II.* winning with a distance of 730 miles. . . . Vilhjalmur Stefansson departs from Seattle for three and a half years' exploration, under the auspices of the Canadian Government, of the area between Alaska and the Pole.

July 7.—The First-Second National Bank of Pittsburgh, the second largest in Pennsylvania, is closed by Government officials.

July 8.—Charles S. Mellen, president of the New Haven system, resigns the presidency of the Boston & Maine and the Maine Central railroads. . . . The trainmen and conductors of the Eastern railroads favor a strike for higher wages by vote of 72,473 to 4210. . . . Lieut. Loren H. Call, a United States Army aviator, loses his life in the fall of his machine at Texas City. . . . Fire destroys the town of Independence, La.

July 13.—The French aviator, Leon Letort, flies from Paris to Berlin (590 miles) without stop, a new record; an aviator named Bider crosses the Alps from Berne to Milan (115 miles), passing over the Jungfrau at an altitude of 12,250 feet; Lieut. Adolphe Varsin, of the French army aviation corps, establishes a non-stop record with a passenger, flying from Pau to Chateaudun, 360 miles.

OBITUARY

June 16.—Della Fox, the comedienne, 40. . . . Mrs. Mary Edwards Bryan, the Southern writer and editor, 69.

June 17.—William Augustus Conklin, of New York, a prominent zoölogist, 76.

June 18.—Thomas A. Janvier, the author, 66. . . . Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge, oldest Harvard graduate, 95.

June 19.—Thomas Manson Norwood, former United States Senator from Georgia, 83.

June 20.—Major Sydenham W. Ancona, believed to be the last surviving member of the House of Representatives at the outbreak of the Civil War, 89. . . . Sir Frederick Johnstone, former Member of Parliament, and a prominent British sportsman, 72.

June 21.—Facundo Mutis Duran, the eminent Panaman jurist and statesman, 61.

June 22.—Judge Henry C. Jones, of Alabama, last surviving member of the Confederate Congress, 94.

June 23.—Rev. Edgar Gardner Murphy, organizer of the National Child Labor Committee and active in the promotion of Southern education, 44. . . . Gen. Nicolas de Pierola, former President of Peru, 72. . . . Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.C.S., the noted London surgeon and authority on leprosy, 85.

June 24.—Rear-Admiral Robert Potts, U.S.N., retired, 78. . . . Ralph Cracknell, a well-known Boston journalist and authority on golf matters, 53.

June 25.—Walter W. Burridge, the noted scene painter, 56. . . . Louis H. Severance, one of the organizers of the Standard Oil Company and a prominent philanthropist. . . . George Thatcher, a pioneer negro minstrel, 63.

June 26.—Cromartie Sutherland-Leverson-Gower, Duke of Sutherland, largest landowner in Europe except the Czar, 61. . . . Richard Waddington, prominent in French industry and politics.

June 28.—John Lester Barstow, former Governor of Vermont, 81. . . . Dr. Manuel Ferraz de Campos-Salles, ex-President of Brazil, 73. . . . Wilhelm Schimmelpfeng, originator of the

commercial-agency business in Germany, 73. . . . Sigmund Singer, the noted Hungarian publicist, 62.

June 29.—Rear-Admiral George Brown, U.S.N., retired, 78. . . . Alfred H. Love, the peace advocate, 84. . . . Sir Samuel Gillott, a prominent Australian statesman, 75.

June 30.—Mrs. Virginia Grant Corbin, sister of President Grant, 81. . . . Frederick M. Shepard, founder of the United States Rubber Company, 85. . . . Count Hans von Kanitz, leader of the Agrarian party in Germany, 72.

July 1.—Henri Rochefort, the noted French journalist and revolutionist, 82.

July 2.—Charles Greene Rockwood, professor emeritus of mathematics at Princeton University, 70.

July 3.—James Monroe Willard, for many years principal of the Philadelphia Normal School, 65.

July 4.—Alfred Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies in Premier Balfour's cabinet, 56.

July 6.—James C. Williamson, the noted actor and theatrical manager. . . . Col. George W. Storm, a prominent Pennsylvania portrait painter, 83. . . .



DR. ROBERT BRIDGES, THE NEW POET LAUREATE OF ENGLAND

(Appointed by Premier Asquith on July 16)

Prince Takehito, head of a collateral branch of the Japanese imperial family, 51.

July 7.—Edward Burd Grubb, brigadier-general by brevet in the Civil War, and former Minister to Spain, 71.

July 8.—Rear-Admiral Thomas Thompson Caswell, U.S.N., retired, 73.

July 9.—Dr. Horace Jayne, former dean of the College of the University of Pennsylvania and an eminent biologist, 54.

July 10.—Aubrey Boucicault, the actor, 44. . . . Burton E. Baker, of Hartford, inventor and manufacturer of X-ray apparatus, 43. . . . Viscount Tadasu Hayshi, the Japanese statesman and diplomat, 63. . . . Jonkheer Leonard Henri Ruijssenaers, an eminent Dutch diplomat, 63. . . . John V. Ellis, a prominent newspaper editor and politician of New Brunswick, Canada, 78.

July 11.—Rt. Hon. Redmond Barry, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 47. . . . Dr. Benjamin M. Lee, of Philadelphia, an authority on sanitation, 79.

July 13.—Daniel S. Newhall, formerly a famous cricketer.

July 15.—Prof. Francis Gotch, professor of physiology at Oxford, 60.

FORTHCOMING CONVENTIONS AND EXPOSITIONS[1]

American Institute of Banking	Richmond, Va.	September 17-19
American Mining Congress	Philadelphia, Pa.	October 20-25
American Roads Congress	Detroit, Mich.	September 29-October 4
Grand Army of the Republic, National Encampment	Chattanooga, Tenn.	September 15-20
International Association of Fire Engineers	New York City	September 1-6
International Exposition of Safety and Sanitation	New York City	December 11-20
International Housing Congress	The Hague, Holland	September
International Purity Congress	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 7-12
National American Veterinary Medical Association	New York City	September 1-5
National Conservation Congress	Washington, D. C.	November 18-20
National Conservation Exposition	Knoxville, Tenn.	September-October
National Municipal League	Toronto, Canada	November 12-15
National Negro Business League	Philadelphia, Pa.	August 20-22
National Negro Medical Association	Nashville, Tenn.	August 26-28
United Daughters of the Confederacy	New Orleans, La.	November 12
Universal Congress of Esperanto	Berne, Switzerland	August 24-31

[1] Supplementary to the list published in the May REVIEW, on page 626.

SOME OF THE BEST RECENT CARTOONS



THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



HIS EYESIGHT IMPROVING
(The Senate now sees the "insidious lobby")
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)

THE remarkable disclosures of lobbying before the Senate Committee prompts the cartoonist's question as to the real ownership of our Government.



A SURPRISE
WILSON: "I didn't expect such good fishing."
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore)



"WELL, SIR!"
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



IS IT GENUINE?
From the *Call* (San Francisco)

What has passed into history as the "Caminetti case" drew down on our Department of Justice a good deal of criticism, in editorials, and in cartoons, of which the above is a specimen. The whole episode is impartially discussed in our foregoing pages.

What with the arduous labor of making a new tariff and framing a currency bill, Congress is having a busy time of it this summer. Besides these matters, there are also the numerous investigations demanding close attention, one of the most important of which is that dealing with conditions in the coal-mining regions of West Virginia.



SECURE FOR THE SUMMER
(Congress—A fine way to spend a vacation)
From the *American* (Baltimore)



GO TO THE BOTTOM OF IT
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



NEVER AGAIN
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



"AT THE HANDS OF PERSONS WELL KNOWN"
(The fate of Governor Sulzer's primary bill in the New York Legislature)—From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



ON THE JOB
(Justice Cohalan was acquitted of the charges against him last month)—From the *World* (New York)



WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME AGAIN
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)

The "never-fight-again" spirit, pictured in Mr. Westerman's cartoon from the *Ohio State Journal,* was assuredly the dominant one at the memorable meeting of Union and Confederate veterans on the battlefield of Gettysburg last month.



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THE FIRST ONE EAST OF "THE MOTHER OF WATERS"
(Illinois is now among the Woman Suffrage States)
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



THE EUROPEAN CONCERT

TURKEY: "Well, they wouldn't be satisfied until they got me out of the band. Wonder what sort of music are we going to be treated to now. Red-rag-time, I think. Ah, well, Bismillah, Kismet, etc."

From the *Lepracaun* (Dublin)

Having beaten the Turk by combining their forces, the Balkan allies proceed to engage in a ruinous conflict among themselves.



IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT

PUGNACIOUS INDIVIDUAL (the Balkan States): "Have you lost anything, Madam?"

MADAM CIVILIZATION: "Yes; much of the sympathy I used to have for you."

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)



FOR THE SPOILS!

KING PETER THE HERMIT (of Servia): "One more crusade! This time against our Christian allies!"

[Happily the intervention of the Czar has checked the bellicose zeal of the above Crusader]

From *Punch* (London)



NEXT?
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Indiana)

Developments in the Mexican situation last month caused considerable disquietude in certain quarters. The above cartoon reflects an opinion widely held regarding the instability of the present regime.

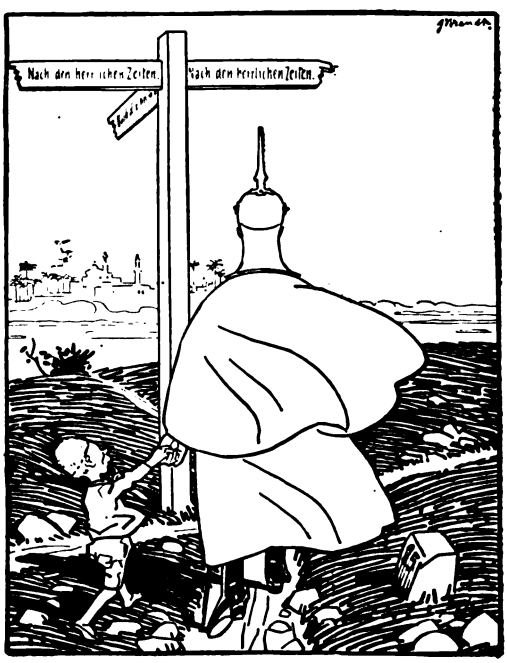
One of the recent events of international interest was the visit of President Poincaré, of France, to England, thereby further confirming the friendly understanding between the two nations that resulted from the previous visits of Presidents Loubet and Falliéres. Internal affairs in France have also attracted attention owing to the discussion attending the passage of the bill for a three-year term of enlistment for army service.



PRESIDENT POINCARÉ'S VISIT TO ENGLAND
(The French President adding some cement for the purpose of bringing France and England closer together)
From *Pasquino* (Turin)



"ON TO BERLIN!"
(The race of the "three-year" recruits)
From *Die Muskete* (Vienna)



ON THE ROAD TO THE MILLENIUM
(Having reached the twenty-fifth milestone, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Kaiser's accession, the little fellow asks: "Is it [the millenium] much further, papa?")
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



"A SERIOUS SITUATION"
(Europe is worrying over its decreased birth rate, particularly in Germany, France and England)
From the *Star* (Montreal)



CHINA T. ROOSEVELT; OR, THE NEW CONFUCIUS
It is rumored that ex-President Roosevelt, whose passionate distaste for alcoholic drinks was recently established in the courts, has been offered the post of Adviser-in-Chief to the Chinese Republic.
From *Punch* (London)

The decreasing birth-rate in certain European countries seemed sufficiently important to Canada to inspire the above amusing cartoon in the Montreal *Star*. Just below we see the Laureateship of England appealing to the Prime Minister to be "disestablished"; but Mr. Asquith heeded not, for he appointed Dr. Robert Bridges to the vacant post last month.



PEGASUS APPEALS
THE STEED OF THE MUSES (to Ring-Master Asquith): "Pardon me, sir, but I'm rather tired of being made to do these circus tricks. Couldn't you contrive to—er—disestablish me?"
From *Punch* (London)



BEING GOOD TO THE LITTLE FELLOWS
(Apropos of the Supreme Court decision allowing States to determine railroad rates)
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

DISTRESS FOLLOWING WAR IN THE EAST

By GEORGE FREEMAN

IT would almost seem as if the European powers were acting in a cynical spirit when they decided among themselves that there should be no intervention on their part in the fratricidal struggle over the distribution of the spoils which began at the end of June among the late allies in the war against the Turk.

There is probably even a secret satisfaction in some quarters that what might have developed into a formidable confederation has been shattered and will be left in an exhausted condition. In Bulgaria there are already signs of revolt against the Government arising out of the drain on the population for the war which it is now known was forced on King Ferdinand and his Government by the acts of the Macedonian *Comitadjis,* or professional revolutionists, who, for more than twenty years past, have rendered impossible any attempt on the part of the friends of Turkey among the European powers to bring about a peaceful settlement of the racial and religious discords that have devastated one of the richest parts of the Balkan peninsula.

BULGARIA DRIVEN TO WAR

How the Bulgarian Government under Mr. Guechov was ultimately driven into active hostility was recently told in an article from the pen of Professor J. Georgov, of the University of Sofia. The Professor, who is one of the principal members of the Macedo-Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee, was in a good position to know what was being done and he tells of it without reserve. He relates:

> The chiefs of the organization knew that no autonomous administration in Macedonia was possible without European control, but that European diplomacy could not be drawn out of its passive attitude in the face of Turkish maladministration except by acts of violence. The menace of a Turko-Bulgarian conflict which would threaten their interests would force the powers to intervene.
>
> It was then determined to create and keep a perpetual state of insecurity throughout the country by various outrages against the railways and public buildings in which the powers had interests, and by acts by desperate men. They felt sure that the Turks, powerless against the deeds of the Revolutionaries, would take it out of the peaceful portion of the population, which would alienate from them the public sympathy of Europe and compel the intervention of the powers. . . . While in Bulgaria affairs were in the hands of the most pacific and Turkophile administration ever known there, the Revolutionaries succeeded in bringing about an explosion of bombs in the town of Istib not far from the Bulgarian frontier and which had always been a hotbed of insurrection.

TURKISH EXCESSES

He then goes on to describe how this criminal act was followed by excesses on the part of the Turkish authorities which wrecked the pacific and conciliatory policy of the Guechov Government. The Massacre of Istib on December 4, 1911, in which nearly three thousand persons were killed and wounded created an enormous sensation in Bulgaria. Threats were made against the lives of persons in high position who were suspected of being opposed to war with Turkey, and matters came to such a pass after one of the popular demonstrations that a meeting of the Ministerial Council was called, presided over by King Ferdinand, on August 26, 1912, at which it was resolved to declare war against Turkey.

REVOLT AMONG THE WOMEN OF PHILIPPOPOLIS

The war undertaken in the name of the Cross against the Crescent, in the words of King Ferdinand, and for the liberation of Macedonia, has become a fierce scramble in which Macedonia is torn to pieces and its people butchered or scattered abroad. As a natural consequence of the dragging out of the war against Turkey and the tremendous losses of the Bulgarians, amounting to more than double those of the Greeks, Servians, and Montenegrins, there has been great suffering among the population.

The want among the inhabitants of Philippopolis, the second city of Bulgaria, became so great that at the end of May, according to an account sent the Swiss paper *Bund* of Berne, a revolt broke out among the women. Hundreds of women belonging to all classes of the



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A TURKISH RETREAT

population, with their children, assembled in the principal market place, and made a demonstration before the building occupied by the military commandant, General Steilov. Not understanding the object of the assemblage, the General called on the women to depute some of their number to lay their case before him. Eight of the oldest among them were sent in. They declared that now for eight months the women and children of the place had endured every kind of misery and were at the end of their resources and there was no one to work in the fields.

They demanded money and the return of the men to their homes, and declared against war with Servia or Greece. While this was going on in the building, the women outside began throwing stones, and presently a hail of missiles amid insults and imprecations drove the General to seek refuge at his residence. He was followed by the mob of women throwing stones, several of which struck him, and was unable to reach his house. The attitude of the crowd became finally so threatening that he fled to the railway station from where he was able to telegraph to the barracks for troops. A whole battalion was at once despatched and with their bayonets fixed the men cleared the way for the General. Later a demonstration was made by the men of the Ninth Regiment, but details were not obtainable.

The writer of this narrative further stated that accounts were coming in from all over the country of the dire distress among the families of the peasants, owing to the want of labor on the land which the women and children were unable to accomplish, and that in his opinion it would all end in a mutiny in the army or a revolution.

ANTI-TURKISH CONSPIRACIES

While the foregoing events were happening on the western side of the new Turkish frontier in Europe, the embarrassments of the Ottoman Government at Constantinople continued to grow. The arrests consequent on the assassination of the late Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, disclosed such a widespread conspiracy, not only against him personally but against the Government, including the Sultan, that besides those who actually took part in the murder several hundreds of persons were arrested and deported to Sinope in Asia Minor and other parts of Asia, while others voluntarily fled the country.

Among these latter were the three sons and the son-in-law of the ex-Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha. The fugitives and deported persons comprised every class of society from members of the imperial family and government officials of all kinds to the lowest grade of ruffians ready for any crime. Among those of the higher classes were members of the political party known as the Liberal Entente which was created to oppose the Party of Union and Progress, or Young Turks.

The principal figures in the list of accused were Prince Sabaheddin, Cherif Pasha, ex-

Minister to Sweden, now in Paris; an ex-Sheik-ul-Islam; an ex-Minister of the Interior; an ex-Deputy, several officers of the army and general staff and a former Director of Police. The two chauffeurs in the service of Shefket Pasha were also in the plot and it was they who brought him to the spot where the assassins were in waiting. The enquiry instituted immediately after the murder established the direct connection of thirty-six persons with the crime, of whom twenty-four were arrested when the trial commenced. Of the thirty-six accused only twenty-four were tried in person, the others, the most notable, being abroad at the time of the murder or having fled immediately after. These last were tried and sentenced to death *in contumaciam*. Those sentenced to death and executed on June 24 numbered twelve. Of the other twelve, two were sentenced to life imprisonment; two to fifteen years penal servitude, and eight were acquitted.

AN ARABIAN UPRISING

To add to the perplexities of the Constantinople Government the Arabian question has come to the front in the form of a rising against Turkish authority of the Wahabites of the district of Nedjid in the very center of Arabia. These Wahabites, a large sect of puritanic reformers within Islam, who dominate a great part of the country have never been entirely submitted to Turkish rule, but the Sheiks have for the most part accepted Ottoman sovereignty. For some reason, not yet explained, rather more than three months ago the Sheik Ibui Seaud of El-Riad, the chief city of Nedjid suddenly appeared at El Hofune, the seat of the Ottoman authority in the district of El Ahsa, seized the residence of the governor and disarmed the Turkish garrison, whom with the government officials he ordered to leave forthwith if they did not wish to die of hunger. He is reported also to have taken possession of their artillery and ammunition.

The military authorities at Bagdad from where the Nedjid troops were drawn immediately notified Constantinople, where the news created something very like a panic on account of the bearing it may have on the whole political situation and the retention of the Caliphate by the Sultan of Turkey.

For more than thirty-five years the question of Nedjid and the influence of the Wahabites have been a source of preoccupation for the Turkish Government. It was under the celebrated Midhat Pasha that this part of Arabia was brought under Ottoman sovereignty, and about ten years ago that it was saved by the fidelity to the Sultan of Ibni Rechid, the Sheik of the Djebel Chammar. This fresh outbreak, which a Bagdad letter of May 23 to a Constantinople paper inclines to believe is due to some foreign intrigue, is a serious menace to the Caliphate at Constantinople on account of the present circumstances of the Ottoman Empire, and the strategic position of Nedjid with relation to Bassorah on one side and Medina, the present terminus of the Hedjaz Railway from Damascus, on the other.

With the general unrest prevalent all over Asiatic Turkey and the efforts that are being made from more than one quarter to detach Arabia entirely from the sovereignty of the Sultan, this new disturbance in Nedjid creates a storm center beside which the insurrection in Albania and the action of the Bulgarian *Comitadjis* in Macedonia will have been but a trifling summer breeze.

WHAT THE TRANSFER OF THE CALIPHATE MEANS

Every country containing within its borders large Mohammedan communities, like England, France, and Russia, is bound to feel the shock involved in the transfer of the Caliphate, and none more than England with its great Moslem populations in India and Africa. France is already feeling the effect of the influence of the Senoussi in Morocco, and the Russian Government is watching with anxiety its Mussulman subjects in Central Asia and has been for some time strengthening its garrisons in those parts, and it is quite conceivable that one of the strongest reasons for the neutrality which the great powers of Europe have imposed on themselves in the new war in the Balkans will be found to be the danger of a great Moslem rising.

Serious as has been the effect on European finance of the recent struggle between the Balkan States and Turkey, it is as nothing compared with the convulsion that would attend so radical a change as would be brought about by the detachment of Arabia from the Ottoman Empire, and the erection of a new Caliphate under what to the great mass of Mussulmans would be infidel control and protection.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE GETTYSBURG ANNIVERSARY ENCAMPMENT, WHICH SHELTERED 50,000 VETERANS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF JULY

GETTYSBURG FIFTY YEARS AFTER

LAST month fifty thousand men who had fought in the Great War of the Sixties came together on the most famous battlefield of that war and held a reunion—not a gathering of old comrades merely, but a meeting of one-time enemies, veterans who had followed opposing standards, the Blue and the Gray. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the bloody three-days' fighting at Gettysburg; but of the exultation that follows victory there was no trace. Gettysburg is now, more than ever before, a national shrine, hallowed by the deeds of a brave soldiery, by the words of Lincoln, and by the associations of a reunited people. So far from perpetuating strife, the memorials at Gettysburg serve to remind the nation that the great conflict of half a century ago made it forever impossible that there should be another sectional war. The triumph that the veterans are celebrating in this anniversary year is the triumph of peace. These old soldiers who know what real war means (no body of men in the world today has learned the lesson more thoroughly)



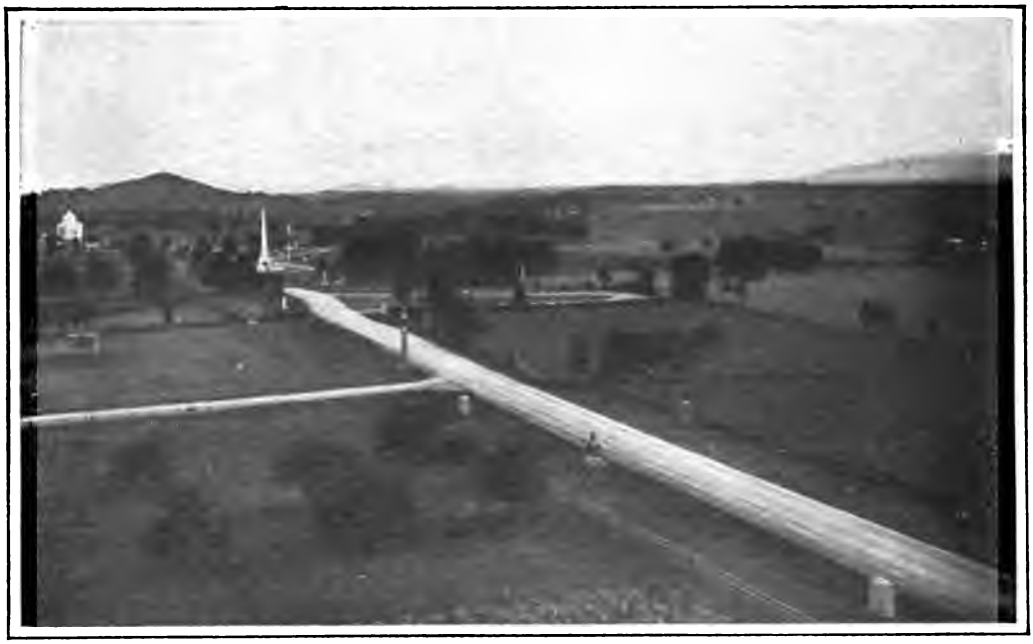
Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE OLDEST VETERAN, MAJOR WEISS, OF BEAVER BROOK, N. Y., 112 YEARS OLD, AND THE YOUNGEST VETERAN, COL. J. L. CLEM, U. S. A., 61 YEARS OLD



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DRUM-AND-FIFE CORPS OF WISCONSIN VETERANS WHO HAD BROUGHT WITH THEM THEIR WAR-TIME INSTRUMENTS.



Copyright by W. H. Tipton

THE FIELD OF GETTYSBURG TO-DAY: LOOKING ALONG THE UNION LINE FROM CEMETERY HILL SOUTH TO BIG ROUND TOP

("High Water Mark" and the "Bloody Angle" show in the center of the picture. The Pickett charge was across the field on the right, the Confederates passing on both sides of the farm buildings shown at the extreme right. The high hill at the left is "Big Round Top." The large monument at the extreme left is the Pennsylvania State Monument. The plain obelisk commemorates the soldiers of the regular army)

are determined, as a final service to their country, to show the world that between North and South no bitterness survives.

To this end no more impressive demonstration could be conceived than the Gettysburg reunion of July 1-4. Nowhere else in the world could such a gathering be paralleled. No other people, perhaps, can grasp its true significance. English sympathizers with the North in the Civil War could not understand why it was so hard to overpower the South, until Henry Ward Beecher reminded them that the Northern armies had to fight men of their own race—men who had not known the meaning of defeat. Only such men could have charged with Pickett on the third day at Gettysburg; only such could have repulsed the charge. Think what it meant to bring together 50,000 men who had actually been engaged in that kind of combat, but for fifty years had been concerned with the arts of peace! It would have required a bold imagination, in 1863, to forecast anything approaching the proportions of the veterans' reunion of the month of July, 1913.



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GEN. DANIEL E. SICKLES, HOLDING A RECEPTION ON THE SITE OF THE ROGER HOUSE, TO WHICH HE WAS TAKEN AFTER HIS LEG WAS SHOT OFF IN THE BATTLE FIFTY YEARS AGO.



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"PICKETT'S CHARGE" REPEATED

(It was over the same ground as on the momentous "third day" in 1863, but at the "Bloody Angle" the survivors of Pickett's men were received with outstretched arms and cheers by the "Yankees" there assembled)

No wearer of the Union Blue or the Confederate Gray at the close of the war could have dreamed that a day would come when Federal veterans would salute the Stars and Bars, while "Confederate" bands played "Marching Through Georgia." Yet things happened last month at Gettysburg that showed even more clearly how far we have advanced along the highway of national amity. "Yank" and "Johnny Reb" have become terms of endearment. Not a trace of harshness remains in either of them. The fraternizing of G. A. R. and United Confederate Veterans is no formal thing. Nobody doubts its genuineness or its warmth.

As the celebration itself was unprecedented in the history of such occasions, the plans for it were worked out on a truly noble scale, far exceeding any like attempt on the part of any government. All the veterans, whether representing the Blue or the Gray, were cared for impartially in the great camp on that part of the battlefield southwest of the town, where more than 7000 tents were pitched under the supervision of the United States War Department. More than $1,000,000 was spent by the National and State Governments for the entertainment and comfort of the veterans. As her share of the expense, the State of Pennsylvania appropriated $450,000, and the National Government $150,000, while nearly all the States paid the expenses of transportation for their own representatives. During the encampment more than 800,000 meals were prepared and served. Police duty was performed by United States troops and Pennsylvania State police, while Boy Scouts acted as guides. The United States Government erected a mammoth field hospital close to the camp, with full equipment, and the State also had its hos-



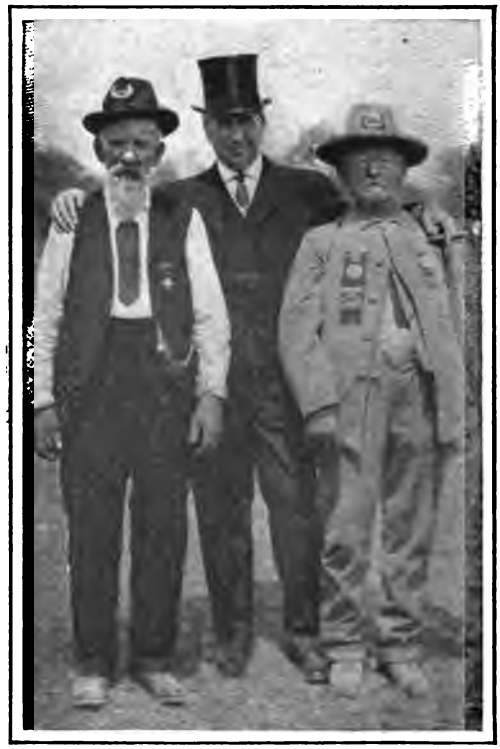
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BLUE AND GRAY MEET AGAIN



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GEN. DANIEL E. SICKLES, SURVIVING FEDERAL CORPS COMMANDER



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SECRETARY-OF-WAR GARRISON JOINING BLUE AND GRAY

(The Secretary was an enthusiastic visitor at the encampment)



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VETERANS AT DINNER



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THE MORNING TOILET



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

A QUINTETTE OF ARMY NURSES WHO CAME TO THE REUNION TO MEET SOME OF THE "BOYS" THEY HAD HELPED BACK TO LIFE AND STRENGTH HALF A CENTURY BEFORE

pital tents. It is not strange that a few of the aged men who attended the reunion fell victims to the intense heat. That there was not a far greater mortality was no doubt due to the excellent sanitary arrangements and the admirable manner in which the camp was policed. The camp was commanded by General Hunter Liggett, U. S. A.

Every State in the Union had its representatives in the encampment. The bringing of these 50,000 to Gettysburg, keeping them contented, and, for the most part, in good health during one of the hottest periods of the summer, and, finally the entraining of this veteran army, and the accomplishment of its safe exodus from Gettysburg, would make a story of no slight interest. To provision such a camp in a village like Gettysburg was, in itself, an achievement that would do credit to the Commissary Department of a nation accustomed to such tests. So completely were the details looked after that, on his departure from Gettysburg, every old soldier who wished to take a lunch with him was provided with one.

"Dramatic" seems an overworked and unsatisfying word when applied to the incidents that marked the week of the Gettysburg reunion. Those who saw these things happen unite in the statement that there was no "staginess" about any of the proceedings. Every demonstration was natural, even spontaneous. Survivors of the Federal cavalry which first entered Gettysburg in '63, being met by young girls singing songs of welcome, heard once more the same "girls," now grown gray, sing the same songs. A score of army nurses, who did such valiant service on the field of Gettysburg fifty years ago, were present to be greeted by soldiers whose lives they had saved. The widow of the Confed-



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BLUE AND GRAY SWAPPING STORIES IN THE CONFEDERATE CAMP

erate General Longstreet was a guest of the camp, and was welcomed by General Sickles, now ninety-three, the only surviving Federal corps commander. Not less interesting were the meetings between common soldiers, "Yank" and "Johnny Reb," some of whom had been the means of saving one another's lives on the battlefield, and now met again for the first time after half a century. We may easily understand why some of the happenings at the Gettysburg celebration of 1913 were stranger and more thrilling in the recital than most of the tales that have a place in the so-called war fiction. In this, as in other features, the great reunion must have its own place in the pages of history. No other national celebration ever has or ever can approach it.

In his address on July 4, President Wilson said:

> Look around you upon the field of Gettysburg! Picture the array, the fierce heat and agony of battle, column hurled against column, battery bellowing to battery! Valor? yes! Greater no man shall see in war; and self-sacrifice, and loss to the uttermost; the high recklessness of exalted devotion which does not count the cost.
>
> We are made by these tragic, epic things to know what it costs to make a nation—the blood and sacrifice of multitudes of unknown men lifted to a great stature in the view of all generations by knowing no limit to their manly willingness to serve. In armies thus marshaled from the ranks of free men you will see, as it were, a nation embattled, the leaders and the led, and



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GOVERNOR SULZER, OF NEW YORK, ADDRESSING THE VETERANS



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PRESIDENT WILSON AT THE CAMP ON JULY 4, FLANKED BY UNION AND CONFEDERATE VETERANS
(Immediately behind, beside the American flag, is Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, and, partly hidden by the Confederate flag, is Governor Tener)

may know, if you will, how little except in form its action differs in days of peace from its action in days of war.

May we break camp now and be at ease? Are the forces that fight for the nation dispersed, disbanded, gone to their homes forgetful of the common cause? Are our forces disorganized, without constituted leaders and the might of men consciously united because we contend, not with armies, but with principalities and powers and wickedness in high places? Are we content to lie still? Does our union mean sympathy, our peace contentment, our vigor right action, our maturity self-comprehension and a clear confidence in choosing what we shall do? War fitted us for action, and action never ceases.

Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? Who stands ready to act again and always in the spirit of this day of reunion and hope and patriotic fervor? The day of our country's life has but broadened into morning. Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a people's hearts and outlasts all wars and errors of men.

Come, let us be comrades and soldiers yet to serve our fellow men in quiet counsel, where the blare of trumpets is neither heard nor heeded and where the things are done which make blessed the nations of the world in peace and righteousness and love.



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SECRETARY OF WAR GARRISON, WITH BRIGADIER-GENERAL LIGGETT ON HIS RIGHT AND GENERAL WOOD ON HIS LEFT



THE MINNESOTA COUNTRYSIDE TRAVERSED BY AN INTERSTATE HIGHWAY—THE TWIN CITY-ABERDEEN-YELLOWSTONE PARK TRAIL

GOOD ROADS ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTHWEST

By WALTER C. TIFFANY

FROM the Great Lakes westward to the Continental Divide and along the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains remarkable developments are taking place in "good roads" projects. Several of them, undertaken at first independently, are now being welded together so as to create a great highway from Chicago to Milwaukee, across the State of Wisconsin, up the Mississippi Valley to Minneapolis and St. Paul, across Minnesota, South Dakota and Montana to the Yellowstone National Park, thence in a great circle westward across the main range of the Rockies, northward along the Pacific slope and easterly to Glacier National Park.

The principal units which make up this highway are: The Lake-to-River Road, from Chicago to Minneapolis and St. Paul; the Twin Cities-Aberdeen-Yellowstone Park Trail, from Minneapolis and St. Paul to the Yellowstone Park; and the Park-to-Park Road, from the western entrance of Yellowstone Park to the western entrance of Glacier Park.

These projects represent only a small part of the recent remarkable advance of the movement for good roads which has taken place in the Northwestern States. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, especially, road improvement is under way or projected in almost every section of the States. Innumerable good roads associations have been formed, and villages, towns, cities, counties, commercial bodies, and private interests are coöperating in the work. The impetus was given by vigorous campaigns conducted to arouse the public to a realization of the economic losses through bad roads and by the demands of those who use automobiles for business or pleasure; and the construction of new roads and the improvement of the old were made possible by enlightened and pro-

gressive legislation. Minnesota has to-day as advanced and liberal laws as to road construction, maintenance regulations, and appropriations as any State in the Union, and Wisconsin is not far behind.



HOW THEY ARE BUILDING ROADS ON THE PACIFIC COAST
(Sunset Boulevard, Spokane, Washington.—Asphaltic Concrete Construction)

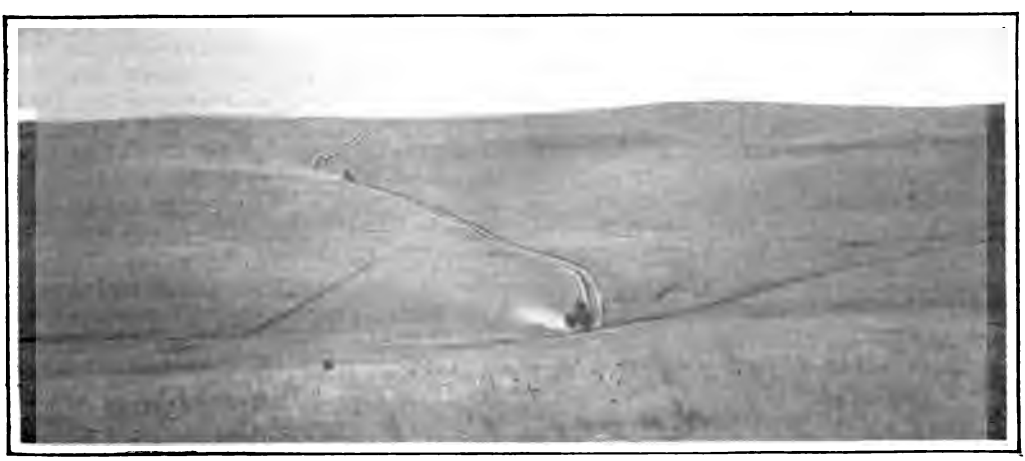
ROAD LEGISLATION

Under the Minnesota so-called Elwell law, passed two years ago, the State contributes one-half the cost of laying out, constructing, and maintaining State rural highways, where the county and those primarily benefited vote to defray one-quarter of the expense each. Under the provisions of this law, if fully taken advantage of, the sum of $21,600,000 would be immediately available for road work. In addition, under a law passed last winter, levying an assessment of one mill on all property throughout the State, $1,500,000 is set aside annually for road work. Minnesota is the first State in the Union to enforce the systematic dragging of road surfaces. The use of the split-log drag is recognized by road experts as the most effective and economical means of maintaining an even road surface. For this purpose Minnesota levies one mill on the dollar on the taxable property of each town, in addition to the above provisions for road work.

In Wisconsin the State also pays a share of the expense of highway improvement, namely, one-third of the total cost. Work is now going on under the direction of the Wisconsin Highway Commission to improve roads in about two-thirds of the towns of that State. The chairman of the commission estimates that about $2,500,000 will be spent for that purpose this year, and $3,000,000 in 1914.

LOSSES CAUSED BY BAD ROADS

The farmer, and the business man as well, has at last come to realize the losses he suffers from bad roads, and the magnitude of the movement to better conditions is little appreciated by those whose interests have not brought them in contact with it. The cost of bad roads has long been known in a vague way, but recent scientific investigations have



CROSSING THE SOUTH DAKOTA PRAIRIES
(The Twin City-Aberdeen-Yellowstone Park Trail)



BEFORE DRAGGING, THE RUTS IN THIS ROAD WERE TEN INCHES DEEP

brought the matter home in tangible form to those who suffer from them. One of the most thorough investigations of the subject ever conducted, the results of which are used as a text wherever the doctrine of good roads is preached, was made by the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. While the conditions investigated were those of territory tributary to Minneapolis, they are undoubtedly typical, to a greater or less degree, of those existing elsewhere.

A committee of the association selected for investigation the farming district, 750 square miles in area, the trade of which is tributary to Minneapolis. From a thorough canvass of the conditions existing there it was found that the 4069 farmers in the district hauled 560,000 tons of farm produce to market in 1911 and sold it for $6,665,680. To do this they had to make 305,000 trips, the time spent equalling 800 years of eight-hour days and the distance covered eighty-eight times the circumference of the world. Bad road conditions caused losses in time, partly due to slow progress, partly to the necessity of taking less direct routes, and partly because smaller loads had to be carried. Detailed investigations showed that the losses in time were as follows: Due to not taking the shortest route, $62,000; due to slower progress, $75,000; due to extra trips necessitated by smaller loads, $159,000—a total loss of $296,000. Losses from inability to reach the best market, from the spoiling of produce, and from injury to horses and wagons were found to aggregate $221,000; from restricted ability to haul manure, $91,000. The total loss caused by bad roads was placed at $608,728.

The committee made the following deductions: On account of bad roads each farmer lost for the year $1.70 for every acre that he farmed; 13 cents every time he carried a ton of farm produce over one mile of bad roads; 9 per cent. of his total crop. He paid as much for bad roads as for labor; more than for feed for his stock; twenty-five times as much as for fertilizer. The total loss to the farmers in this district for the year from this cause would have bought all the corn produced in it, or all the wheat, or the oat crop twice over, or all but 10 per cent. of the potatoes, or all the barley, rye, flaxseed, timothy seed, hay, and forage combined. The losses would replace the farm implements or the cattle every three years, the horses every four years, and would pay off all the mortgages in the district in three years, with $100,000 to spare.

The farmers, moreover, were not the only losers from bad roads. The committee found that the worst sections of the roads they had to travel between their farms and market were within the city limits; that there were approximately 3600 business houses in Minneapolis, employing 5000 wagons, whose loss from bad roads was $910,000 for the year.

The combined loss of the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers for one year was



AFTER THREE HOURS OF SPLIT-LOG DRAGGING ON THE SECTION OF ROAD SHOWN ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE

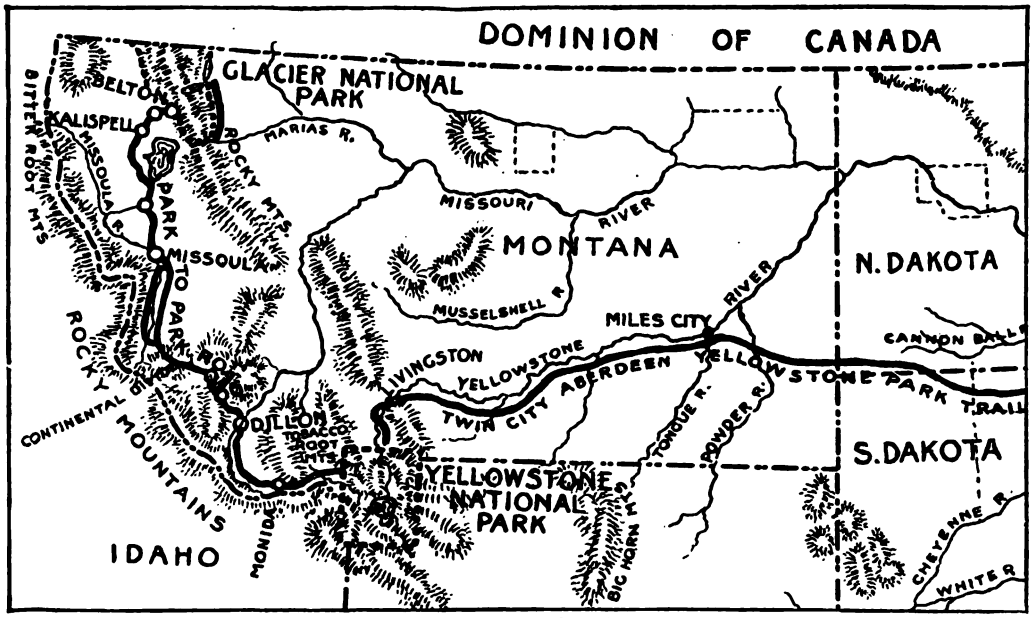
$1,518,000. As there are about 3000 miles of roads in the district, which could have been kept in good condition for $3000 a year, if properly constructed, in order to ascertain what amount could profitably be invested in good roads, the committee deducted this amount from the total loss, leaving $1,200,000. Capitalized at 4½ per cent., or 5 per cent., which is more than bonds would cost, the principal is $22,000,000. If this amount were invested in good highways at $7000 a mile, the district would still break even on the investment.

STATE ROAD PROJECTS

The almost immediate effect of this investigation was to start a movement for the construction of a series of arterial highways radiating from the center of Minneapolis like the spokes of a wheel, six of them extending to the limits of the county, and one, of concrete construction, to accommodate the heavy automobile traffic between the city and Lake Minnetonka. The report, farther, stimulated the movement for good roads throughout the State, and in practically every county road improvement is under way or projected. A strong association made up of the towns and business interests between Minneapolis and St. Paul and Duluth will construct a highway, probably of concrete, between the Twin Cities and the Head-of-the-Lakes. Four east-and-west roads across the State have been designated by the State engineer as State highways. A network of roads connecting or feeding these roads has been approved by the State Engineer. According to the "Good Roads' Year Book," issued by the American Highway Association, Minnesota ranked nineteenth in mileage of improved roads, with only 6.83 per cent. of such roads, in 1911; in another year she will have taken a long stride toward the top of the list.

ROAD ENGINEERING PROBLEMS

With 60,000 miles of roads demanding improvement in Wisconsin, 74,000 miles in Minnesota, 61,000 miles in North Dakota, 56,000 miles in South Dakota, and with only 23,000 miles of public roads of any description in the great State of Montana, the question of the type of road to be constructed, owing to the resources available and the demands of traffic in different localities, is a serious one. Even with the liberal appropriations available in Minnesota and Wisconsin, it would be impossible to construct the better types of road generally; nor is it necessary to do so in the sparsely settled districts. The State Highway Commissioners of Minnesota and Wisconsin, while absolutely opposed to building any poor roads, believe that the cheaper forms of construction must precede the more costly in most instances, and that little would be accom-



THE NEW COMBINATION HIGHWAY FROM THE

plished by spending all the resources available on short stretches of the best types of highways.

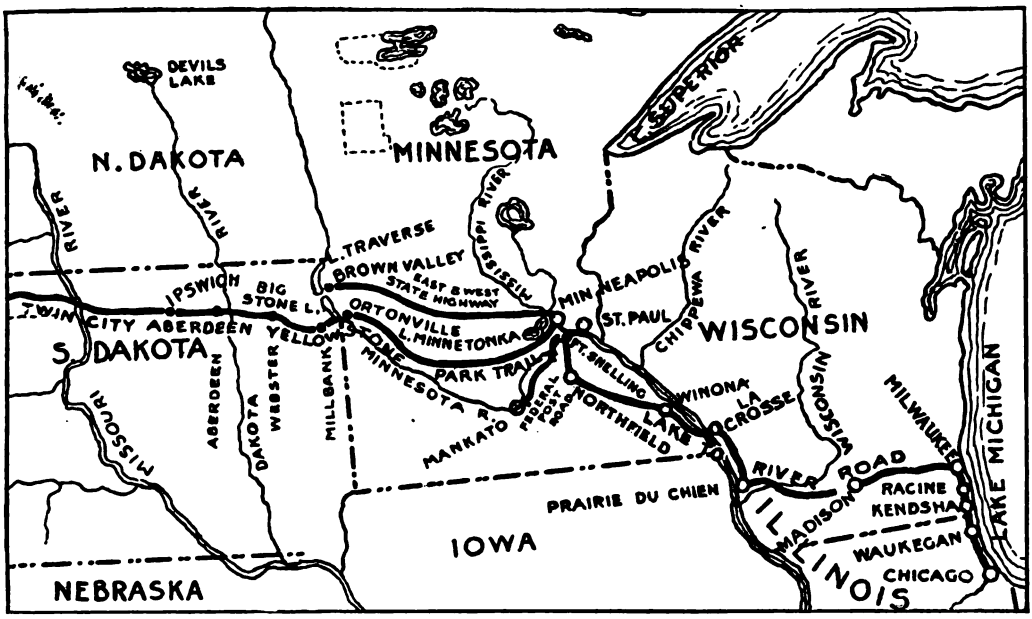
Just as cheap railroad construction was necessary at first to make possible the spanning of the immense unsettled areas traversed by the transcontinental lines, dirt and gravel roads must in many instances precede water-bound macadam or concrete, even where the present traffic is heavy. Isolated stretches of high-cost highways are of little more value than similar stretches of rock-ballasted, heavy steel rail constructed railroads would have been. The great arterial highways of a county demand the best roads it can afford, and the main-traveled roads adjacent to large cities a still better type, while for less traveled roads dirt shale, sand-clay, or gravel must suffice. On this principle road construction is now being done in many localities of the Northwest.

THE LAKE-TO-RIVER ROAD

The Lake-to-River Road follows the shore of Lake Michigan from Chicago, through Waukegan, Kenosha, and Racine, to Milwaukee. Here it turns directly west, and, passing through a region of countless lakes, reaches Madison. From there it runs northwesterly to the Mississippi at La Crosse, Wisconsin, where it crosses the river to Minnesota. Every fifth telephone post, marked with a red X on a field of white, indicates its course. Considerable concrete and water-bound macadam has been laid along the route, and the great enthusiasm aroused in the communities through which it passes has resulted in much active work toward improvement of the road where no improvement had ever been made before.

At Winona the road reaches one of the most advanced communities in Minnesota in good road development. The county of Winona has voted to construct at once ninety-five miles of high-cost roads, the center to be concrete and the sides macadam. The plan includes the seven trunk roads of the county.

From Winona, the Lake-to-River Road proceeds northerly through Rochester and Cannon Falls to Fort Snelling, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, whence it enters St. Paul and Minneapolis. At Fort Snelling the Minnesota Valley government post road is encountered, the first Federal post road authorized by the Post-office Department. Starting at a point near Fort Snelling, this road, which has been designated "The Scenic Highway," follows the north shore of the river for a short distance, and then crossing to the other bank, winds up through the picturesque valley of the Minnesota for seventy-five miles to Mankato. Under an act of Congress passed at the last session, the Federal Government pays one-third the cost of improvement of highways designated by the Post-office Department when the counties through which they pass vote to pay the balance.



GREAT LAKES TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Leaving the Twin Cities, two routes are available across Minnesota, one terminating at the northern end of Big Stone Lake, the East and West State Highway, and the other, at the southern end of the lake, the Yellowstone Park Trail. Both of these roads have been designated as State highways by the State Highway Commission, and the counties along their course are improving existing sections of road and constructing connecting links.

THE TWIN CITY-ABERDEEN-YELLOWSTONE PARK TRAIL

To promote and aid in constructing a highway from the Mississippi River at the Falls of St. Anthony to the Yellowstone National Park, The Twin City-Aberdeen-Yellowstone Park Trail Association was formed. The officers of the association are representative business and professional men of various towns and cities of Minnesota, South Dakota and Montana situated along the route, who are interested in good roads. Its general course parallels the tracks of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway.

The East and West State Highway parallels the Breckenridge division of The Great Northern Railway, joins thirty-five towns, and passes by more than two hundred lakes in the Lake Park region of Minnesota. From its western terminus The Yellowstone Park Trail across South Dakota is reached over indifferent roads in a southwesterly direction. The Yellowstone Park Trail takes a more southerly route across Minnesota, striking the Minnesota River at Granite Falls and following up the valley to the source of the river in Big Stone Lake, where it crosses the State line into South Dakota.

Across South Dakota the road runs west through Aberdeen to the Missouri River, and, crossing it, parallels the Grand River branch in a northwesterly direction to the North Dakota line, crosses the southwestern corner of that State, and, entering Montana, proceeds to Cartersville. From there it follows up the valley of the Yellowstone River to Livingston, 1100 miles from the Twin Cities, and meets the new State highway being constructed to Gardiner, the northern gateway to the Yellowstone National Park.

Through parts of the Dakotas and most of Montana little work has so far been done on the road, and automobiles making the trip this summer will find its designation as a "trail" quite accurate. The unimproved roads of the prairie, however, are generally excellent in good weather, but during heavy rains are almost impassable in places for automobiles. Along the Yellowstone washouts are frequent and the roads frequently very rough and rocky.

THE PARK-TO-PARK ROAD

Among the ranges of the Rocky Mountains in western Montana, between the Yellowstone Park, in northwestern Wyoming, and Glacier Park, in northwestern Montana,



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A VIEW ON THE GLACIER NATIONAL PARK AUTOMOBILE HIGHWAY

(This road is thirty-two miles long and connects Glacier Park Station, the eastern gateway to the new National Park, with St. Mary's Lake)

lies a vast territory of magnificent forest, towering peaks, mountain lakes and streams of surpassing beauty and fertile, orchard-studded valleys. To make this region accessible to the public, and to provide a means of communication between the two parks, a vast project in road improvement is now in course of execution.

As considerable stretches of this road must pass through Federal Forest Reserve limits, the consent and coöperation of the Government were found necessary, and have been secured. The aid of the State of Montana and of the seven counties through which the road passes has also been enlisted, and its construction and maintenance will therefore be under joint Federal, State, and county control.

Since the Yellowstone and Glacier parks are reached by distinct transcontinental lines, it is impossible to go from one park to the other by railroad without making a great detour. One of the principal objects of the new highway is to make direct connection between the parks, in order to afford closer coöperation in their management, and, through the operation of motor and stage lines, to give the tourist an opportunity to take in both parks and the hardly less beautiful country lying between. As the Park-to-Park road unites two military posts, Fort Yellowstone and Fort Missoula, it has received the approval of the Department of War; for the Forestry Department, it connects the Gallatin, Madison, Beaverhead, Bitter Root, Lolo, Missoula, Flathead and Blackfeet National Forests.

The route is 450 miles in length, and, though crossing the Continental Divide and several high passes over spurs of the main range, presents few difficult engineering problems. The work involves new construction only in part, and is rather a matter of improving and uniting existing roads, bridge-building, grading, and surfacing, than the creation of a new road.

Starting at the western entrance to the Yellowstone Park, the road runs westerly across Madison County, Montana, close to the Idaho line, crosses the Tobacco Root Mountains to a beautiful group of lakes at the source of the Red Rock River, and, following down the valley of that stream, leads to Monida, the first town encountered since leaving the park eighty miles behind. From Monida the road enters Beaverhead County, and for some seventy miles follows down the valley of the Beaverhead River in a northerly direction to the town of Dillon. It there strikes northwesterly, crossing the divide between the Beaverhead and Big Hole rivers to Jackson Hot Springs and Wisdom.

Turning westerly from Wisdom, the long ascent of the east slope of the Continental Divide is encountered. Attaining the summit, the Bitter Root Valley lies extended before you below, extending northward for eighty miles, flanked on the west by the picturesque Bitter Root Mountains, crowned by Ward Peak, 10,000 feet high, and on the other by another range, and divided by the meandering course of the Bitter Root River.

Winding down the abrupt descent from the summit, you find that you have entered a different climate from that of the desolate grandeur of the upper plateaus of the eastern slope of the Rockies. The effects of the milder climate are everywhere noticeable in the flora. The height of the trees is much greater and many new varieties are seen, all vegetation is more luxuriant; shrubs only known in northern latitudes in a state of cultivation grow wild, such as the laurel and syringa, blossoming in great white patches on the mountain sides, bearing evidence of the warm, moisture-laden winds from the Pacific.

Gaining the valley, the road divides and you have the option of following either of two equally beautiful routes, one along the



A SECTION OF THE SCENIC HIGHWAY BUILT FROM KALISPELL, MONT., TO GLACIER NATIONAL PARK BY THE FLATHEAD AND KALISPELL MOTOR CLUBS

east and the other along the west side of the Bitter Root River. Along the benches at the foot of the mountains are countless orchards, attractive bungalows, and considerable estates, for you are now in one of the most famous apple-growing sections of the Pacific Northwest. The natural advantages of the valley for fruit, aided by modern scientific methods, have here produced a high state of cultivation with the finished appearance of an older civilization, which strikes the traveler in grateful contrast after having just passed through the semi-arid tracts of the higher altitudes of the other side of the range.

Reaching Missoula, the road continues north and approaches the Flathead Indian Reservation, opened to settlement only a few years ago. Approaching the reservation from the south, you wind up through a narrow defile, gradually widening and ascending, until you reach the summit of a series of ridges, when a view bursts upon you which is hardly surpassed in beauty on this continent. At your feet is a broad valley, across which, fifteen miles away, the Mission Range stretches north and south, peak on peak. Rising here and there 8000 feet from the floor of the valley, their lower reaches clothed by forests of Douglas fir and pine, deeply indented with canyons which in places extend up to glaciers and snow fields, these mountains terminate in pinnacles of bare rock. The rounded and graceful contours of the mountains are particularly striking, the cause of this being that the easily molded sedimentary formation of the Mission Range yields to the softening influence of erosion, which has little effect on the tough, eruptive rock of other parts of the Rockies.

Inclosed by three mountain ranges, this valley, called Sinielemen by the Indians, stretches for thirty miles north to the great Flathead Lake. Its soil is fertile and it is bountifully watered by mountain streams and sub-irrigated by water flowing subterraneously from the vast watershed of the Mission Range. Below you lies the Catholic Mission of St. Ignatius, surrounded by the

high, conical-shaped tepees and the log cabins of the Indians, the old church nestling in the orchards and gardens of the Jesuit Fathers. There is the charm of age about the old building. Slowly going to decay, symbolical of the vanishing race that helped to build it, it stands surrounded on two sides by a peaceful garden of vegetables and old-world flowers among rows of grapes and fruit trees, above whose tops rise the hazy, blue peaks of Mt. McDonald and the Twin Sisters.

As the road enters the Mission, you find yourself among a strange mixture of the old world and the new. You pass a black-robed Father, a tall, dignified Indian blanketed from chin to feet, or a Sister of Providence with a group of Indian girls. On one side of the narrow lane which winds among the buildings of the Mission, a lay brother is working among the irrigating ditches which water the gardens of the Father Superior; on the other, among a jumble of tepees and log huts, a group of Indian women are squatted on the ground, laughing and talking.

From the Mission the road runs north to Flathead Lake, and circling it on the west passes through another region of orchards to Kalispell. Thirty-five miles of fine road, constructed by the Flathead and Kalispell motor clubs, leads from Kalispell through Columbia Falls to Belton, the western gateway to Glacier Park, forming the last link of the Park-to-Park Road.

Within the park itself, starting from its eastern gateway, Glacier Park Station, on the Great Northern Railway, a remarkable piece of automobile road construction has been done. It extends for thirty-six miles along the border line of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation and the eastern boundary of the park at the foot of the main range of the Rockies to Lake St. Mary, to which point the railroad maintains an automobile service from the gateway. In places it runs through deep alleys cut out among towering trees, in others it passes over mountain spurs, affording wide views of snow-capped mountains and glaciers, to again sweep down to the shores of some beautiful lake set among encircling mountains.

In other parts of Montana considerable permanent road work is being done. The State Highway Commission is constructing a road between Livingston and the northern gateway to the Yellowstone Park, at Gardiner, and one from Thompson Falls, on Clark's Fork of the Columbia River, west to the Idaho line, to connect with a road project from there to Hope, Idaho, on Lake Pend d'Oreille. Most of the Montana road work is under the direct supervision of the various boards of county commissioners, who are making permanent road improvements in many of the counties. At Butte the Silver Bow Automobile Association has made a contract with the commissioners of Silver Bow County to construct forty miles of road this season, and the work is now under way.

Across northern Idaho, through Wallace and Cœur d'Alene, a road is projected to connect with the "Apple Way," now constructed from the Washington-Idaho State line to Spokane. Around this city the Spokane Good Road Association has been instrumental in securing a large amount of road construction of the very best type. Permanency of construction is the aim of this association, in material, location, grade, and drainage. The first section of Sunset Boulevard, Spokane, is asphalt concrete, *i.e.*, macadam, oil-bound by the penetration system, while the county roads are of less costly but permanent type.

In almost every settled community between the Great Lakes and the Pacific the era of good roads is dawning. With the stupendous area of unimproved roads in the Northwest, the danger is rather that too much will be done in a short time than too little, that with the eagerness for quick results quality will often be sacrificed for mileage, that many expenditures will be ineffective through incompetence or graft, and that the economy of employing expert road engineers will be neglected by those who have the administration of the funds. It will take years to finish the task, many mistakes will be made, and much money wasted; but with the agricultural and business interests now thoroughly in earnest, good road associations, automobile clubs and civic and commercial bodies all striving for the same end, aided by advanced road legislation, the work will be closely scrutinized, and the old days of incompetent road control by boards of county commissioners will, in a great measure, no longer be possible.



PRINCESS JULIANA WITH HER MOTHER, QUEEN WILHELMINA OF HOLLAND

SOME OF THE WORLD'S COMING MONARCHS

WHILE European democracy continues its process of relegating to the position of spectacular ornaments its crowned heads, interest in the personalities of these picturesque individuals continues to be one of the features of the social order of to-day, particularly on the Continent. The modern monarch has come, more and more, to stand merely as the symbol of the continuity of national life, the emblem of the people's distinctive nationality and sovereignty. Even if, in a few scattered instances, he pretends to regard himself as ruler by divine right, his people no longer look upon him as such. Even the great Hohenzollern, William II, has recently publicly insisted that his sole object as monarch has been, and will continue to be, not the glorification of his dynasty, but the welfare of the German people.

As each passes off the human stage, his successor, born and reared in a more democratic atmosphere than himself, becomes more than ever the representative of his people. The rising generation of young royalties, if a republic in form does not prevent their actually reigning, will sit in the chairs of constitutional power democratic at heart.

Most of these little people are interesting in themselves. Witness the five boy notables whose pictures we reproduce this month on the following pages. There is the little Czarevitch Alexis, who will some day—perhaps—be Czar of all the Russias. He is nine years old, and, despite a nervous affection which



ALBERT, PRINCE OF WALES

has caused considerable anxiety to his parents, is a sturdy little fellow and very popular.



ALFONSO, PRINCE ROYAL OF SPAIN

He has four sisters, all older than himself. Umberto, Prince of Piedmont, and heir apparent to the Italian throne, is one month younger than the Russian heir. He enjoys excellent health, and is said to take a good deal after his Montenegrin mother. Umberto is the third child of his parents, two sisters preceding him, besides which there is



LATEST PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CZAREVITCH OF RUSSIA

(The first one taken in Cossack costume. The young fellow is receiving a rigid and thorough civil and military training in preparation for the time when, as successor to his father, the Czar, he shall become the "Little Father" of all Russia)

a little Princess, now six. Prince Alfonso, Prince of the Asturias, who will succeed his father as Alfonso XIV, of Spain, has just passed his sixth birthday. He has three brothers and two sisters, the last one born on June 19. The Crown Prince of Norway, Prince Olav, is just ten years old. His ambition is to be a Viking, like his ancestors. Away at the other end of Asia, while the Japanese people were uneasy, during late May and early June, over the serious illness of their Emperor, curious interest was cen-



EUDOXIA, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE CZAR OF BULGARIA
(Said to resemble the Bulgarian type of beauty)



MARY, PRINCESS ROYAL OF ENGLAND



HELÉNE, CROWN PRINCESS OF GREECE
(An enthusiastic student of the Greek language and national institutions)



PRINCESS ELIZABETH OF RUMANIA



OLAV, WHO WILL SOME DAY BE KING OF NORWAY, WITH HIS FATHER, THE PRESENT KING

tered in the personality of his successor, Prince Hirohito, just past his twelfth birthday. Not much is known in the West about the character of the little Japanese Crown Prince, but he is said to have a more sturdy constitution than his delicate father. The illness of his father brought out, in the character of the interest and devotion, the extent to which the belief in the divinity of the ruler has decreased in Japan, making room for the more modern Western conception of the Emperor as a human, constitutional ruler. Little Hirohito will be more of a man and less of a god than any of his ancestors.

The four princesses who were bridesmaids to Princess Victoria Luise when she married Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, in May, represent, in their youthful, charming selves, three of the great powers of the world and one very interesting Balkan country. Grand Duchess Olga, the eldest of the daughters of the Russian Czar, is in her eighteenth year. She is said to be very intellectual and of a rather delicate constitution. Princess Mary, of England, whose real name is Victoria Alexandra, was sixteen years old on April 25 last. She is a third child, having two brothers older, and two younger than herself. Princess Mary, as she is called, is credited with all the good qualities of a charming English girl. The eldest child of the Italian royal pair is a girl, Yolanda, now just past her twelfth birthday. Like her brother, she "takes after" her Montenegrin mother in a sort of stately beauty. The Rumanian monarchs are childless, but the "Heir Designate," Prince Ferdinand, of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, has five children, the second of whom, Princess



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

UMBERTO, PRINCE OF PIEDMONT, HEIR TO THE ITALIAN THRONE

Elizabeth, now in her nineteenth year, is always known as the Rumanian Princess. The only real Heiress Apparent to a throne in this group of attractive royal maidens is the little Princess Juliana, of the Netherlands. Her real name is Juliana Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina, and she was born on April 30, 1909. She is the object of the enthusiastic, almost passionate devotion of the Dutch people, who see in her and her succession to the throne of her fathers an answer to the menace of German absorption.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HIROHITO, PRINCE IMPERIAL OF JAPAN

The eldest daughter of Czar Ferdinand, of Bulgaria, Princess Eudoxia, is in her fourteenth year. She resembles the Bulgarian type of feminine beauty more than the Hohenzollern type of her parents. Heléne, the seventeen-year-old Princess of Greece, is said to be an enthusiastic student of Greek institutions and the ancient Greek tongue.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GRAND DUCHESS OLGA, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE RUSSIAN CZAR



PLAZA IN FRONT OF THE MANILA TOWN HALL (AYUNTAMIENTO), OFTEN CALLED "THE PALACE" BY AMERICANS

WHAT AMERICANS TALK IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY MAURICE P. DUNLAP

"HOLA, amigo."

"Komusta kayo."

"Porque were you hablaing with ese señorita?"

"She wanted a job as lavandera."

"Cuanto?"

"Ten cents, conant, a piece, so I told her no kerry."

"Have you had chow? Well, spera till I sign this chit and I'll take a paseo with you."

The scene was a Manila restaurant. The speakers were two Americans. I had just arrived in the Philippines, and I wondered what manner of language they were talking. Later I learned that it was the current tongue, bearing the name of "English," and that the Americans had been saying something to this effect:

"Hello, friend."

"How are you?"

"Why were you speaking with that woman?"

"She wanted a job as laundress."

"For how much?"

"Five cents a piece, so I told her I didn't want her."

"Have you had lunch? Well, wait till I sign this check and I'll take a walk with you."

This conversation is not in the least exaggerated. Anyone in the Philippines will hear similar ones wherever Americans are gathered. He will wonder at first, then he will cease to notice, and finally he will talk the same lingo and not realize that he is doing so.

In the above conversation there are eight perfectly good Spanish words (hola, amigo, porque, ese, senorita, lavandera, cuanto, paseo), two expressions incorrectly pronounced ("no kerry" for "no quiero" and "spera" for "espera"), a Spanish verb with an English ending (habla-ing), the Tagalog greeting "komusta kayo," two words current throughout the Far East (chow and chit), and one word that exists nowhere but in the Philippines (conant). The adjective "conant" occurs so frequently when money is mentioned that the new-comer is not long in asking why. Then he learns that conant

was originally a man and not an adjective. Mr. Charles A. Conant is an economist who helped to bring about a reform in the currency, and his name has passed into popular speech as descriptive of the present money standard.

Fifteen years ago the American flag first floated over a Malay archipelago in the far Pacific. Spanish was the current speech among the upper classes there. The common people spoke a dozen different dialects—unintelligible one to the other. We came, saw, and possessed, and, shortly after the flag, boatloads of teachers arrived with the schoolbooks and pedagogy of the West. The new-comers came to teach the Filipinos new things. They came to tell them about Shakespeare—and Abraham Lincoln; to teach them that manual work was not disgraceful; to impart a knowledge of useful trades, intelligent agriculture and rules of health; to show the young men that there were honorable careers besides the law and the government job; to teach the young women to be sensible mothers and good housekeepers. The teachers brought American literature with them. They brought American songs, American games, American ideas and American ideals—and they brought the American manner of speech.



A FILIPINO LAVANDERA, OR LAUNDRESS

Meanwhile a reflex action was quietly at work. Without realizing it, the new-comers were being influenced by the new land and the new people. It was not a case of all give. New methods of living were enforced on the Americans. Their rules of health did not always apply. Day after day they were surrounded by people observing strange customs, following a totally different moral code and speaking an unfamiliar tongue. Gradually the customs became less strange, the moral code less different and the tongue less unfamiliar. While endeavoring to establish their ways and methods, the Americans unconsciously were yielding to the ways and methods of the country. The atmosphere and surroundings that originally moulded the Filipino people were still omnipresent and powerful. Many things of great value in the old order had no place in the new. In particular the old manner of speech often failed to convey the meaning intended. The Americans daily encountered things they had no names for. They met conditions which could not be aptly described in their own tongue. The Filipino obligingly furnished the name or expression from some one of his vernaculars and it passed into the current speech of the American. Then certain officials, trades, articles of clothing and food that had names in English would be repeatedly referred to by the Filipinos in their own dialect when they talked with their teachers. Gradually the teachers came to use the same expressions. Absolutely new situations arose. Absolutely new terms were invented to meet these. And so the new manner of speech grew.

We have been a separate nation from England for over a hundred years and our Americans have been in the Philippines only fifteen. Yet the language spoken by Americans in Manila differs more from United States English than does the English of London.

There is now no common tongue throughout the Philippines, but some day there will be. Americans are rapidly teaching their language to members of the various tribes to supply all with one of their greatest needs—a common means of communication. But what is this new language the Filipino is acquiring, and what will be the common tongue that all will speak, say, in the year 2000? Surely the tongue of the future will be modeled on the speech of the Americans in the islands. It will be a case of like teacher, like pupil, except that the native will probably greatly increase the number of native expressions. The general result will be a new language. It may be called English, but the people of Kansas City will scarcely understand it. As

our English might be termed "American English" to distinguish it from the parent tongue, so the new Philippine variation may be termed "Filipino-English." Now that it is still in a formative period and origins of words are fresh in the minds of many who have watched its birth and development, it is interesting to consider this new language. Let us see, then, how its picturesque vocabulary came into being.

The first element in forming the new tongue was the army. The soldiers were first on the field. Naturally they didn't know a word of Spanish or Malay. But they had needs, immediate and pressing ones, and they found themselves in isolated districts, where the only people who could supply their needs were Filipinos. Communicate with them they must—and they did. Many of the original phrases they coined are now current all over the islands. An example is the word "jaw-bone." It is used thus:

One wants to buy something at a store and hasn't the money. (This, you see, was the chronic state of the soldier's pocket-book.) So one says "Jaw-bone?" meaning "May I have it on credit?" and the shopkeeper, whether Filipino, Chinese or American, will understand you perfectly. The word originated as follows: Most of the necessary articles for every-day existence (including food) in the Philippines are purchased by the natives at little stores called "tiendas." Most of these shops have a sign near the door which says "soap." The Filipino is personally a very cleanly individual, and I presume the fact that a store sold soap would induce the Filipino to go there and buy. The Spanish word for soap is "jabon," and by that name it is known to the natives. A soldier desiring food or drink would approach one of these shops and see the sign. He would enter, and not being able to say anything else he would say "jaw-bone" (his pronunciation for the Spanish "jabon"). So to the army the word "jaw-bone" came to indicate that there was a store where supplies could be purchased, but to the store-keeper the term came to mean "trust." For as the soldier said the word "jaw-bone" he usually took the article he wanted—and deferred payment. This is the universal use of the word to-day in the Philippines.

The hardly complimentary word "gu-gu" used to describe any native is also a soldier term. Fortunately its use is not so universal as it was at first, but it has still a firm hold among certain Americans. "Dhobie" was used in soldier parlance to describe a skin disease—and also a native cigarette. To-day every American in the islands knows and uses the terms "dhobie itch" and "dhobie cigarette." The majority of them have, alas, experienced the former, and have smoked the latter.

"In the bosky" and "in the provinces" were originally soldier terms. "Bosque" is Spanish for "woods." The terms are sometimes used interchangeably but the latter usually means any place outside Manila, while "in the bosky" implies a more or less primitive place and is not applied to the larger provincial towns. "God's country," of course, is the United States. That is, until one gets back there. Then many decide that the term is more applicable to the islands than to the States and long to get back to the palm trees.

"Philippinitis" refers to a state of mind that one acquires if he stays too long in the country. It insinuates that one has lapses of memory and has lost interest in current events. It seems to be produced by the endless round of languorous summer days. One evening I went to the opera in Manila, met a friend there and had a long talk with him. We took a walk out-of-doors during an intermission and discussed the show. The next morning he met me and said, "You should have gone to the opera last night!" That man had Philippinitis. The condition is very general, so the word is very generally used. Everyone has lapses of memory in that languid climate. For some time I was unable to remember the name of the street I had lived on for a year before going to the islands. A business man summons his office-boy and when the boy stands before his desk he forgets why he called him. One cannot remember whether an event took place six months, a year or two years ago. All these are symptoms of what everyone in the islands calls "Philippinitis."

A very picturesque phrase which describes a state of being a shade worse than "Philippinitis" is "He has missed too many boats." This means that the person mentioned has stayed so long in the islands that his ability is impaired. It also often implies that he has become too adaptable in regard to native manners and morals. I have seen extreme cases of men who didn't care whether they wore socks or not; some who wore their shirts outside of their trousers as the Filipinos do; others who played the cockpit, trained their fighting birds, lived in native style and chattered the native dialect like a Filipino. These usually also lived with na-



NATIVE CARRYING A LOAD OF RICE IN A CARABAO CART

tive women. They had all "missed too many boats." An American who lives with a Filipino woman is a "squaw man." If he is married to her, she is his "esposa" (wife), if not, she is his "querida" (darling). "Querida" is a term much more current than "esposa." "Bino" (corruption of Spanish "vino") is the native wine which the Filipinos use in moderation but which is deadly in its effects on many of the unfortunate Americans "who have missed too many boats."

Other terms which were first used by the army but which are now current speech with all Americans in the archipelago are corruptions of certain Spanish verbs. The commonest form of the verb is usually taken as a basis and construed on the English model. There is no inflection of persons and genders.

A story which is current in Manila illustrates the free-and-easy—if not always correct—manner in which the colonial American uses the Spanish verb: Two American ladies were riding in a carriage. One of them called to the driver, saying "Swallow! Swallow!" The driver continued peacefully on his way and the lady was much disturbed. "Why doesn't he swallow?" she asked her companion, meaning "Why doesn't he stop?" "Oh," said her friend, "you don't mean 'swallow' but 'sparrow,'" and addressing the driver she said "Sparrow!" He stopped at once and the friend was triumphant. "Sparrow" was enough like "espera" (Spanish for "wait") to be intelligible while "swallow" was not.

Baby-talk is a highly developed language compared to the jargon American housewives talk to their Filipino houseboys. But it usually conveys the meaning when accompanied by expressive gestures. At best, however, the performance of the command speaks well for native intuition.

Spanish construction of English words is another twist that our poor language gets in the Philippines. "No got" in the islands is the most commonly used expression for "I haven't any." Similarly "no can do" means "I can't" and "no want" means "I don't want it." Not only between American and Filipino but among Americans themselves, this twisted construction has largely supplanted the legitimate one.

With the soldier, anything that belonged peculiarly to the Philippines was described as "bamboo." Now all colonials use the term. The "bamboo fleet" is the one assigned to Philippine waters and the "bamboo government" is the Philippine civil govern-

ment in distinction from the U. S. military.

Among other "soldierisms" (if I may be permitted this contribution to the new language) were certain pure Malay words. The list is continually growing and now there are dozens of Tagalog and Moro expressions in constant use among the Americans. For example there are the Tagalog words "baguio" meaning "storm," "carabao" meaning an animal, "palay" meaning "rice," and "tao" meaning "man." Moro terms in common use are "amok" meaning "wild," "dato" meaning "chief," "kris" meaning a wavy-edged knife and "sarong" meaning a garment.

Travel to and from the Far East throws Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Americans together in many of the Chinese and Japanese ports. Many of these nationalities settle in these ports and they have evolved a peculiar pigeon English in their dealings with the natives. Manila is two days from the China coast but certain phrases whose use is peculiar in China have entered the Filipino-English of Americans in the Philippines. Here are a few examples:

"Boy," used to mean any male servant, aged sixteen or sixty; "coolie," used to mean any laborer; "go-down," used to mean a store-house; "look-see," used to mean look; "top-side," used to mean "up high." "Top-side" is the name of the residence of Governor General Forbes, which is high among the Baguio hills.

The "chit system" needs special explanation. Throughout the Far East the practice prevails of not paying for an article upon purchase. Where the soldier asks for "jawbone," the civilian usually asks to sign a "chit." In a restaurant you sign the check the waiter brings you instead of paying. You buy cigars the same way, and drinks as well. All the clubs use the system and so do the stores. At the end of each month the chits are sorted and a boy is sent out to collect their value. The boy's job is not a pleasant one for the tropics do not improve the Anglo-Saxon temper and there are always more chits than the signer thinks he has signed. Of course, large numbers of the chits are not collectable but the merchants keep their eyes open and watch out-going passenger lists and people have been taken off steamers because of unpaid chits. Prices are also made higher to offset possible loss and people buy more freely when they are not counting the coin as they spend it. Doubtful chits are sometimes sold at reduced rates to speculators. It is generally cried down as a bad system leading to extravagance—but it still continues.

One word from China that has supplanted its equivalents almost completely throughout the East is "chow." This is true even in the Hawaiian Islands. "Chow" is noun, verb and adjective. It means a meal (any meal) and "to eat" and chow time means "eating time." No one hears either the Spanish or English words for breakfast, dinner and supper in Manila. They are all "chow." Tiffin is occasionally heard for the noon meal and so is tea. The use of these words is due to the English, many of whom were established in Manila long before American occupation. With the Americans "tea" means anything to eat at about four or five o'clock. It may be ice-cream and a mango that will serve as refreshment when one asks a young lady to have "tea at Clarke's." Clarke's is Manila's famous restaurant. The Filipinos at that hour serve "merienda." "Merienda" consists of very thick chocolate and little cakes. Meanwhile the Englishman takes his real



"BANCA," WITH OUTRIGGERS, IN A MANILA CANAL

tea. In Manila there are dozens of Englishmen (whom the soldiers long ago dubbed "lime-juicers") and they are accustomed to stop all work at four o'clock and have tea brought to them at their desks.

From Japan another assortment of words has come to our archipelago. A nurse in the Philippines is always called an "amah" by her American mistress. Any dressing gown is a "kimona" and any seltzer water is "tansan" among the American denizens of the islands.



MESTIZA (GIRL OF MIXED BLOOD) EMBROIDERING
(She wears the native waist made of pineapple cloth)

Whoever has come to the Philippines naturally has made something of a sea trip. Sea terms have always played an important part in the picturesque speech there. The very first Spaniards to arrive were sailors and so the first Spanish spoken had a decidedly nautical flavor. The Spanish words now current for getting in and out of a carriage mean "to embark" and "to disembark." Other sailor expressions are good Spanish in Manila when they would not be used in Madrid. Still others originating in the East Indies have made their way back to the homeland. Spanish dictionaries give to the word "casco," among other meanings, "a boat peculiar to the Philippines," and to "banca," "a Philippine canoe." These words are now as firmly established with American residents as they were with the Spaniards. So are "sampan," "lorcha," and "prao" used to describe other types of boats, the first two coming from China and the third from Portugal.

In the early days Spain maintained connections with her eastern isles by way of Mexico. The arrival of the yearly boat from Mexico containing its cargo and passengers from Spain was a great event. So also was the sailing of the galleon. So we find Mexico and Manila sharing mutual interests. Mexican silver was used to pay the Spanish officials of Manila. Along about 1750 were Manila's palmiest days. She was then the great port of trade between the Occident and the Far East. Through this channel the silver from Mexico was spread through all the eastern countries and the word "Mexican" (sometimes abbreviated to "Mex") came into general use to describe a particular money standard. In Japan Anglo-Saxons speak of the Japanese coinage as "Mex." In Shanghai or in Hongkong the Chinese currency goes by the name of "Mex." Actual Mexican dollars are still commonly met in China. I obtained one in Canton all pounded out of shape by the stamps of Chinese merchants. In Manila the term "Mex" is general but the word "conant" of which I have spoken bids fair to outrival it. Mexico is also responsible for the word "camote" which is used in the Philippines to mean sweet potato. The Spaniards frequently introduced fruit and vegetables from one country into the other.

Derivations that seem self-evident are sometimes deceptive. One word that originally came from Mexico is thought by many Americans to have been introduced by us. Before the American occupation the Filipinos all wore their shirts outside their trousers. Coats such as Americans wear there to-day were worn only by the ruling classes. To-day practically all the youth of Manila wear the same neat white coat that is used by foreigners and Americans. It is known as the "Americana." So you will hear good people explain, "You see the Filipinos call their coats 'americanas' because before we came they never were allowed to wear them." The deduction has been a mistaken one. The coat was called an "americana" long before the United States made her début as a colonizing power. Spaniards from Mexico first wore those coats and Mexico being "America" to the Filipinos they indicated the coat's origin by its name. "Americana" may now be found in any Spanish dictionary as the name of a coat.

The inroads of Spanish are so great on this "Filipino-English" that Americans use

that a treatise would be necessary to cover the ground. Certain complete phrases are employed by our colonials and if you go into a club or hotel some night where a lively party of them is gathered you may hear a gay chorus something like this:

"Me gustan todas, me gustan todas,
"En general
"Pero las morenas, pero las morenas,
"Me gustan MAS!"

This is quite good Spanish and means:

"I like all the ladies, I like all the ladies
"In general—
"But the brown ladies, but the brown ladies,
"I like them BEST!"

It expresses the sentiment of many Americans, too.

When our people first arrived in those Malay islands, they knew about half a dozen words that were good Spanish as well as good English and were already current. Such were "banana," "mosquito," "siesta" and "senorita." And they became hard-worked words within a very short time. There were also other expressions known in these United States that were intelligible in the new country. Such were "monte" (the card game), "pickanniny," "sabe" and "vamos."

Then followed the attempt to form unknown words by adding "o" or "a" to the English equivalent, because this was found to be sometimes surprisingly effective. The soldier found that "barbero" meant "barber," "cigarro" meant "cigar," "danza" meant "dance," "musica" meant "music" and "policia" meant "police." The teacher found that "pupilo" meant "pupil," "mapa" meant "map" and "historia" meant "history." The housewife found that "fruta" meant "fruit," "lista" meant "list," "planta" meant "plant" and "plato" meant "plate." Of course, this did not always work and to-day when an American gets into lingual difficulties he is likely to attach "o's" and "a's" to everything with disastrous results. There was a new arrival at one hotel who wanted some soap when washing his hands for dinner. So he asked the boy for "soap-a." The boy went to the dining-room and brought back his soup which had been waiting at his place. "Sopa" means "soup" and not "soap" in Spanish. As we have seen, the real word for "soap" (in Castile) is "jabon" which the soldiers made into "jaw-bone."

There are several hundred Spanish words that are in general use among Americans in the Philippines. Some of them have completely supplanted their English equivalents. While most of them are pronounced in a truly American fashion that would not be tolerated by the Spanish Academy, they are generally used with the correct meaning. Certain Spanish words, on the other hand, that are also good English are practically never heard among Americans in the islands. Such are "dueña," "guerrilla," "mantilla," and "toreador."



A STREET (CALLE) IN THE WALLED CITY, MANILA



THE CHARACTERS OF CHAUCER (ON WHITE HORSE) AND THE KNIGHT'S SON (ON DARK HORSE) AS THEY APPEARED ON THEIR FAMOUS PILGRIMAGE SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO, ON THE "PILGRIM'S WAY," WHEN THE FORMER WAS THE POET LAUREATE TO THE COURT OF KING RICHARD

CHAUCER'S ENGLAND REVIVED

MEDIEVAL England, as seen through the eyes of Chaucer, was revived in the last week of May, when Colley Hill, in Reigate, near Canterbury, was dedicated to the English public "as an open space in perpetuity." Lord Curzon, of Kedleston, ex-Viceroy of India, made the dedication speech. Then one of the Canterbury pilgrimages that so frequently crossed the Colley Hill half a thousand years ago and more was repeated.

The Pilgrim's Way is the oldest road in England. In its ambling rustic journey from Winchester to Canterbury it crosses the summit of Colley Hill. It was a sunny world, fair and full of adventure, that Chaucer described, and there were probably





PILGRIMS IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY COSTUME AS THEY APPEARED IN THE RECENT PAGEANT THAT PASSED ALONG THE "PILGRIM'S WAY" FROM LONDON, TO THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET AT CANTERBURY



A GROUP OF KNIGHTS WITH ARMS AND ARMOR LIKE THOSE OF THE MEN WHO SLEW THOMAS À BECKET IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL OVER SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO

very few fairer portions of it than the valley at the foot of Colley Hill. Along this Pilgrim's Way the palmers marched their ambling, deliberate course to do homage at the shrine of Thomas à Becket.

Colley Hill is one of the survivals of the days before the English countryside was cut up by roads and hedges, and built over by houses. The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest, in its desire to preserve these bits of the national heritage of England and to provide an outlet for the jaded, toil-weary population of London's crowded streets, settled on this region as one place where they might forever preserve a historic memory of the English people and as "a new lung for London."

In this reproduction of the Canterbury Pilgrimage of Chaucer there were sixteen companies of pilgrims in their ancient and beautiful dresses, reproducing vividly the color and gaiety of life in Chaucer's time. The whole countryside turned out to witness the pageant. After the pilgrimage, pilgrims and spectators, friar and clown, lord and peasant, merchant richly dressed and beggar in tattered clothes, all gathered on the horse race course below and engaged in a series of real old English sports.

Probably there does not exist in English literature, within the compass of a single work, a picture of contemporary society as accurate and delightful as Chaucer's picture of Merrie England in the "Canterbury Tales." The men and women of every degree that Chaucer brings together at the Tabard Inn, from the knight to the cook, each one to tell stories on the way to Canterbury and return, were real English men and women of the time, not merely literary characters. The old poet lived to carry out only a part of his plan. His Tales were intended to reproduce not only the types of the folk of Merrie England, but of the literary forms of the day, the romance of chivalry, the legend and the fable, all to be worked out in harmony



"A Good Wif was ther of biside Bathe"



"A companye
Of sondry folk, by áventure y-falle
In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle,
That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde."

with the characters he sketches in his prologue. It was of this prologue that Dryden wrote this famous passage:

'Tis sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great-granddames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's day; their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names than those of monks, and friars, and canons, and lady abbesses, and nuns; for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature, though everything is altered.

This England of Chaucer it was that was revived in the pilgrimage that, on May 31 last, wended its way over Colley Hill to the shrine of Thomas à Becket.



"A knyght ther was and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To riden out, he loved chivalrie,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie."



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THE ENGINEERING BOARD SELECTED BY THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION TO APPRAISE THE RAILROADS OF THE COUNTRY
(From left to right: Wm. D. Pence, H. M. Jones, J. S. Worley, E. F. Wendt, R. A. Thompson)

MAKING A VALUATION OF OUR RAILWAYS

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

HOW far we have traveled in the last few years toward establishing the Government's authority over property used for public purposes is indicated by the passage, in the closing days of the last Congress, of the measure providing for a valuation of the railroads. So recently as 1906 this proposal was offered by Senator LaFollette as an amendment to the Dolliver-Hepburn bill, and was rejected by an overwhelming majority in the Senate. This year it roused no real opposition, passed without the fact being more than casually noted, and became law with no evidence that either the railroads or the public were concerned, much less agitated, about it.

Yet the task which this legislation imposes is easily the most gigantic of its kind that any government authority has ever undertaken. Compared to it, the inventory—classification and valuation—of the public domain, which has been in progress for several years, is as child's play. A number of States have made valuations of their railroads, but in no case has such a task been undertaken with such purpose of detail and scope as is prescribed for the forthcoming appraisal.

The magnitude of the work is suggested by the statement that there are, by latest available statistics, 509,000 miles of railway in the world, of which 234,000 or about 46 per cent. was credited to the United States. Several countries have made very extensive inquiries of this sort, preliminary to the Government purchase of their railways from private corporations; but none could compare with the task now to be assumed here, for the excellent reason that no other country has even one-sixth as much mileage as the United States. Moreover, even in the same country very different methods have been pursued to determine, for purposes of buying them, the valuations to be placed on different systems of road. Consequently, while the experience of our own States and of foreign countries will be studied with profit by the executives of this huge undertaking, there is neither precedent nor model for them.

While this new statute has commonly been referred to as directing a valuation of railways, it in fact requires much more. It orders a valuation of property of all common carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce; and this includes telegraph, telephone, express, car-service lines, pipe lines, ferries, and various steamship lines: the one qualifi-

cation being that interstate commerce is served by them.

FACTS TO BE OBTAINED BY THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

But the requirements are still vastly broader than even this suggests. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which is given general charge of the operation, is instructed not merely to make valuations. It is also to prepare a history of every property from its beginnings. That does not mean a history of the property as now organized; it does not mean a story of the corporation now holding a given railroad or telegraph system; it specifically includes also the history of underlying and preceding corporations that have handled the same property, from the very beginnings. In short, the demand is for a complete history of every property from its beginnings down to date; and this history must be detailed, itemized, specific. This is regarded by many as the most sweeping provision of the new law. The commission is given wide latitude and ample powers to decide what it wants and then to get it.

It is not improbable that the requirements outlined above will prove an even greater task than the mere valuation of the properties. A complete fiscal history from the beginning of every property means a history of every railroad company that ever built or operated any property in the country. It is a work of Hercules. Much of it will be found impossible because records in many cases have been destroyed. In others, they are scattered, cobwebbed, dimmed by age, and must be dug out of court files, musty vaults and like uninviting repositories. An incident to this search is certain to be a great shaking up of dry bones among the carelessly preserved official records of counties, States, and cities.

A synopsis of the legislation will give the only adequate impression of the work now beginning. The commission "shall investigate, ascertain and report the value of all property owned or used by every common carrier subject to this act." It is authorized to organize its force, hire experts, administer oaths, take testimony, etc. It is given access to books, papers, records, etc., and rigorous penalties are imposed against recalcitrancy.

Each piece of property is to be listed and used. This means a literal count of ties, rails, coupling pins, locomotives, cars, buildings, parcels of real estate, and so on. Concerning each piece of property, there shall be reported its original cost, cost of production now, cost of reproduction less depreciation, and an analysis of the methods by which these several costs are determined, and the reason for their differences, if any. "Other elements of value" are to be determined and reported separately. This means that franchise values, if any, going concern values, and like "intangible elements" are to be carefully separated from the physical elements. The law does not indicate any policy toward these intangible factors. There is no intimation as to what weight or significance shall attach to them in making up finally the grand total. For that matter, the law does not say what use is to be made of the valuation as a whole. It carefully refrains from anything of the sort. That is a question for the future, the legislative policy of the nation, and the courts to answer.

The original cost of all lands, right of way and terminals, and the present value of same, are to be reported. Likewise, all gifts of moneys, subsidies, realty, land grants from Government, States or cities, are to be listed, their present value is to be set down, and, in the case of land grants, etc., there shall be a report showing just what compensation was received for any parts that may have been disposed of. All property held "for purposes other than those of a common carrier" is to be reported separately. The amount and value of any concession and allowance made by any carrier to the federal or any other government is also to be reported. This, for instance, would cover the case of the Illinois Central's contract to pay 7 per cent. of its gross earnings in Illinois to that State.

WHAT CONSTITUTES "VALUATION"?

The Interstate Commerce Commission is given full discretion as to procedure, methods, form of report and elements of value. In reporting, it shall present a statement of the property of each carrier as a whole, and separately its property in each State. The corporations are required to coöperate in every possible way.

After this valuation is completed the commission must keep account of all extensions, improvements, depreciation, etc., and periodically revise its findings with reference to these developments. These valuations, both original and corrected, shall be called tentative valuations.

When the tentative valuation of a carrier is completed, it must be notified to the At-

torney-General of the United States, the Governors of States in which any of the property is, the carrier, and any other parties the commission may determine. If none of these protests, after thirty days it becomes a final valuation. In case of protest, there shall be hearings, and the valuation may be corrected if sufficient showing is made. "All final valuations," says the act, "shall be published and shall be *prima facie* evidence of the value of the property" in all proceedings under the Interstate Commerce act, and in judicial proceedings to enforce or enjoin orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Right here comes a qualification which illustrates how carefully this valuation measure has been drawn, with the view to avoiding possibility that the courts may undo the work. It is provided that if on a trial evidence shall be introduced substantially changing this valuation, the court, before entering final judgment, shall submit this evidence to the commission, and suspend proceedings till the commission can consider this evidence, and, if it deems proper, revise its order. Thereafter, in case the commission does modify its order, judgment shall be rendered on the order as modified; if the commission declines to change its order, judgment shall then be rendered on the original order.

The law requires that the valuation shall be *prima facie* evidence of the property's value in all proceedings. But it carefully refrains from an attempt to say what use shall be made, by the Interstate Commission or the courts, of that valuation. It skilfully points out a way to force the contending interests to an issue on the actual value, through the plan of protests, reëxamination, and revision; but nowhere does it even vaguely suggest what weight or significance shall attach to this value. It does not say that rates shall be fixed with the purpose of permitting the carrier to earn a return on the ascertained value. It does not assume to limit earnings to a "reasonable return" on the actual value as finally determined. It says not a word about establishing any relationship between actual value and capitalization, or capitalized earnings, or anything of that sort. The commission has authority to ascertain and report on these things, if it chooses. But the law is extremely careful not to attempt to prescribe the uses that shall be made of this valuation; and it is no secret that the framers of the measure were looking a very long way ahead when they wrote the bill in this form.

QUESTIONS TO BE LEFT TO THE COURTS

Nobody knows, to-day, what the Supreme Court would do if a valuation, thus made, or made in any other manner, were prescribed as the basis for making rates and regulations. The court might refuse flatly to accept it. It might discover a vast reservoir of additional values in franchise rights, going business, established good will, and the like. The law says not a word about these. It is so framed —and in this regard it is exceeding canny— that the question will at length be put up to the courts to decide whether they want these elements taken into account, and whether they will in any case let value be made a basis for rates. When the specific case at last comes up, the court, instead of holding that the whole valuation is worthless and incomplete, is required to send the matter back to the commission for reconsideration, and, if it be deemed necessary, revision! Thus the commission is given every possible chance to know all possible objections, to correct errors and to perfect its valuation in the minutest detail before it must even submit to the court the question of whether it will attach any weight to any valuation, and what that weight shall be.

PROBABLE COST OF THE WORK

It will take several years to make the valuation, and probably several more of sparring in the courts to decide what relation the valuation shall bear to questions of administration. One member of the Interstate Commission gave as his judgment that it would cost nearer to $20,000,000 than to $10,000,000, and nearer to ten years than to five; and then he added that he considered his guess precisely as good as any other man's, and no better. Another commissioner believed that the historical work imposed by the legislation would cost more money and time than the actual property inventory. He pointed out that a properly organized board in charge of the work would lay down a set of general rules as to valuations, depreciation, methods of computation and estimation, etc., which would standardize the appraisal work; but the historical investigation would present a different problem for every property; to be handled independently.

The present appropriation for beginning the work is only $100,000. The commission is directed to begin the work within sixty days from the passage of the act, March 1. The first thing is to determine whether a

board or an individual chief of the valuation bureau shall have supreme charge, under the commission. It is understood very definitely that all detail business will be pushed over to some such authority. The Interstate Commission will determine a general program within the requirements of the law, formulate rules and instructions, and then permit its subordinates to do the work.

A great organization of engineers, economists, property experts, accountants, real-estate specialists, and field men of all classes, must be formed. It is expected that for several years, while the work is in full swing, the force employed by this one bureau will number from 50 to 100 per cent. as many as all the other attachés of the commission; and the commission has expanded till it is one of the big and highly important bureaus of the Government. In addition to the cost which the Government must bear, the expense to the railroads will very possibly add as much more, in meeting the requirement that they coöperate with the commission in every way it shall demand.

In its repeated requests for the passage of such an act, the commission has been as canny in generalizing about the uses of a valuation as the law now written in the federal statutes is on the same point. It has pointed out how manifest it must be that an administrative authority, charged with making regulations and even the actual rates for carriers, should have accurate knowledge of the values of the great properties over which its power extends. It has never said it wanted to base rates on the valuation as ascertained; nor has it indicated what sort of a valuation it wanted.

THE UNEARNED INCREMENT

Right here comes the question which will finally, in the opinion of transportation experts, be brought to issue by the valuation. On what valuation shall a railroad earn returns? In the city of Spokane, it has been shown, a great parcel of land was donated to a transcontinental road many years ago; half of it by the city, the rest by the town. That land was listed by representatives of the railroad as having a present value—this was in a court proceeding involving a reduction of rates, several years ago—of $7,000,000.

Terminal properties in important centers were generally acquired at very low prices compared to their present values.

Shall the railroads now owning property of this kind, whose value has been increasing with the development of the community, capitalize these increased values and then make rates to earn returns on them? That is the question, away off in the future, which every economist sees directly raised by the Government's undertaking to value the railroads. It is at this point that the chief potential effect of the valuation on rates will be felt. What will the courts say about it? What will be the public policy of the country? These are the big finalities which the experts say are likely not to be settled till years have elapsed after the completion of the valuation itself. The question, of course, is in effect the same that presents itself in connection with the increment in all land values. In England and Germany they are discussing it as related to the great landed estates. In this country our great quasi-public service properties seem more likely first to focus attention upon it.

EFFECT ON CAPITALIZATION

It is probable that the valuation will have a direct effect on methods of issuing capitalization long before it will be felt as a tangible influence on railroad and other public-service rates. The relation of valuation to capitalization is at least more apparent to the lay mind, and the working out of regulatory processes properly to establish that relation is a far simpler process. We have already had an investigation of this capitalization question by a congressional commission, and a report which served to strengthen the general conviction that a valuation would be useful.

The statistical authorities of the Interstate Commission frankly admit their dissatisfaction with their own figures on railroad capitalization. As of June 30, 1910, they found a total par value of railway securities, including those assigned to "other properties," of $18,417,132,238. Deducting railway securities owned by railway corporations, etc., amounting to $4,041,602,490, the net par value of railway securities in the hands of the public was fixed at $14,375,529,748. Averaged over the country's mileage, this placed the per mile capitalization at $63,944. Incompleteness of information, especially as to deductions, makes the statistician unwilling to invite much confidence in this figure.

Those who, in the commission's behalf, have studied capitalization and values most

closely believe that the completed valuation will show the railroads east of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh line and north of the Potomac, to be capitalized below their value; those from this line to the Mississippi to be capitalized at just about their value; and those outside of these lines—West and South—to be capitalized above their value.

CAN THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE LAW BE MET?

Without exception, so far as a rather thorough inquiry has developed, the men charged with the administration of the valuation law are highly pleased with it. They believe its grant of large powers and wide discretion will make the great task as simple as it could possibly be, while the extreme care which has been taken to avoid laying down any rules for the application of the valuation in connection with administrative work is thoroughly wise. It has been, from the beginning, the commission's opinion that wisdom dictated, first, the making of a valuation; second, an effort to get all parties in interest, so far as possible, to indicate their satisfaction with it; and only after all this, that the public policy and administrative methods be determined by which the valuation should be employed by the regulatory instrumentalities of the Government. For the achievement of these purposes the law is looked upon as well-nigh beyond criticism.

Far from being staggered at prospect of the huge performance required by this law, as it has been widely represented, the Interstate Commission is grateful for the opportunity to do what it believes a monumental work. It has at no time indulged misapprehension as to the character, extent, or difficulty of the task, and therefore is in nowise overpowered on confronting it.

ORGANIZING THE WORK: PERSONNEL

Although the actual appraisal work has not begun, the beginnings of an organization for it have been effected. The Interstate Commerce Commission has placed Commissioner Charles A. Prouty in general charge of the work, and has selected an Engineering Board of five members. Later, it is expected, an Advisory Board, probably of three, will be named, on which the economic authorities, as distinguished from the merely technical and engineering, will be represented.

The Engineering Board includes:

R. A. Thompson, who handled the engineering work of valuing the Texas roads, and was thence called to California to perform a like task for that State. He was engaged in this when drafted for the national work.

Edwin F. Wendt, of Pittsburgh, president of the Railway Engineering Association and late engineer of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie road.

W. D. Pence, chief engineer of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission and professor of railway engineering in the University of Wisconsin.

Howard M. Jones, of Nashville, a consulting bridge engineer and expert.

J. S. Worley, of Kansas City, consulting engineer in railway matters.

Soon after this board had been designated, it held conferences with a committee of railway presidents, eighteen in number, who represented, it was stated, from 85 to 90 per cent. of the mileage of the country. The object of this organization by the railroad men was to establish the extensive coöperation between the railroads and the valuation authorities, which is necessary both to further the work and to keep its expense as small as possible. President Rae, of the Pennsylvania system, headed this committee.

SHALL THE PUBLIC BE REPRESENTED?

At the conferences between the Engineering Board and the Presidents' committee, the first suggestion of serious differences over the method of appraisal was heard. It came, too, from outside the conference. A group of members of Middle Western State railway and public-service commissions appeared, to insist that there ought to be some representation of the public interest to take part in these discussions and in handling the work. Their argument was that the Government officials in charge of the appraisal will occupy a position not unlike that of judges. Their object is to reach a right conclusion. In doing this they will consider all the facts laid before them by their agents in the field, their real-estate experts, etc., and on the other side will weigh the claims brought forward on behalf of the railroads. Thus there will be counsel and expert testimony in plenty for the railroad side; there will be the Engineering Board and perhaps the Advisory Board, acting in a quasi-judicial capacity; but there is no provision for anybody, as counsel, advocate, and expert, taking specifically the cause of the public interest.

The Western commissioners, representing the commissions of eight States, declared the belief that this was unfair. They foresaw that the railroads, being at all times represented, in close touch and constant conference with the appraising authorities, actuated by persistent purpose to press their own view most effectively, would inevitably have a great influence unless there was provision of counsel for the other side—the public's side. They urged that this was of the largest importance, both nationally and to the State regulation authorities, because the national valuation is certain extensively to influence the State regulatory functions.

As a result of their insistence these State officials were permitted to be represented by one of their number, in the first conference between the Engineering Board and the engineering officials of the railroads. This representative, however, was present by courtesy, with no official standing, no rights or powers, and a status that did not at all satisfy the State authorities. President Wilson and various influential men in Congress who have been active in behalf of the valuation legislation were appealed to. They listened with a good deal of appreciation, and when the Western officials left Washington it was with the expectation that steps would shortly be taken to recognize their requests. In what form this will be done is a detail to be worked out. Those who are most impressed with the need for such public counsel and experts believe that the President himself should name the men to serve in this capacity. This would give them an independent status when they come, later on, to take part in long and doubtless very sharp arguments before the Interstate Commerce Commission as to many matters of policy and fact. If they were appointed by the commission, they would with difficulty bring themselves to disagree sharply with it, or with its Engineering Board. They would necessarily represent rather the commission than the outside public; and the thing demanded is a thoroughly independent representation, before the Engineering Board and the commission, of the public, in exactly the same way—partisan, if need be—that the railroads will be represented by their presidents and engineering officers.

Over this question of public counsel there will be a sharp issue unless all sides are able to agree without bringing it into controversy. An amendment to the law is already under consideration to meet this demand.

CIVIL-SERVICE RULES TO GOVERN

Strict civil-service regulations are to be followed in choosing the engineering and other employees for the appraisal work. The President insisted on this point, as to all employees except the five members of the Engineering Board, and the Civil Service Commission is to hold examinations to make all selections by the merit system. It is regarded as a supreme test of that system, considering the great number of technical men required, the high proficiency demanded, and the moderate salaries the Government will pay.

It is planned, though at present rather tentatively, to divide the country roughly into five districts, each to report to one member of the Engineering Commission. In general these districts will probably divide the country into north-and-south zones, with the idea that field parties may work north in summer and south in winter. Each district or regional division will have a chief engineer, with an assistant and a general staff; under these will be the field parties that will physically go over the ground, counting ties, measuring cuts and fills, estimating costs, surveying holdings of land, appraising equipment, and doing, in short, the vast detail work of the investigation.

EFFECT OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION

A greatly increased importance was given to the valuation work by the observations of the Supreme Court in the recently decided Minnesota rate case. In effect, the court indicated that when a valuation had once been made owners of the properties thereafter would be entitled to rates which would give them reasonable returns on the value as found. Further the court pointed out that the amount of investment in the property could not necessarily be taken as the measure of value; bad investments might compel the carrier to bear losses. The rates would have to be based on the value, not the cost or the investment.

This rule would seem decidedly to favor the railroads in most cases. Doubtless there is some railroad property, in lands, terminals, etc., which is worth less than it cost; but there is vastly more, in these great items, that is now worth far more than it cost. The court's discussion did not go far enough to lay down its attitude in detail, but it did strongly point a purpose of giving large weight and importance to the findings of the valuation.

RESEARCH WORK IN THE MINNEAPOLIS JUVENILE COURT

BY MRS. FREDERICK W. REED

PREVIOUS to the year of grace 1899, all over our broad land, children who had in any way violated an ordinance, or broken a law, were subject to the same forms of arrest, trial, and punishment which befell adult offenders. A child of seven, even, under the common law, could be convicted of crime and sentenced accordingly. It is with an effort that this state of affairs can now be recalled. Public sentiment, feeling its way toward better things, gradually advanced by statute, in many States, this age of responsible criminality to ten or twelve years.

THE NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The process of putting law-breakers of all ages on probation, that is, of allowing them to remain in their accustomed environment, under promise of good behavior, and subject to the oversight of a probation officer of the court who, so far as he could, took the part of guide, philosopher, and friend, was the final long step away from regarding offenders *en masse*, and the first step toward looking upon them as a collection of persons requiring individual study. Results of this closer, individualized inspection of wrongdoers began to be reflected in the laws establishing juvenile courts. Definitions and terms connected with juvenile crime were changed. It was discovered that an unvarying amount of personal responsibility could not always be demanded of all ages and in any and every circumstance. It was concluded, as recorded in the statutes of the States which hold juvenile courts, that no young person under sixteen could be considered guilty of a crime; that his condition was one of delinquency—or that of falling short—and himself in need of "counsel, protection, aid and assistance" in the words of the new legal phraseology. Therefore, the aim of the juvenile court, in so far as it relates to delinquency, is to help each and every child appearing before it into better character and better living.

This shows so changed a view of the whole question that it surely must be a century or so at least since the time when society was obliged to set up "bulwarks" for its own defense by confining a boy who had stolen a pair of shoes in jail with real criminals for three weeks before giving him a hearing regarding the theft. But, under the law, such things could happen up to fourteen years ago. Were a boy who had stolen a pair of shoes to be brought into court to-day, he would receive totally different treatment from that accorded the boy of much less than twenty years ago. The theft would not be the sole recorded fact of his history. He would be studied in all his relationships. His heredity, family conditions, amount of home training, special temptations, standing in school, former reputation, health, mentality—all would be investigated. And after establishing the fact of delinquency there would be no thought of sending him to jail but of putting him where he could be helped to recover standing and character.

A DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH

The Judge of the Hennepin County Juvenile Court, the Hon. Edward F. Waite, in carrying out these new methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency, is greatly helped by the department of research recently established to work with the court. The department is seeking answers to the many questions which arise out of juvenile court experiences.

Who is responsible for all this delinquency? Why may we not always directly charge it upon the parents? How does it happen that so many children have never heard the voice of authority and, therefore, know nothing of obedient response? Has the child one parent, or two, or none? What is the probable amount of the family income? How strengthen a weak sense of responsibility in parents? Why does the probation system, so effective in many instances, fail in others? To what extent is the community responsible? What is the relation of the

school to this matter? How about the child himself? Is he thoroughly understood? What is his own point of view? Does the act in question appear to him anything unusual, anything culpable? In attempting to answer these and other related questions, the court has gone forth into the dark field of juvenile waywardness, bearing aloft the lamp of psychology and carrying a portion of the oil and wine of medical healing and social amelioration.

Three questions mainly direct this new research. First, is the offender sound physically? Second, is he sound mentally? Third, what social forces are possibly contributing to his delinquency? For the purpose of answering these questions it is, therefore, necessary to enlist the services of physician, psychologist, and nurse. The department is largely financed by the Juvenile Protective League of Minneapolis, an organization which supports several forms of effort for child welfare in the city, and which has had the wisdom to gather into its membership, and to make available in its counsels a large number of public-school teachers well equipped to offer intelligent support and sympathy, and keenly interested in the practical reaction of this kind of research upon their own problems.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION AND TREATMENT

The director of the department is Dr. Harris Dana Newkirk, who especially understands the management of children's diseases. Prof. James Burt Miner comes from the department of psychology of the University of Minnesota and devotes himself to examining the mental development of delinquents and to studying causes of retardation in school. The salary of the nurse, the third indispensable member of the department, is paid by a helpful citizen to whom the work makes special appeal. One of the hospitals assigns a small benevolent fund in its charge to surgical use, so that operation facilities are ready at call, with no expense to the department.

Each case adjudged delinquent is examined by the director. If the child needs some surgery, it is forthwith applied. Diseased tonsils and adenoids are removed, glasses supplied to overcome eye-strain, defective teeth and hearing noted. Circumcision is frequently performed, also one other trifling operation devised by the director for the special help of boys. After operation the child is given over to the care of the nurse, who sets forth his condition, as long as he needs her care, in her monthly reports to the doctor.

All results of this careful physical examination are noted on cards for proper filing, as well as the results of three other inquiries, namely, the moral, relating to behavior; the educational, showing the history of his school career, and the social, which inquires closely into living conditions and all elements of the child's environment. To these the psychologist adds a fifth record in case the child is suspected of being abnormal in some way, or in case he makes a second appearance in court; also if he is committed to the Hennepin County Detention Home, an institution in connection with the court where boys whose delinquency is not judged sufficiently advanced to require commitment to a State institution are sent for correction and discipline. When the delinquent does not yield to earlier measures of correction applied by the court, these cards, therefore, present full data from which a sort of brief may be compiled for future study of the case by the judge.

INDIVIDUAL "SOCIAL" RECORDS

As of interest in showing the searching character of these inquiries on record, the "social" card is given somewhat in detail. Its object being the study of influences, nothing, apparently, in the child's circumstances is overlooked. This card notes: Whether the child has one parent, or two, or none; in case both parents are living together, whether they are one in nationality and religion; what the occupation of both father and mother is; if the father has steady work, and whether the mother works outside the home; how both parents spend their leisure, whether they belong to clubs or societies and what they read. The card asks as to a tobacco or liquor habit, the number of children living or dead, the attitude of both parents towards children, and the parents' estimate of their children's mental abilities. Searching questions into the general sanitation and hygiene of the home are put. As to the children, all sorts of inquiries are set up in regard to their social habits and manner of spending time outside of school hours.

The number who come into court more than once ranges somewhere from one-fourth to one-fifth of the entire number who appear,—about one in four of the boys; of girls, not so many. The new department is

concentrating much effort upon this problem of "repeaters" and promises considerable help in this one really discouraging phase of juvenile delinquency. All research is conducted with privacy and is confidential.

IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL CONDITION

Eighteen months of this work has already shown the following points of usefulness:

Figures of the department tend to show a connection between delinquency and health. Delinquent children are of a lower grade physically. They have more positive defects, and are more anemic. After they have received attention at the hands of the physician and surgeon, they are in better condition to respond to the training they receive under probation. From this the corollary follows that medical inspection in schools is one of the measures contributing to prevention of delinquency. It seems quite plain that numbers of boys and girls are falling behind in their school work or straying from truancy to delinquency because of some physical defect which, perhaps, especially when they are not very well cared for in other ways, is making them dull and not equal to what ought to be expected of them. Attention to easily remediable ills has frequently restored a normal physical buoyancy and brought about a consequent renewed interest in the child's school work.

WHAT THE NURSE FINDS OUT

On its immediately helpful side of giving physical relief, the nurse's work is of prime importance. Following the court children into their homes, she brings to light other members of the family who are in need of some attention at the hands of the doctor. Delinquency is not usually a plant of sporadic growth. If one child in a family has been found to be a repeater, it is frequently noted that one or more of the other children either have appeared in court or are on the road thither. The nurse discovers these conditions and her disclosures are useful in both the medical and social lines of inquiry.

REBUILDING THE HOME

This close scrutiny of living conditions, affecting delinquents, brings to us one report in large type and in words of one syllable. It reënforces certain homely lessons which happier families have acquired unconsciously. If nothing but individual treatment will avail for the delinquent child, why not concentrate more closely upon forms of effort which shall help rebuild the home, giving to the child some interest and responsibility in it, and to the parents some self-respecting authority? Much social investigation seems to the irreverent layman to be carried on for the pleasure of going along the road—to borrow from Stevenson on the delights of travel—rather than to arrive at some terminal application of truth discovered. The goal is far, far distant. But speeding an unknown path in social matters may not bring us there as soon as patient progress in the right direction. The ass figures in the parable of the good Samaritan as well as the more quickly moving oil, wine, and money.

DISCLOSING IMPORTANT SOCIAL FACTS

The results of research work are found important on the social side. Other wise and valuable agencies are at work bringing to light distress, want, and sin in amount and quality in nowise different, it would seem, from that shown here. But many social investigations have been largely of an objective nature; they have usually been undertaken from the outside, as it were. This kind of research, being an integral part of the social survey which is in operation at every sitting of the court, focuses a strong light upon the many elements which are causing delinquency.

The work of the psychologist in determining the mental status of the child is shown to be both important and necessary. Briefly, it is his business to weed out the mentally defective. The director of the department of research at the Vineland, N. J., training school has recently pointed out the indispensable nature of this aid in juvenile court work. A judge has appearing before him children the like of which he never knew, and of whose characters, dispositions and aptitudes he can seldom make a proper estimate without the help of psychology. Particularly is this true in the case of feeble-mindedness.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED CHILD

Whatever may be the precise terms of definition offered by the learned in such matters, feeble-mindedness means, practically, a born lack of capacity. No amount of the usual school training, however wisely applied, can possibly overcome it. Certain embryos of intelligence are entirely wanting and, therefore, cannot be expected to de-

velop. It must be borne in mind, too, that this condition is not detected by merely intelligent observation. In many children of this kind there is nothing amiss in appearance. There is a double responsibility in the case of the feeble-minded child. He must be removed from contact with delinquent children, and he must, for his own sake, be placed in an institution providing special training, where such faculties as he possesses can be developed as far as possible to his own happiness and usefulness. Psychologists have been using for the last five years the Binet-Simon scale for testing intelligence. By the use of these test questions in the hands of an expert, it can be determined whether a child is feeble-minded, or, whether his mental condition is possibly only one of prolonged retardation. Of course, through the agencies of this department, other abnormalities, such as epilepsy, or insanity, are discovered.

AN AID TO THE JUDGE

The results of this department are of the greatest importance to the judge in making up his decisions as to the precise form of commitment or correction which shall be applied, especially in cases of repeated delinquency. By knowing more certainly the texture of a boy's character, or behavior, his family history and heredity, and all possible circumstances connected with his appearance in court, more can be, with certainty, required of him, and more rigid compliance be exacted, with the regimen once determined upon as a result of full study of the case. The feeble-minded or otherwise abnormal child goes where he can have proper care. Others, for correction, may require only a temporary seclusion at the Hennepin County Detention Home, and thereby escape the stigma of a State reformatory record. As a corollary to this work of the judge, it simplifies matters for the reformatory also, by more closely classifying the boys who go there, thus giving that institution, as well as others who may equally benefit by juvenile court procedure, a more homogeneous body to work upon.

THE PROBLEM OF RETARDATION IN SCHOOL

In the application of the principles of psychology to the whole subject of serious retardation in school—a question closely allied to delinquency—much ought to be gained, not only for the delinquent child, but also for the child who is well disposed. Falling behind in school, many a child leaves the educational track and, while not tempted into delinquency, goes through life hampered by not getting from his school the training he ought to have had, and forever lost to the inspiration which a successful perseverance in school might have brought him. Skill is needed for setting right some maladjustments. Some children are not in grades where their mental age ought to put them. Light may, perhaps, be cast upon the subject of vocational training and similar ventures.

THE NORMAL CHILD AFFECTED

In the sternly analytical temper of the public mind to-day toward common-school education lies the hope of its improvement. When it is more clearly understood what elements constitute the warp and woof of our juvenile society, the cut of the educational pattern can be more clearly decided upon. The immigration, which has helped to build our prosperity, has not always helped our education. Until obstinate retardation, delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and indefinite aim go each to its own place, the normally bright child, capable of aspiration and progress to real leadership, lacks suitable opportunity. He is hindered in his own proper development and risks mental anemia by feeding upon an educational diet which is neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring.

Thus the Hennepin County Juvenile Court in its investigating, sifting, sorting, classifying, and training, is working upon fundamentals. The judge, no longer a doomsman, represents the new law which is a schoolmaster leading to better things. In discharging these new duties in the new spirit of the law, Judge Waite is doing a valuable constructive work.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE MIDSUMMER MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

ONE of the officers of an Atlantic passenger steamer writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August on "The Unlearned Lesson of the *Titanic*." Reviewing the efforts made to improve conditions on the Atlantic liners since the *Titanic* disaster, this officer shows that some of the new provisions of law complicate rather than facilitate the work of saving life in emergencies. He admits that a different system of saving life is necessary, but he denies that the piling of boats on top of one another in all kinds of impossible positions is the proper remedy. So far as the general condition of life on the liner is concerned, this writer has noticed marked improvement during the last two years. The pay is better, more home life is granted, and physical strains are reduced.

In the same number Mr. H. Fielding-Hall discusses "The Causation of Crime"; Mr. Robert J. Menner, "Common Sense in Pronunciation"; and Mr. M. E. Haggerty, certain differences between the animal mind and the human. Ellen Key contributes a second article on "Education for Motherhood." Some of the letters of the poet, William Vaughn Moody, edited by his friend, Daniel Gregory Mason, are printed in this number. In his series of "Confederate Portraits" Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., presents an attractive outline sketch of Robert Toombs, the Georgia statesman.

"When *McClure's* Began" is the title of an interesting account of the early days of the magazine, written by Miss Jeannette Gilder, who had an inside view of the founding and early development of Mr. McClure's experiment twenty years ago. This entertaining story appears in the August number of the magazine, and the publishers announce, for October, the first instalment of Mr. McClure's autobiography. In the August number appears also Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's story of her four weeks in Holloway Gaol.

In the summer magazines, with the exception of the *Atlantic,* the proportion of fiction to serious reading is very large. We note, however, in the July *Century* several articles of permanent interest. Augustus Thomas, the playwright, contributes entertaining recollections of his old friend and neighbor, Frederic Remington, the artist. Robert Hichens devotes the fifth paper in his series on the Balkan Peninsula to the city of Constantinople. In the "After-the-War" series, Mr. Charles A. Conant contributes an instructive account of "The Return to Hard Money." "Mr. Morgan's Personality as Viewed by His Friends" is the title of a sympathetic tribute by Joseph B. Gilder.

In the July *Harper's* "A Bay of Biscay Watering-Place" (San Sebastian) is described by Harrison Rhodes. In "The Remaking of the American City," Mr. Frederic C. Howe discloses some of the plans for the remodeling of Chicago, Boston, Denver, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other centers of population. "The Dead Sea of the West" is described by Louise Rand Bascom, and Professor Thomas R. Lounsbury discusses certain "Differences in English and American Usage."

A third of the July *Scribner's* is devoted to the Panama Canal. The text pages are contributed by former Secretary of War Stimson, who writes on the defense of the canal; Joseph B. Bishop, Secretary of the Canal Commission, who gives a general description of the work, and Commissioner Emory R. Johnson, who tells "What the Canal Will Accomplish." The pictorial feature of the number is a series of sixteen remarkable lumière photographs of the canal in color by Earle Harrison. In some respects these reproductions excel all former attempts at magazine illustration of the canal. Their vividness greatly intensifies the realism of the descriptive text. An article by way of forecast of the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 is contributed by Elmer Grey.

There are two other descriptive articles in the July *Scribner's,*—"Across Titicaca, with a Glimpse of Bolivia," by Ernest Peixotto, and "Mohammedan Holidays," by H. G. Dwight.

The *American Magazine's* contribution to the latter-day Gettysburg literature is a graphically-written story of the three days' fighting, by Edgar Allen Forbes. The illustrations of the article are reproductions of

the famous Philippoteaux paintings. Another important illustration feature of this number is a series of photographs of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, made by Kolb Brothers, who made the daring journey of 1,500 miles through the most dangerous river rapids in the world.

In the July and August numbers of *Everybody's* appear the first instalments of the story of Captain Robert F. Scott, compiled from his diaries and illustrated with photographs by himself and by H. G. Ponting. "The Uttermost South," as the story is titled, promises to be a thrilling narrative of adventure and discovery.

The political touch is accorded to the August *Metropolitan* by two articles—one on the independents in Congress, by William L. Stoddard, and a clever analysis of the elements of Charles F. Murphy's political prestige, by George Henry Payne.

In the *North American Review's* July program three articles seem especially noteworthy,—"Experiments in Government" (Initiative and Referendum), by Senator Elihu Root; "The Hope of the American Wage-Earner" (an argument for restricted immigration), by W. Jett Lauck; and "Gold and Prices," by Albert S. Bolles.

In the *Forum* for July there are articles on "The Church and Religious Leadership," by James A. Fairley; "The Failure of the Primary, Direct or Otherwise," by Joseph Dana Miller; "The Canadian Banking System," by Peter McArthur; "Japanese-American Relations," by Edwin Maxey; and "The Japanese on Our Farms," by K. K. Kawakami. Elsewhere in this number we have noticed Mr. W. D. MacColl's article on "The International Exhibition of Modern Art." Mrs. Havelock Ellis contributes an essay on "The Philosophy of Happiness."

THE REVIVAL OF FRANCE

THE underlying causes of the great changes in the tendencies, aims, efforts of the French people in the last decade or so are most interestingly and suggestively set forth in an article in a recent issue of the *Hammer*, "a non-partisan" journal published in Leipzig. We reproduce below its salient points:

The France of to-day seems to bear little resemblance to the France of about ten years ago. While at the turn of the century the Frenchman had in a way abandoned certain fields—foreign politics in particular—to-day he feels the imperative need of action, and this, again, in the sphere of politics. France is re-born; it asserts its pride anew; young France relinquishes nothing and will make amends for the shortcomings of its forefathers; such are the dominating ideas which appear in the press and the copious pamphlets and books of the time.

According to some, this revival on both sides of the Vosges is due solely to the character of the Morocco negotiations and the success of French aviation, upon which the Chauvinists base such high hopes. Doubtless there is much truth in the assumption; the German Morocco policy, whether right or wrong, was, at any rate, bound to rouse all of France's powers of resistance. Most probable, too, that the hitherto undisputed mastery of the French in aviation has spurred on their political ambition. But you can not rouse powers of resistance unless they exist, while all means of inciting ambition fail if that attribute be lacking. Now, the Fashoda incident clearly showed that neither the force of resistance nor the ambition of to-day existed in France ten or twelve years ago. It accepted demands with a calm resignation which would be unthinkable now. The actual cause must lie deeper; to realize its true nature it is essential to cast a glance at the depth and extent of the "revival."

It must be noted at the outset that this revival is limited to the younger and better educated section of the people, and that in this narrow circle it has really taken deep root and borne fruit. Thus, above all, as regards a religious renascence.

As a political power France has a new point of view. French diplomacy, despite all obstacles, succeeded in creating a powerful, promising colony in Africa—a success which, considering the scant means back of its diplomacy, may be termed brilliant. For this "revival" of French policy, too, there must have been a reason, a support, beside any hope of foreign aid, which would have been inadequate.

Briefly, then, the revival is restricted to the younger generation, but it is a significant fact that they further the aims of the more passionate, ambitious, and unscrupulous men and leaders of the masses of the older and actually dominating generation. Such men

have never been lacking in France, and herein lies the danger for the Germans, which justifies an inquiry into the moving forces of this "revival."

The writer points out the essential difference between French culture and that of other civilized nations, notably that of the German and Anglo-Saxon. The Frenchman of the better classes has a more all-around education than people of the like rank in England or Germany. Specialization, carried so far in those countries, has taken no foothold in France; it, and the resulting mechanizing of education, met with the persistent resistance of French classical tradition, which could not be broken. To-day, as formerly, one Frenchman obtains about the same cultural values as another, whether he purposes to become an engineer, merchant, official, or soldier. This may be a disadvantage for modern industry with its far-reaching subdivision of labor, but it succeeds, at any rate, in uniting the youth of the same generation in a firm bond which may be loosened but never dissolved. This all-around culture permits a great versatility. To-day, the first citizen of the Republic is a statesman, lawyer, amateur in science, an *"homme de lettres,"* and, it is said, a capital business-man; he is able to preside not only at the State-council but in a court-room, learned assembly, or, an hour later, to deliver a lecture. The remarkable thing is that every well-educated Frenchman could, at least as regards form, do the same.

This education is of a purely intellectual nature. The Frenchman is an "intellectual" through and through. And, finally, he is a social creature *par excellence;* he always thinks as one, and it has needed but a single, or a few ideas to exert a certain influence upon all the leading strata of the people (the French, thoroughly aristocratic, regard only what the better educated think).

The French revival, therefore, is only a liberation and carrying out of ideas long since dominant—a reaction against the exaggerated mastery of certain ideas prevalent some decades ago.

What were those ideas? Which are the dominating ones to-day?

As in the Germany of the '60's, so in France of the same time the belief in the omnipotence of science was the prevailing conviction. This idea was clearly reflected in French life, art, and notably in literature. Just as the amateur of science so the creative artist was to work coolly and objectively.

With the '80's a gradual change, completed by the close of the century, took place. It was simply a reaction against former ideas, which in art had led to the soulless *l'art pour l'art,* and in politics as well as economics to inaction. This change was aided by foreign influence. France discovered, rather late, the powerful, subjective literature of the Russians. Northern art, represented by Strindberg, with its subjective note, gained followers among the elect. Above all, however, intellectual France succumbed to the *"colosse de Bayreuth,"* Wagner, whose mysticism was a direct antithesis of the sterile positivism hitherto practised in life, in politics, in art.

A change to the mystic, the romantic, therefore, whose share in the French "revival" might be demonstrated at every point. This change alone, however, nowise explains the trend of the young, notably active and energetic generation of our day. There must have been an additional factor—one that may be termed the "gospel of action." This gospel was imparted by no other than Nietsche. He is primarily a romanticist, and did not, therefore, alienate the French who had come under the influence of the North and of Wagner. But he is, besides, a merciless scorner of sciolism, which repelled the French as well. Nietsche freed the individual from the "environment" in which Zola had entangled him; he set man once more upon his own feet, and proclaimed the rights of the individual.

But even with these two components, "Mysticism" and "Gospel of Action," the cause of the "revival of France" is not fully explained. The Frenchman is too much of an "intellectual" to surrender so easily to any sort of mysticism or gospel. Here the French mind perpetrated something which may be termed a fine bit of coquetting and a veritable feat of flexibility: he had the most acute intellectuals prove to him by scientific methods the correctness of the mystical idea —Bergson's philosophy of intuition became the fashion. He applies scientific, strictly logical methods to proclaim by their means the bankruptcy of the intellect and reason and the mastery of intuition—that is, of the non-logical, non-scientific.

It is from this compound of mysticism, religion, and will to act that all the sentiment and action of the "revival" springs. It must be termed romanticism, but of a most peculiar, perhaps unprecedented, kind, which liberates the individual from the shackles of logic and reason, purposing to act from intuition alone, seeking to use logic, and science in general, however, as tools. It is a re-

ligious romanticism, but one that blossoms not in the chiaroscuro of the church but in the broad light of day, in the brightly illumined university lecture-hall, in the free field of sports.

It is this union of the intellectual with the mystical which constitutes the fascination of this revival as well as its weakness. To-day the glowing enthusiasm of the young generation may still maintain these heterogeneous elements in solution; but the time of cooling must come, and with it disruption—assuredly not, however, before the revival shall have borne fruit.

Of what nature this fruit will be remains to be seen. Although the moving forces are of a cultural character, it does not, unfortunately, mean that in translating them into action that character will be retained. Germany, the writer concludes, will certainly not hinder her Western neighbor from being born anew as often as she requires. Only it would be desirable that in doing so she should observe certain limits.

WEATHER WARNINGS FOR THE AERONAUT

IT is perfectly obvious that if the sea-sailor needs a meteorological service to keep him informed concerning the present and prospective doings of winds and storms, the air-sailor needs an analogous institution even more urgently. Whenever and wherever aerial navigation passes beyond the episodical stage, the desirability of aeronautical weather bureaux must make itself felt. It is now more than two years since the first institution of this character, on a national scale, was created in ultra-modern Germany. At this moment a commission is at work in Paris planning a similar organization for France.

Occasional echoes of the German enterprise have come to American ears. A few months after it was set on foot a full account of its plans and *raison d'être* was published in the *Scientific American* (July 29, 1911), the writer calling attention to the remarkable celerity with which one of Mr. Kipling's dreams "of the year 2000" had been fulfilled.

In *Die Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin)—a new scientific weekly, which set out with the intention of occupying a place in Germany corresponding to that of *Nature* in England and *Science* in this country, but which has developed into something quite different—Dr. P. Ludewig reviews the history of the *Luftfahrerwetterdienst* of his country. Although it is still regarded in official circles as somewhat experimental—its existence being tentatively prolonged from year to year after an annual conference on the subject between the ministerial and meteorological authorities and the German aeroclubs—its permanence seems to be fully assured by scientific as well as practical considerations.

The German aeronautical weather bureau grew out of the pioneer undertaking of Dr. F. Linke in connection with the first international aeronautical exposition at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1909. The large number of aircraft assembled on that occasion seemed to make imperative some provision for protecting them from surprises on the part of the weather. Dr. Linke accordingly organized a special service for (1) determining the direction and force of the winds at different levels, and (2) securing timely notice of approaching thunderstorms. The wind observations were made with the aid of pilot-balloons; *i. e.*, small free balloons without baskets whose course in the air is determined by means of a theodolite. The thunderstorm service involved more elaborate measures. To quote Dr. Ludewig:

> Around Frankfort as a center, eighty stations were selected, distributed as uniformly as possible over an area of 800 square kilometers. The observers at these stations were required to send an urgent telegram to the headquarters of the service in Frankfort whenever a thunderstorm appeared in their vicinity, giving exact information as to time, direction from station, and movement of the storm. At the central office these data were entered on a chart, and the points at which the outbreak of the storm was observed at a given time were joined with curves. Thus it was possible to determine the velocity and course of each storm over the country, and to give accurate warnings to the exposition authorities.

The numerous aeronautical disasters of the year 1910 inspired Dr. Richard Assmann, director of the great aerological observatory at Lindenberg, with the idea of establishing for the whole of Germany a weather service modeled after Linke's local service at Frankfort. Government funds were secured, and the new service, planned originally as a three months' experiment, began work January 1, 1911.

The organization as then established included two lines of work. In the first place, a number of

stations were installed over Germany for taking simultaneous observations with pilot balloons. These included the Public Weather Service stations at Berlin, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Aachen, Dresden, Breslau, Bromberg, Königsberg (Prussia), Ilmenau, Weilburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Strassburg; also the headquarters of the military airship battalion at Reinickendorf, the airship company at Bitterfeld, and the navigation school at Elsfleth. These stations agreed to make a pilot-balloon ascent every morning, at the expense of the Lindenberg Observatory, and to telegraph the results in cipher to Lindenberg, together with information as to the time of ascent, cloudiness and rainfall, tendency of the barometer to rise or fall, and the movement of cirrus clouds. At Lindenberg these observations were entered on charts, and the data collected from all the stations were combined into a bulletin which was then telegraphed to the stations. Each of the latter was thus in a position to furnish accurate information to aeronauts concerning the force and direction of the winds prevailing at the time, at various heights, all over Germany.

The organization of an efficient thunderstorm-warning service presented a more difficult problem, which was finally solved in the year 1912 by enlisting the service, as observers, of about 600 postmasters (who in Germany are also telegraphers). These meteorological sentinels are well distributed over the Empire, about sixteen miles apart on an average. Thus an observing network exists through the meshes of which it would be a difficult matter for a thunderstorm to creep unobserved; especially as such storms usually march in lines scores or hundreds of miles long across country. The process of reporting thunderstorms has also been facilitated by the establishment of a second central station at Frankfort, in addition to the one at Lindenberg. The Lindenberg and Frankfort offices are both to be equipped shortly with wireless telegraphy, in order to be able to communicate directly with aircraft having a similar installation.

During the present year the service is developing mainly along the line of adapting more fully to the use of aeronauts the reports of the ordinary meteorological stations of Germany and neighboring countries, and has recently begun publishing an evening weather map, in addition to the morning and midday maps previously published. This is for the benefit of balloonists, who usually embark on their journeys in the early morning hours; *i. e.*, too early to make use of the morning map of the same day.

AN ARRAIGNMENT OF ENGLAND'S SO-CALLED VOLUNTARY MILITARY SYSTEM

THE discussion that has been going on for some time in England concerning the methods to be employed to secure a satisfactory number of recruits for the army has called forth from Earl Percy a scathing indictment of the present so-called voluntary system. This indictment, which appears in the *National Review* (London), gains additional force from the fact that the author himself is a soldier of no mean reputation, and has, therefore, a practical as well as a theoretical knowledge of his subject. The present British Secretary for War is of opinion that "the old bedrock principle that one volunteer is worth ten pressed men still holds good." His predecessor, Lord Haldane, also, was a staunch advocate of the voluntary system. Earl Percy, on the other hand, regards this system as "a hollow sham"; and in a long and comprehensive review of Britain's military history, from the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, he endeavors to prove that, so far from service in the British army being voluntary in the true sense of the word, it was necessary time and again to recruit the ranks by means of the press-gang, the offer of bounties, and the employment of mercenaries. In certain extreme crises prisoners who had been sentenced to death were pardoned on condition that they enlisted in the army. The following are some of the facts adduced:

The press-gang was instituted by Charles I to provide the necessary crews for the fleet. When Parliament needed 22,000 men for the new Model Army, formed in 1645, no less than 8000 had to be "pressed." The 23,000 men who followed William III into Flanders in 1692 were composed of the lowest classes. In order to maintain them in the field, kidnapping pure and simple was sometimes resorted to. In 1702 Marlborough took the field with an army of 60,000 or 70,000 men, of whom only 18,000 were British. To raise them it had been necessary to offer £3 [$15], or thrice the usual amount of levy-money, to obtain recruits. During the War of the Austrian Succession the ranks were filled in great measure by professional criminals. Week after week deserters were brought out into Hyde Park [London], tied up to the halberds or simply to a tree and flogged with hundreds of lashes. In the case of the West Indies, the ranks of the militia were kept full by continual exportation of white "servants" from England; that is to say, of men, women, and children saved from the gaol or the gallows, trepanned by scoundrelly crimps, or kidnapped bodily in the streets and spirited, as the phrase went, across the Atlantic.

In view of the makeshift nature of Britain's whole military organization and its continued neglect by the nation, Earl Percy considers that "it is not surprising that when retribution came in 1775 in the shape of the revolt of the American colonies, it resulted in the total loss of the most magnificent empire this world has ever seen." He adds:

It is customary to ascribe this to an error in policy, to the folly of George III, or the shortsightedness of Lord North. These alone would not have lost us America, and no man strove harder for the Army than George III. It was quite as much due to the reduction of naval and military forces. We had reduced the Army to 33,000 men, and as we delayed in raising recruits we had to call in 18,000 mercenaries from Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel to fight our own kith and kin. This War of Independence was the only occasion (unless the two Boer wars be excepted) on which we have fought a civilized people without Continental allies, and it resulted in complete and crushing defeat.

Earl Percy traces the history of the voluntary system through the great French war from 1793 to 1815. In the early part of this war these were the conditions:

Practically any one who could produce a certain number of recruits was given a commission. Rich speculators bought the required recruits for their sons from the crimps at so much a head. The men so procured were infamous, and the officers not much better! Many of the latter found the ennui of a campaign insupportable without the company of their mistresses, who obstructed the line of march with the baggage of their vast establishments.

During this war British subsidies ran "into many hundreds of millions [of pounds]." Yet, although the Government was giving bounties of from £16 to £40 [$80 to $200], it could only provide Wellington in the Peninsula with an army which he described as "the scum of the earth." But the strongest proof that the voluntary system "broke down hopelessly both for service at home and for service abroad" is the fact that "in order to bolster up this system there were passed between 1802 and 1814 no less than forty-three Acts of Parliament."

Earl Percy charges that "never once in our [British] history has the manhood of our nation undergone any collective sacrifice for the country." France (as shown in 1793), Austria (in 1809), Russia (in 1812), Germany (in 1813), the American States (in 1862) "know what voluntary service means. We [the British] do not; we think it means sitting at home and paying somebody else to do the fighting."

As to the working of the voluntary system of to-day, Earl Percy believes that the same elements are obtained for the British army as in former times. He cites the Annual Report on the Health of the Army for 1909, in which it is stated that "90 per cent. of British recruits enlist because they are out of work, and that many are in consequence in poor condition from want of food." And the further fact is set forth by the distinguished writer, that a comparison of the fighting capacity of British "volunteers" in the South African War and in the War of the Spanish Succession, just 200 years before, is overwhelmingly in favor of "the gaol-birds, the insolvent debtors, and the victims of crimp and press-gang of 200 years ago." He maintains that never has the strength of a great empire like England "rested upon so rotten a foundation as that idle mockery of true service, that excuse for national selfishness, ignorance and sloth which goes by the lying name of 'the voluntary system.'"

LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTIONS

AUSTRALIA has always been a land of experiments. An island continent, fenced around by high tariff walls, and absolutely controlled by the conditions and regulations of organized labor, an elaborate system of industrial legislation has there been tested and tried out. The recent election, general throughout the Commonwealth, brought out a very large percentage of the vote, both men and women. The result was—as we have already pointed out in these pages—indecisive. The Liberal party—they have a particular brand of Liberalism in Australia—secured a small majority in the lower chamber of the Federal parliament, while the Labor party remains paramount in the upper.

The situation is made the reason for a long survey of Australian Labor politics by J. H. Harley, in the *Contemporary Review*. It is the general verdict of this writer that the Fisher government has given "a large amount of general satisfaction."

This the result of the elections in the great industrial centers has amply shown. It was only in the pastoral districts of such an important state

as New South Wales, for example, that the Liberals had any chance. There they had become the allies of the wealthier squatters who were opposed to the graduated Land Tax of the Labor administration, and who desired, ere the hour-glass ran out, to arrest the triumphant policy of breaking up their big estates.

This is not to be wondered at, Mr. Harley thinks, since the Australian Labor party "has pursued the policy of eminently safe experiments. Their leaders have never pretended to be able to realize the millennium all at once. They have no cast-iron scheme of bureaucratic collectivism."

The various Labor governments, he continues:

have not been slow to nationalize industries, but these are merely industries—such as those relating to circulation and transportation—which lie at the very basis of our economic life. There is a Federal bank. The state runs the railways and most of the tramways, the telegraphs and telephones, and naturally takes in hand the work of irrigation. In addition, New South Wales has brickworks, and Victoria owns a coal mine; yet there are no signs that these are more than isolated experiments. The Federal Labor Government certainly wants to amend the constitution so as to nationalize monopolies such as tobacco manufacturing, sugar refining, and coal mines; but the result of the recent referendum on this subject does not encourage us to believe that the people have any burning desire for immediate activity in this direction.

The Australian Labor program, in short, "is important for its efforts after the regulation rather than the nationalization of industry."

Banking and transport may be managed directly by non-political commissions in the interests of the community; possibly monopolies may yet see the state take some kind of practical responsibility for their ultimate control; but beyond these objects of direct governmental intervention, the feeling seems to be to leave the rest of the industrial field to the bargaining of great federated associations of masters and men. The State, of course, must intervene to keep fair the conditions of the arena. It must endeavor by wise and timely legislation to prevent any passionate recourse to the riotous consolations of syndicalism. It must safeguard a decent minimum wage. It must arbitrate on hours and conditions. It must demonstrate that the strike, though still a possibility, is no longer the *ultima ratio* in matters industrial. And on this account the arbitration courts and wages boards which, generalizing her own experience and that of Victoria, the State of New South Wales is gradually extending and completing, may now be accepted as by far the most interesting and successful phase of Australian labor legislation.

New South Wales has always been the home of the Australian Labor idea. It has a longer and more extensive experience with Labor legislation than any of the provinces. The Industrial and Arbitration Act of 1901, which was very imperfect and aroused considerable opposition, but which was the heart of Australian labor legislation, was superseded by the Industrial Arbitration Act of 1912. The great feature of the Act of 1912 is its machinery for conciliation.

The Act secures the appointment of an Industrial Commissioner, whose duty it is to intervene at the first mutterings of revolt. Long before the dispute has become sufficiently apparent to call for the bureaucratic intervention of an Arbitration Court, the Commissioner is down on the spot striving to bring the two parties—masters and men—to some kind of understanding. This Commissioner has no judicial powers. He is a conciliator, and a conciliator alone. He can bind no spirits of the vasty deep. He can only pour oil on the troubled waters. But at the same time he can compulsorily bring about a meeting of both parties in his presence, and if his utmost efforts are unsuccessful in leading them to a unanimous agreement, he can report the case to the Minister of Labor, who in his turn and without a minute's delay, can refer the matter for judicial adjustment to the Arbitration Court. It is thus possible for the Arbitration Court to be engaged in actual inquiry within a few days after the report of the threatened trouble to the Commissioners.

The success of these conciliatory arrangements, the Australian writer tells us, has been surprising. During the nine months preceding June last (according to the *Australian Industrial Gazette*) there has been intervention in thirty-six cases. In fifteen of these a final settlement was effected. In twenty a temporary arrangement was made. In only one was there an absolute failure.

After such a welcome issue of the Commissioner's work, it is small wonder that the Act of 1912 proposes to increase and widen the facilities for conciliation. Committees are being appointed for every occupation or calling where more than 500 men are employed. It is true that there is a bureaucratic flavor about the way in which they are appointed, which I am persuaded will not in the end be found the most efficacious in New South Wales. At present there is no machinery for purely democratic election of representatives on the Conciliation Committees. The members are named by the Minister of Labor, and consist of two representatives of the employers and two of the workmen. If the committee cannot agree on a chairman, the minister chooses a chairman for them. All the time, of course, they can only be conciliation committees. They have no compulsory or judicial powers. If they cannot unite on an award, no award is made. The chairman can never vote. He can only do his best to bring the two parties together. But notwithstanding these obvious limitations from a Collectivist point of view, it has been made abundantly evident, in the actual course of events, that skilful conciliation is the key to the whole problem of industrial regulation.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S TRIBUTE TO SENATORS HANNA AND QUAY

IN the "Chapters of a Possible Autobiography," now appearing in the *Outlook* and a syndicate of daily newspapers, Colonel Roosevelt makes many references to his contemporaries in public life. In the current instalment he speaks of his relations with the late Senator Hanna, with whom he was brought into intimate contact in the years intervening between the assassination of President McKinley and Senator Hanna's death (February, 1904). During that time Colonel Roosevelt, who was then President and watching all of Senator Hanna's actions at close range, declares that "he showed himself to be a man of rugged sincerity of purpose, of great courage and loyalty, and of unswerving devotion to the interests of the nation and the people, as he saw those interests." Senator Hanna's ideals were, in many ways, not President Roosevelt's, and naturally there were points of difference between the two men. Before this time, Colonel Roosevelt believed that Senator Hanna had always been unfriendly to him. "I do not think," he says, "that he ever grew to like me; at any rate, not until the very end of his life. Moreover, I came to the Presidency under circumstances which, if he had been a smaller man, would inevitably have thrown him into violent antagonism to me."



SENATOR HANNA, OF OHIO
(Of whom Colonel Roosevelt says, "He kept his word absolutely")



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SENATOR QUAY, OF PENNSYLVANIA
(Characterized by Colonel Roosevelt as an unusually well-read man)

Senator Hanna was the close and intimate friend of President McKinley, as well as his trusted adviser, and Mr. Roosevelt, at the time of his accession to the Presidency after McKinley's death, was looked upon as an untried man. Ordinarily, as Colonel Roosevelt points out, this situation would have meant suspicion, ill will, and, at the last, open and violent antagonism.

Such was not the result in this case, primarily because Senator Hanna had in him the quality that enabled him to meet a serious crisis with dignity, with power, and with disinterested desire

to work for the common good. Within a few days of my accession he called on me, and with entire friendliness and obvious sincerity, but also with entire self-respect, explained that he mourned McKinley as probably no other man did; that he had not been especially my friend, but that he wished me to understand that thenceforward, on every question where he could conscientiously support me, I could count upon his giving me as loyal aid as it was in his power to render. He added that this must not be understood as committing him to favor me for nomination and election, because that matter must be left to take care of itself as events should decide; but that, aside from this, what he said was to be taken literally; in other words, he would do his best to make my administration a success by supporting me heartily on every point on which he conscientiously could, and that this I could count upon.

He kept his word absolutely. He never became especially favorable to my nomination; and most of his close friends became bitterly opposed to me and used every effort to persuade him to try to bring about my downfall. Most men in his position would have been tempted to try to make capital at my expense by antagonizing me and discrediting me so as to make my policies fail, just for the sake of making them fail. Senator Hanna, on the contrary, did everything possible to make them succeed. He kept his word in the letter and the spirit, and on every point on which he felt conscientiously able to support me he gave me the heartiest and most effective support, and did all in his power to make my administration a success; and this with no hope of any reward for himself, of any gratitude from me, or of any appreciation by the public at large, but solely because he deemed such action necessary for the well-being of the country as a whole.

Colonel Roosevelt says that his experience with Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, was similar to his relations with Senator Hanna. Quay had been in the Civil War and was a medal-of-honor man, and naturally was attracted towards a man of Roosevelt's type. He was also, says Colonel Roosevelt, a very well-read man. "I owe to him, for instance, my acquaintance with the writings of the Finnish novelist Topelius."

Colonel Roosevelt speaks of Senator Quay's concern, in the last few months of his life, for the Delaware Indians in the Indian Territory. As he lay on his death-bed in Washington, he sent for President Roosevelt to get his personal promise that he would himself look after the interests of these Indians. Senator Quay did not trust the Interior Department, and did not believe that any of his colleagues in the Senate would exert themselves in the interests of the Delawares. He therefore asked for President Roosevelt's personal assurance that he would see that no injustice was done them.

I told him I would do so, and then added, in rather perfunctory fashion, that he must not take such a gloomy view of himself, that when he got away for the summer I hoped he would recover and be back all right when Congress opened. A gleam came into the old fighter's eyes and he answered: "No, I am dying, and you know it. I don't mind dying; but I do wish it were possible for me to get off into the great north woods and crawl out on a rock in the sun and die like a wolf!"

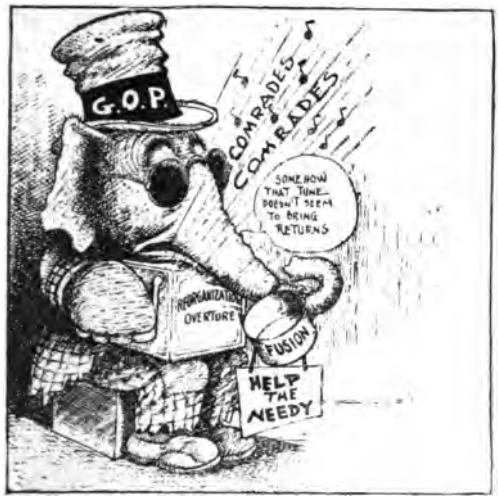
CAN THERE BE A PROGRESSIVE-REPUBLICAN MERGER?

APROPOS of the recent Chicago meeting of Progressive Republicans held for the purpose of negotiating some scheme of formal union of the Progressive and Republican parties, ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge, who was the Progressive candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1912, contributes to the *Saturday Evening Post* of June 28 an incisive statement of the reasons why, in his judgment, a merger of the kind proposed is both illogical and impracticable.

From Mr. Beveridge's viewpoint the Chicago plan of union contains at least three fundamental errors:

In the first place, the would-be unifiers assume that the Progressive party, as it exists to-day, is merely a faction of the old Republican party. Against this assumption Mr. Beveridge roundly asserts that more than a million of the men who joined the Progressive party and voted its ticket last year were men who had been Democrats. He farther asserts that men who, up to 1912, had been lifelong Democrats, then became, and are now numbered among the most active, vigorous, and efficient of the workers and committeemen of the Progressive party. Hundreds of county committees of the Progressive party have been made up of former Democrats and Republicans alike, while many of the Progressive candidates for Congress in 1912 were former Democrats. What arguments can be brought to bear on such men to bring about their amalgamation with the Republican party—an organization which makes no appeal to them on the ground of principle, and to which, indeed, they have been actively opposed all their lives.

The second important error in the merger scheme, as conceived by Mr. Beveridge, is



NOTHING DOING
(Republican pleadings have met with a cold response)
From the *Express* (Los Angeles)



PUTTING A LAMP IN THE WINDOW FOR HER WANDERING SON
From the *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)

the assumption that the Progressive party is merely a protest against certain party methods and laws. According to this assumption, more than four million American voters, both Democrats and Republicans, left the two old parties and formed the Progressive party last year, simply because of the unfair operation of the party rule by which Republican delegations from the Southern States are given undue power in national conventions. No such reason as this, Mr. Beveridge contends, can adequately explain why men publicly and irrevocably cut lifelong party ties and formally joined a new party.

The most serious mistake that the promoters of amalgamation have made, in Mr. Beveridge's opinion, is the assertion that the Progressive and Republican parties want the same things. Take, for instance, the question of big business. The Progressive party, according to Mr. Beveridge, is as far apart from both the Republican and Democratic parties on this subject as was the old Whig from the Democratic party on the subject of internal improvements. The present tariff bill is being rushed through Congress by the same autocratic methods that were used in enacting the Payne-Aldrich bill. A settlement of the tariff question by these methods is no more possible now than in the past. The Progressive party believes that the tariff should be taken out of politics and handled as a purely business ques-



THE MOOSE REJECTS THE ELEPHANT'S ADVANCES
From the *News* (Chicago)



TREATING A SICK ELEPHANT
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

tion, that the tariff should be built on facts as nearly as those facts can be gotten, and that it should be changed, "schedule by schedule, section by section, or even item by item, when the facts make such change necessary." This is the way that Germany, France, Japan, and other protective tariff countries handle their tariffs. Tariff changes in those countries are made almost automatically. Nobody ever heard of business in those countries being upset by wholesale tariff revisions such as are made from time to time by both the old parties in this country. The Progressive party proposes to create a thoroughgoing tariff commission of experts, like our Interstate Commerce Commission. This tariff commission would be non-partisan and independent, and would give its time to the gathering of facts.

As neither of the old parties, as such, believes in the Progressive party method of handling the tariff, so the Progressive policy in regard to the trusts is wholly different from the policy to which both the two old parties equally hold. Believing that great organizations of capital engaged in industry are inevitable and necessary, the Progressive party would pass a law plainly stating what business practices are unlawful, punishing violation by prison sentences instead of money fines, and would create an independent arm of the general government to control and regulate these giant business agencies in the interest of the public. Both the old parties are opposed to this method of trust regulation, and so far as the business question as a whole—the tariff and the trusts—is concerned, Mr. Beveridge can find no common ground on which the Progressive and either of the old parties can get together.

Passing now to the three fundamental principles on which the Progressive party is founded, Mr. Beveridge is quite as positive that no merger of any kind with either of the old parties is possible. These principles are: (1) A broader, more logical and more helpful nationality; (2) a broader, purer democracy; and (3) humanity in legislation. While it is admitted that individuals among the leaders and among the rank and file of each of the old parties have at times favored one or more of these principles, the parties themselves, as organizations, are distinctly opposed to all of them. Mr. Beveridge concludes, therefore, that the merger promoters have undertaken an impossible task. Why, after all, he asks, should there be any amalgamation of parties believing in different things? "Certainly not for the purpose of carrying out clearly stated principles and well understood policies; for there is no agreement on those principles and policies, but, on the other hand, utter disagreement.

"To what end, then, is this proposed merger? 'To win,' answer the merger promoters. Quite so, but to win what? To win offices and power? When you get at the bottom of it, will anyone point out what else there is to come from this proposed merger and amalgamation, and is that result attractive to any sincere and thoughtful man?"

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST IN CANADA

IN Canada if one lives west of Winnipeg he is a Westerner; if east, an Easterner. And these distinctions are not merely geographical, but are the result also of subtle differences in practical every-day sentiment and aspiration, if not in patriotism. These differences are real. One of them is to be seen in the demonstrations of loyalty. For, while the West looks coolly at the material aspect of things, the East waves the flag and sings the National Anthem. In the West one does not hear incessant talk about the patriotism of Canadians and Canadian loyalty to the British Crown. Mr. Newton MacTavish, who writes thus in the *Westminster Review* (London), gives also the following description of the great Canadian West and of the political sentiment prevalent there:

The West is a vast new country throbbing with new life. With the exception of the coastline of British Columbia, it is entirely insular—so insular, indeed, that the people scarcely can imagine a foreign foe marching in upon them. They see no need for war; they have no fear of war. Their battle is with the elements, with the soil and the wind and the rain and the heat and the frost. Their duty, as they see it, is to replenish the earth and subdue it. Instead of building a Canadian Navy, or contributing $35,000 towards the defense of the empire, they would do something to ameliorate their condition in life now. They would build elevators large enough and plentiful enough to store their grain until they should wish to sell it, thereby avoiding the forced sales that take place almost always as soon as the grain is threshed. They would construct great



HARVEST SCENE IN SOUTHERN MANITOBA

district highways of macadam and place thereon immense government-owned gasoline trucks for hauling grain to the nearest railways. And yet, while thousands of families who have come out from England or Ireland or Scotland, from Norway or Sweden or Denmark, from Russia or France, or even Germany, have been living on from year to year in the hope that these necessaries will soon appear, the proposal comes to them from the Government that instead we should send the money to help Great Britain. From the opposition comes a proposal to spend the money on a navy at home. So that no matter which party is victorious, the money will go for something for which Westerners can discover no need. The high rate of interest on borrowings in the West, especially borrowings by farmers, is notorious, and yet the money that it is now proposed to spend in some form for naval defense would go a long way towards obtaining for Western farmers loans at a rate of interest which, if not nearly so low as the money obtained for property-holders in Ireland, would be at least within reason. Or, looking at it another way, the interest on the cost of a navy of our own or on a cash contribution to the British Government would pay the premiums on insurance against losses to crops from any cause, and the losses could be distributed so that except in extraordinary seasons every farmer would receive a livable return from his land and labor, whether he would be able to harvest his grain or not.

A Saskatchewan farmer said to me the other day that they would get what they wanted in the West just as soon as they were separate from the East. And when I laughed at his remark, he complained that it was nothing to laugh at to see thousands of bushels of wheat and flax lying in heaps on the ground all winter just because there was no means of getting it to market.



A TYPICAL PRAIRIE TOWN, WESTERN CANADA

tion, that the tariff should be built on facts as nearly as those facts can be gotten, and that it should be changed, "schedule by schedule, section by section, or even item by item, when the facts make such change necessary." This is the way that Germany, France, Japan, and other protective tariff countries handle their tariffs. Tariff changes in those countries are made almost automatically. Nobody ever heard of business in those countries being upset by wholesale tariff revisions such as are made from time to time by both the old parties in this country. The Progressive party proposes to create a thoroughgoing tariff commission of experts, like our Interstate Commerce Commission. This tariff commission would be non-partisan and independent, and would give its time to the gathering of facts

As neither of the old parties, as such, believes in the Progressive party method of handling the tariff, so the Progressive policy



West one social or political club at whose board the greatness of the British Empire is the great topic of discussion. Discussion of that character is enjoyed by millionaires who do not eschew knighthood, and who cry loyalty to the British Crown so loudly

people, deceived by prosperity,

the chorus. But the chorus in the

ifferent. West of the Great Lakes

are making their millions out of

common people, who are close to

the most part have no ties of

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like the United States, has her West.

DIFFERENC

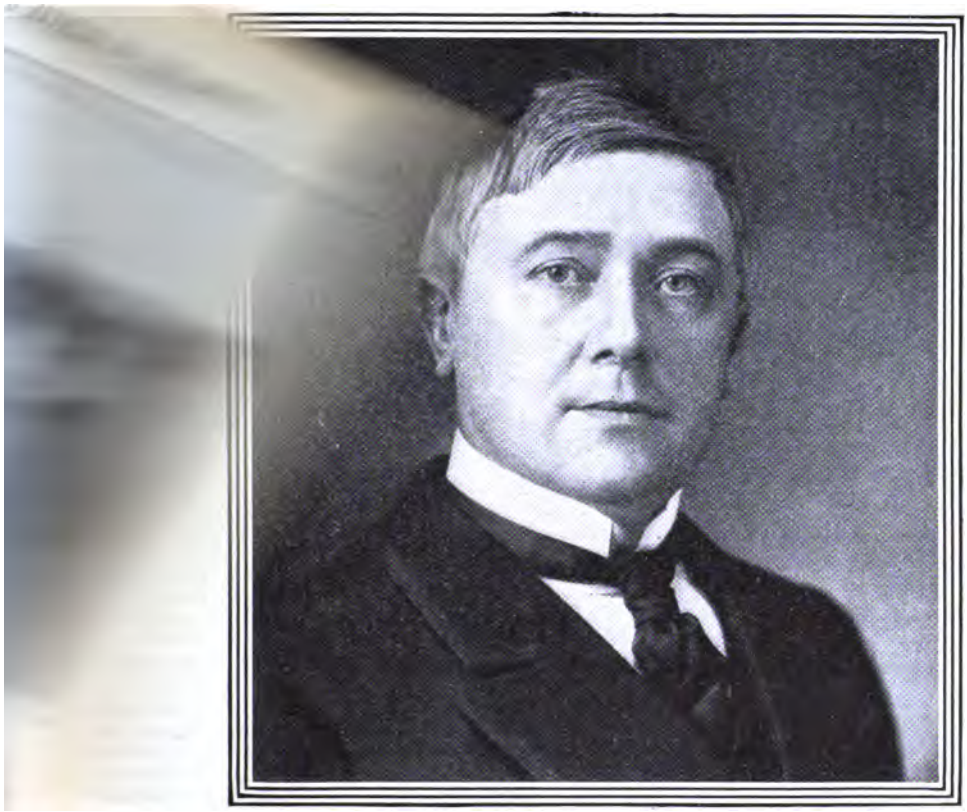
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ON IMMORTALITY

It is the principal theme of an
by Nicholas Segur in *La Revue* on
"The Literature of Death," and it is very
brilliantly analyzed and commented upon in
Les Annales by the well-known Acade-
Emile Faguet.

It is from the latter, who writes with his
accustomed lucidity and grace, that we prefer
to quote.

He declares that men have always written
of death only to deny its dominion—to utter
the universal cry, "O
Where is thy



MAURICE MAETERLINCK, THE BELGIAN POET, WHO IS REVIVING IN FRANCE THE DISCUSSION OF IMMORTALITY

victory?" and that Maeterlinck is no exception to this rule.

We read:

M. Maeterlinck speaks likewise in the beautiful philosophic work he has just written. . . . He considers six hypotheses.

1. There is no survival, and death is annihilation.

2. There is survival without consciousness of that which we have been previously.

3. There is survival with consciousness of what we have been and nothing more.

4. There is survival with consciousness of what we have been, *but a diminished consciousness.*

5. There is consciousness of what we have been; and, furthermore, a *vaster* consciousness, the progressive consciousness of a being (our own) which is itself progressive.

6. There is survival with a consciousness which is absorbed in the universal consciousness—in the consciousness which the universe has of itself.

Faguet then proceeds to discuss Maeterlinck's consideration of each of these six possibilities:

1. *Annihilation?* It is impossible. Nothing creates itself or destroys itself. . . . Only it may be that we may be dispersed among the divers forms of life in the universe.

Faguet's criticism on this is that such a dispersal would be annihilation in effect, since it involves loss of personality.

2. *Survival without consciousness of previous life?* The thing is possible; it is even probable. For if we are immortal we are eternal. If we are to survive henceforth we must have lived hitherto. But we have no consciousness, no memory, of anterior existences.

Here again Faguet considers that such survival is precisely equivalent to non-survival.

3. *Survival with consciousness, but nothing more?* What would be the use of this? It would be our poor little understanding, made to comprehend an absurdly limited world and a brief existence, following us into infinity and eternity. Is it this which we desire?

Here Faguet replies:

I answer, Yes. (And, moreover, M. Maeterlinck admits it.) I answer, Yes; that is what we desire—it is to remain *ourselves,* with a *little* improvement; little enough for us to recognize this being whom we have found so amiable, and who is OURSELF; little enough for us to recognize those whom we have lost, somewhat better and more beautiful, but not so much so as to have become strangers to us. . . . This, veritably, is the cry of the human heart.

4. *Survival with diminished consciousness?* A singular hypothesis, you will say, since the idea

of *progress* has become an integral part of our gray matter. A hypothesis, however, let us remark, which is that of the ancients, and which is also very conformable to observation and experiments upon spirits of the present. In Homer the dead are *shades,* half-alive, fearful, timid. And it is disturbing to note that the dead in spiritistic experiments are precisely the same. They are timid, distrustful, prompt to flee, extremely unintelligent, profuse of insignificant words, . . . relaters of uninteresting anecdotes.

5. *Survival with an enlarged consciousness?* In this hypothesis we conserve the consciousness of our identity, . . . but furthermore our consciousness is modified and enlarged. It is this hypothesis which Maeterlinck most cherishes. It is precisely this idea which most religions—perhaps all of them—hold of life beyond the grave. It is this idea, too, which holds most of comfort and consolation, and which can make us not only *resign* ourselves to death, but *desire* it, *which is a far easier thing.* . . . Maeterlinck compares the man who fears to die to the unborn infant who fears to be born.

6. *Survival with consciousness absorbed in the universal consciousness?* In this hypothesis we lose our personal consciousness, but are united with the Infinite consciousness. . . . It is what the religions term "the return to the bosom of God."

* * * * * *

I need not remind M. Maeterlinck that this last hypothesis closely approaches the first. . . . A nobler annihilation, but annihilation none the less.

THE SHAKESPEARE OF JAPAN

THE most prominent figure in the history of Japanese drama was unquestionably Chikamatsu Mongaemon, whom his countrymen call the Shakespeare of Japan. In the *Japan Magazine* (published in English in Tokyo), H. Kazumi gives a critical estimate of Chikamatsu which is very interesting. He says:

It was his ingenuity and zeal, combined with a marvelous histrionic genius, that caused the Takemoto theatre to outshine all its rivals. The *Takemoto Za,* which hitherto had amounted to no more than a marionette performance, under his master hand became the foundation of the modern stage in Japan. Its literary progenitor was the Taiheiki play, a drama chanted or recited in public by men who made this their profession. This in time was succeeded by a recitation of dramatic stories to the accompaniment of fan taps to mark the time or to give emphasis. Later on these taps from the fan were supplanted by the music of the three-stringed guitar, introduced from Loochoo. A favorite story for this purpose was what is known as the *Joruri,* which appeared toward the end of the Muromachi period. These were love tales, which became immensely popular over the whole country. Out of these arose the later *Kabuki Shibai* or common theatre, and afterwards the *Ayatsuri,* or marionette theatre, the most famous of which was the *Takemoto Za* at Osaka under Chikamatsu.

Chikamatsu was probably of samurai stock. He was born about 1653 in the little village of Hagi, the birthplace two centuries later of the famous General Nogi.

Tradition has it that in boyhood he became a priest; but the history of his youth is as obscure as is that of Shakespeare himself. Chikamatsu, in certain of his works, intimates that at one time he was a retainer of more than one noble house, and that for some reason, probably insubordination, he made himself free and became a *ronin.* In this respect, therefore, his early waywardness was not unlike the youth of Shakespeare. The *ronin,* or masterless *samurai,* were the terror of medieval Japan, and it is significant that Bakin, the most eminent Japanese novelist, as well as this her most famous dramatist, was of those who renounced their class.

After leaving the service of the Kyoto nobles Chikamatsu took to writing stories for the dramatic performances at the capital. One of these, the *Kaijin Yashima,* evidently was suggested by the older *No*-drama. This was about the year 1685. In 1690 we find him associated with the marionette theatre in Osaka, and from that time till his death in 1724 he produced in rapid succession a number of dramas, which, whatever their faults, leave no doubt of his having possessed a fertile and inventive genius.

At first sight the works of Chikamatsu do not appear like dramas, but simply romances with an unusual amount of dialogue.

All the *Joruri* contain a large narrative element of a more or less poetical character. The poetic part is chanted to music by a chorus, while the narrative is declaimed as the puppets perform. The dialogue, which is often subordinate, merely forms a thread to connect the scenes represented by the puppets on the stage, and makes up for what is lacking in stage scenery. There is no doubt, however, that the works of Chikamatsu are real plays. They have a well-marked movement of plot from the opening scene up to the final catastrophe; and they abound in highly dramatic situations and appear designed with a view to spectacular effect. At any rate the stage of Japan had never before seen anything like them; and so they won for their author the credit of being the creator of the Japanese drama.

Chikamatsu was a very voluminous writer, says Mr. Kazumi, the modern edition of his plays comprising fifty-one in a volume of a thousand closely printed pages; and yet these are said to have been but a portion of his writings. In length they are about the same as those of the great English dramatist, and

some of them are said to have been written in a single night. The dramas of Chikamatsu deal with all manner of subjects, and show a wide knowledge of the history and institutions of Japan and China, and also of Buddhism and Shinto.

The Japanese people have an unbounded admiration for the works of their greatest dramatist, and have no hesitation in comparing him to the master of the English stage.

Certainly there are some resemblances between Chikamatsu and Shakespeare. In both, comedy frequently treads on the heels of tragedy, and prose is often intermixed with poetry. The language of monarchs and nobles is allowed to alternate with the speech of the common people. In both dramatists there is a disposition toward the historical play. Both reveal a marvelous facility of language and both are tainted with the grosser element rejected by the more refined tastes of later times. But whatever may be said for Shakespeare, it must be held that Chikamatsu is very far removed from the classical. The portraiture of character is somewhat rudimentary, the philosophy of life is considerably wanting in originality and depth, and there is a preponderance of blood and murder that tends to reflect upon the audiences of his time. Chikamatsu loved to make the blood of his hearers curdle and their flesh creep, and they loved to have it so. As to the quality of the poetic portions of the plays of Chikamatsu there is no comparison with Shakespeare at all. Though there is metre, rhythmical cadence, fit language and some play of fancy, there is real poetry in but a very modest degree. Moreover, the habit of playing on words and using pivot words in his poems must be regarded as a serious blemish from a literary point of view, though no doubt these characteristics added much to the enjoyment of the play by the people of the time.

Notwithstanding these faults, Chikamatsu must forever occupy an important place in the dramatic history of his country. Just as the writers of *No*-drama had done much to extend the trite forms of conventional Japanese verse beyond their narrow limits and traditional uses, so Chikamatsu



CHIKAMATSU, THE SHAKESPEARE OF JAPAN

set poetry a still larger freedom and brought it into closer connection with actual life. The older poetry was like a trim little flower-bed in a garden nook; but that of Chikamatsu is like a wealth of wild flowers in fields and woods.

In studying the plays of Chikamatsu it must be borne in mind that character is usually made subsidiary to events, and personality to such virtues as loyalty and filial piety. Stress is constantly laid more on an interesting variation of events than upon the depiction of great character, the latter being for the most part of the traditional or conventional cast. The audience of the day naturally called more for an interesting alternation of events than for any profound revelation of personality; and Chikamatsu gave them what they wanted.

BEET SUGAR AND THE TARIFF

NOW that a Democratic administration, with a majority in both branches of Congress, is attempting tariff revision for the first time in nearly twenty years, it is natural to recall some of the circumstances connected with the last undertaking of this kind, known as the Wilson bill, in President Cleveland's second administration. It happens that there are several noteworthy parallelisms in the tariff situations of 1894 and 1913, respectively. In each instance the narrow margin of votes in the Senate induced strenuous efforts to defeat the declared purposes of the administration on two schedules—those of wool and sugar. So far as sugar is concerned, the resemblances in the present situation to that of 1894 are largely offset by striking and fundamental differences.

As is clearly brought out by Dr. Roy G. Blakey, of Cornell University, in an article contributed to the June number of the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago), there have been in this country, during the past twenty years, enormous changes, both in the consumption and in the sources of sugar supply. He points out that in 1894 our total



PLANTING A FIELD OF SUGAR BEETS: SOWING THE SEED

consumption was 2,000,000 long tons (2240 pounds). In 1912 the consumption was 3,500,000 tons, an increase of 75 per cent. In 1894 it was 66.6 pounds per capita; in 1912, 81.3 pounds. Furthermore, the sugar outputs of Cuba, the Philippines, and Porto Rico, which have come under our flag or protectorate since 1894, have been greatly increased. At that time also we imported from Europe considerable quantities of beet-sugar. Now we import practically none from this source. Our own beet-sugar industry was producing, in 1894, only 20,000 tons. At the present time its output is 625,000,000 tons. Louisiana's production of cane sugar, on the other hand, is now practically the same that it was in 1894, and is less than one-half the domestic beet-sugar output.

The beet-sugar industry of the world is peculiarly a product of subsidies. It was literally established by the famous imperial decree of Napoleon, issued during the time of the Continental blockade in 1811. This decree was immediately followed by a series of scientific experiments and legislation, which gradually, but steadily, promoted the development of the industry. By the end of the nineteenth century the production of beet sugar stood as two to one compared with that of cane sugar. The scientific experiments which had caused this remarkable development had been furthered by systems of tariffs and excises which offered every inducement to manufacturers and growers to escape taxation by improvement of beets, processes of manufacture, and efficiency of machinery. The result was a trebling of the sugar content of the beet and an increase in the yield of refined sugar per acre in even greater proportion.

Aroused by these wonderful achievements of European industry, Americans made repeated attempts, beginning as early at least as 1830, to establish beet-sugar manufacture in nearly all sections of the United States, but up to the time of the formation of the original sugar trust by cane sugar refiners in 1887 only one of these beet-sugar enterprises had survived, that at Alvarado, California.

The McKinley bill of 1890 recognized and encouraged the beet-sugar industry by a manufacturer's bounty of two cents per pound, to continue fourteen years, and by provision of free importation of beet seed and sugar machinery. Several factories were built about this time in Nebraska, California, Utah, and Colorado, and a few of the States



CATERPILLAR ENGINE WITH PLOW AND HARROW PREPARING GROUND FOR SOWING

offered bounties, the constitutionality of which was at once called in question, with the result that they were ultimately lost to the manufacturers. The Wilson bill of 1894 repealed the federal bounty and supplied an ad valorem tariff rate of 40 per cent., plus a half cent per pound differential for refiners, thus giving much less protection to the domestic industries. The Dingley tariff of 1897 increased the duty on refined sugar to $1.95 per hundred pounds, and on 95-degree centrifugals $1.65, and provided for complete countervailing of all foreign bountied sugar. Concessions were later made to Cuba and our insular possessions, and a reduction from $1.95 to $1.90 on refined sugar was made in the Payne-Aldrich bill of 1909.

Six factories had been built prior to 1897. Within about two years after the passage of the Dingley bill twenty-four new factories were erected, twelve of which failed. In the two years, 1900-1901, ten more were built, which had a similar record. But in 1902-1906, inclusive, thirty-seven new factories were erected, and H. O. Havemeyer acquired extensive interests in existing beet-sugar factories and in the erection of others. During the season of 1912 seventy-three factories were in operation, three others were idle, and one new one is in process of construction. Of the factories erected since 1902 comparatively few have failed.

The principal beet-sugar centers of the country are in Michigan, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and California. In 1912-13, Colorado led in sugar production, with California, Utah, Ohio, Nebraska, Idaho, and Wisconsin following in the order given. Colorado produces the beets richest in sugar, but Montana, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho are comparatively well adapted to the industry. Michigan and Wisconsin have the advantage of lower wage rates than the Western States, and no expense for irrigation.

The total amount of land devoted to beet-sugar production in the United States in 1912 was about 600,000 acres. The Department of Agriculture at Washington has estimated that this country has at least 274,000,000 acres of land adapted to sugar-beet production. At the present yield 4,000,000 acres would supply our entire sugar consumption.

Since there has been an increase in the average yield per acre of beets during the past ten years, as well as a slight improvement in the sugar content of the beet, we now get

about 2400 or 2500 pounds of sugar per acre harvested, as compared with 2000 to 2100 pounds ten or twelve years ago. The average price paid the farmers for beets in the United States, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, has increased from about $4.10 per short ton in 1897 to about $5.80 at the present time.

Comparing American conditions with those of Germany, Dr. Blakey finds that in the latter country the average yield of beets is about one-third larger than ours, and the sugar content about a quarter richer, so that her sugar yield per acre is from 50 to 60 per cent. greater than ours. The price of beets is lower in Germany than in the United States, so that German factories, having to pay a lower price for richer beets, get their raw material very much cheaper than do the American factories. The difference in the cost of the finished product is from one-half a cent to a cent per pound. The French beet tonnage is higher than the American, but the sugar extraction is lower, so that the yield of refined product per acre is about the same as in the United States, though the price per ton of beets is lower. The German beet-sugar producers have the advantage over the American manufacturers in the cost of raw material, but American factories operate upon a larger scale, and investigations have shown that the larger the factory the cheaper the unit cost of production.

Formidable competition does not come, however, from European beet sugar, but from the cane sugar of the tropics, and especially from Cuba. Since the granting, in 1903, of the American concession of 20 per cent. of tariff duties, the sugar output of Cuba has more than doubled, and is now 2,250,000 long tons. Cuba has become the largest sugar exporter in the world, supplying half the United States consumption, that is, practically all that is not supplied by the insular possessions and the domestic industries. Modern sugar plantations in Cuba, under present financing and management, are producing sugar more cheaply than Germany or any other important beet-growing country. It is said that the cost is below that of any other cane-exporting country, unless it be Java. While the present sugar production in the Philippines is relatively small, it seems to have been demonstrated that the country is well adapted to sugar production. The possibilities of American exploitation of the tropics have hardly been realized as yet. The Porto Rico sugar output has increased thirteenfold in the last thirteen years.

As to the ability of the American beet-sugar industry to compete with Cuba, Dr. Blakey points out that we are very far behind Europe in the matter of seed selection, breeding, and adaptation, as well as in the utilization of by-products, and in the matter of crop rotation.

He concludes that the average beet-sugar producer in the United States would be on about equal terms of competition on the matter of direct or absolute costs if the tariff were reduced one-half. The chief difficulty of the United States sugar producers, as compared with those of other countries, is in farm labor costs. This is due to the extremely large proportion of hand labor required in beet culture. From half to three-quarters of the work is done by hand, and hence the high wages paid in this country have much more effect in raising the unit cost than in the case of cereal production, for example, where most of the labor is performed by machinery and horses. In Europe labor is relatively abundant and cheap, and land is relatively scarce and high; in the United States the reverse is true. This is the fundamental reason for Germany's advantage in beet-sugar production. Cuban labor may not be so much cheaper, especially when effectiveness is considered, but Cuba's soil and climatic conditions put her upon even better terms for competing in open markets.

Dr. Blakey is inclined to think that a sugar industry established as ours has been at great expense should not be threatened by too rapid tariff reductions. The pending schedule, if adopted, will probably injure Louisiana and Hawaii as cane producers more rapidly and severely than domestic beet-sugar producers. As to the cost of living, the most that can be expected from immediate free sugar would be a reduction of about $1.30 per capita each year.

Admitting that the promises and attempts of the Democratic party to reduce the tariff and the cost of living are in the right direction, Dr. Blakey believes that the people have been led, as is usually the case, to expect more from such legislation than is possible.

Reduction in the tariff can lower high prices, but by a ridiculously small amount as compared with the extent of the rise in prices since 1897. Factors other than the tariff are more fundamental in this connection. The present administration may well pray that unfavorable seasons and scant crops may not accompany its legislative enactments, and that the apprehensions and uncertainties attending tariff transition may not topple over an insecure financial and industrial structure. Conditions have changed considerably in the two decades since the Democrats last revised the tariff; human psychology is still much the same.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

A TIMELY contribution to the current discussion of American railroad accidents, their cause and prevention, is offered by Mr. Samuel O. Dunn, the editor of the *Railway Age Gazette,* in the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly.*

In Mr. Dunn's opinion the accident problem is the most difficult one that has to be faced at the present time by American railroads, and in saying this Mr. Dunn does not minimize the importance of the problems of railroad discrimination and reasonable rates. But he contends that our record for railroad accidents is worse than those of most other leading countries, and that while it is better than formerly, it is not improving as fast as it should. In the year ending June 30, 1912, there were 10,585 persons killed on our railroads, and 169,538 injured. Mr. Dunn's analysis of these figures leads to several surprising disclosures.

For instance, most people believe that a majority of the railroad fatalities and injuries that occur from year to year in this country result from train accidents of one kind or another, but Mr. Dunn finds from his examination of the records that if there had not been a single accident to a train in the United States in the year ending June 30, 1912, .92 per cent. of the persons who were killed and 90 per cent. of those who were injured on railroads would have been killed and injured none the less. Carrying his investigation a step farther, Mr. Dunn finds that if there had not been a single collision in that year, 96.5 per cent. of those who were killed and 95.3 per cent. of all who were injured would have suffered none the less.

It must be remembered, also, that defects in the physical equipment of the railroads are not the sole causes of accidents. The Interstate Commerce Commission has stated that "the most disquieting and perplexing feature in the problem of accident prevention is the large proportion of train accidents caused by derelicts in their duty, by the employees involved, by far the greatest number of our serious train accidents are due to the failure of some responsible employee in performing his essential duty at a critical moment." Such failures occur even on trains operated under the block system.

Turning to the statistics of accidents not properly to be classed as "train accidents," Mr. Dunn finds that some of these are partly or mainly due to defects in the railroad plant. For example, he would attribute the killing of non-trespassers at highway crossings to such a defect, since an entirely satisfactory plant would not have grade crossings. The killing of employees while coupling and uncoupling cars is partly due to defective couplers, but chiefly to the carelessness of the employees, for over 99 per cent. of all locomotives and cars are now fitted with automatic couplers in compliance with the Federal law.

Summing up the facts reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Dunn finds that accidents are due (1) to plant failures; (2) to combined plant failures and man failures; (3) to man failures; (4) to trespassing. There is, however, a deeper cause, out of which these immediate causes all grow. This cause of the causes Mr. Dunn defines as a spirit of carelessness or recklessness on the part of many who are concerned, directly or indirectly, with railroad operation. This spirit is not shown in railroad operation alone. A striking illustration of it is the fact that the number of people killed by automobiles in the streets of New York City in 1912 was 146, while the number of railway passengers killed in train accidents in the entire country was only 139.

Mr. Dunn indulges in no hope of removing this underlying "cause of causes" short of a complete revolution in human nature. He therefore devotes his attention to the problem of reducing or eliminating the immediate causes. After much study of railway accidents, he has become convinced of the need of three remedies. In the first place, strict laws against trespassing should be enacted and enforced. This has been done in Canada, England and on the continent of Europe, and in Mr. Dunn's opinion is responsible for the most marked difference between railroad accident statistics in those countries and in our own. In only six States in this country—New York, New Hampshire, Maine, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island—are there laws specifically prohibiting all trespassing on railroad property.

Mr. Dunn is convinced that the thing needed to cause the second largest reduction in causes and the greatest reduction in injuries is better discipline among employees.

In administering this discipline the managements of the railroads must be backed by public sentiment, not by law. In England the rules of the companies, on approval by the Board of Trade, become a law, any violation of which is a criminal offense. In effect the same thing is true in Canada and on the continent of Europe. The Interstate Commerce Commission recommends the standardizing of rules by legislation.

As a remedy for fatalities and injuries, Mr. Dunn ranks improvement of the physical plants third in importance; yet it is needed. "But installing block signals, substituting steel or steel underframe passenger cars for wooden cars, widening clearances, strengthening tracks, eliminating grade crossings, and introducing other improvements needed for safety alone would literally cost billions. If automatic train control on steam railways should be successfully developed, its installation would cost other hundreds of millions. To make all the improvements in our railways needed for safety would cost an average of from $20,000 to $30,000 a mile, and I am convinced that the roads could not raise the necessary capital or pay return on it for an indefinite period unless the public should permit advances in their rates and net earnings."

The great immediate need, as Mr. Dunn views it, is to enlighten and crystallize public opinion. This, he thinks, may best be done by creating a national commission to investigate and report on the whole accident problem. "The investigation, report, and recommendations of this commission should deal with all phases of the problem, including methods of abating the trespassing evil; what reforms should be adopted by the railway managements in the selection, training, and discipline of employees; what legislation, if any, there should be regarding operating rules and the punishment of violations of them; what improvements should be made in the physical plants; and what should be done by the railway managements and the regulative authorities to further these improvements."

LOCAL OPTION IN GERMANY

"HALF a million German men and women have presented a petition to the Reichstag for the introduction of local option on the drink question—the adults of every community, without distinction of sex, to decide by their votes whether the sale of alcoholic drinks is therein to be permitted freely, to be restricted, or to be forbidden altogether. Neither the Reichstag nor the Federal Council shows any disposition to consider the question; however, this is more likely to act as a spur than as a discouragement to the Puritanial temperance fanatics."

With this beginning, a writer in *Die Gegenwort* enters upon a discussion of the temperance question in Germany as compared with other countries, especially England and the United States. So far as wine is concerned, he says, to renounce that is, in England and America, a mere foregoing of sour grapes—a renunciation of what you haven't got. The fight in those countries is in the main a fight against whiskey drinking. And so far as the anti-drinking movement in Germany is directed to this end, it is deserving of hearty support. The writer continues:

> The necessity for an organized campaign against certain glaring evils caused by alcoholic drinks is such a matter of course that it can be justified without reference to an abstinence principle. The remarkable success of the boycott of the German working-classes against whiskey must not be attributed to ethical motives or motives of abstinence, but entirely to party and financial considerations. No one would think of denying that such a movement fulfils at the same time a moral mission, but that is not its primary object. In England, where alcohol is really boycotted on principle, and every sixth person is a convinced believer in total abstinence, the case is wholly different. In that country, where wine is scarce and beer is bad, the essential thing was to carry on an organized campaign against ardent spirits in their worst and most dangerous form. The alarmingly great consumption of spirits, the higher percentage of alcohol in English beer, the disappearance of the old genial inn-parlors and tables, the nerve-racking, mad pursuit of business in the large cities, which leads not to a desire to realize the higher meanings of life but to a passion for stupefaction—all this has brought about a demoralization of drinking customs which perforce challenged the defensive powers of society.

That the temperance movement has, however, on the whole, been a failure in England, the writer in *Die Gegenwort* is convinced; he refers to the prevalence of secret or unsocial drinking in English prohibition communities, and also to the return to the license system in certain suburban towns which had given prohibition a trial. From

this German's standpoint, the cause of this failure, and the prospect that the failure will be permanent, lies deep in the nature of the matter; the fundamental vice of prohibition is that it undertakes to rationalize a mystery.

The same hand that takes the whiskey bottle from the alcohol fiend spills the sacramental wine, and snatches the wine-cup from the poet, the singer, the hero. It is not only the choice between whiskey and Seltzer-water that is in issue—it is countless possibilities of happiness, little understood in either of the two opposing camps, the innocence of enjoyment, the capacity for inspiration of generations. To pass judgment on such values by means of a plebiscite is, to say the least, a hazardous proceeding. We should not wage war against drinking; we should ennoble it.

HARMLESS FOOD DRINKS

ALL races of mankind discover at some period of their development the agreeable qualities of nerve-excitants, these falling usually in the two classes of the alcohols and the alkaloids. But the later experience of each race demonstrates the dangers involved in indulgence in alcoholic drinks and even in the immoderate imbibing of such beverages as coffee and tea.

The third step of progress is twofold, consisting of zealous temperance propaganda on the one hand, and on the other of efforts to pluck the sting from the dear familiar table companions that have been loved not wisely but too well.

Dr. Viktor Grafe, of the University of Vienna, writes on this subject in *Prometheus* (Vienna, July 27) with special reference to preparations of the South American stimulant *maté* and to preparations of what may be called *denatured* coffee, *i. e.*, coffee with a large percentage of its caffein extracted, but retaining its aroma. He writes:

The joy of nerve excitement in any race follows the path of a curve whose ascending line, beginning at a certain period of development, rises to a topmost point, at which reaction takes place and the downward slope begins. This downward curve, to be sure, will probably never sink to the level of its starting point, since it is highly improbable that any race will entirely abandon wine, beer, tobacco, coffee, tea, etc.

But reaction has already set in strongly in Europe and America. We begin to bethink ourselves that with the agreeable effect of the stimulant on the nerves is an injurious effect produced by the poison in the stimulant. For the zenith of civilization often goes hand in hand with a severe tax on the nervous system, especially under the strenuous modern conditions of the struggle for existence.

And this induces an augmented use of nerve-stimulants, so that an increasingly large percentage of civilized mankind falls victim to such stimulant-poisons; this is already commonly shown in the condition of irritable nervousness.

This is quite apart from an invalid condition, in which an injured organism must renounce a favorite stimulant, even in the small amounts quite harmless to a sound body.

Hence reaction has already set in. But efforts are making in various quarters to diminish to a negligible degree the percentage of the irritating element of the stimulant by means of artificial chemical action. The great difficulty in this, of course, is to remove the poison without losing the agreeable qualities of flavor and aroma.

Other efforts are being directed to the production of non-injurious substitutes for well-known favorite "tipples."

The most promising of these substitutes is the infusion of *maté*, the dried leaves of a South American shrub. An infusion of this yields a drink which is said to be refreshing and restorative with no injurious after effects.

This contains an alkaloid similar to caffein but milder in its physiological effects. The stimulant qualities are, however, not lacking. Hunger and thirst are abated and a sense of refreshment produced without harmful after effects even with very copious use.

The taste is distinctive and is said to be "hearty and strong," due to the quantities of tannin and aromatic substances contained. A liking for it must be acquired, and it is then very agreeable to European and American palates. The beverage has long been warmly treasured in South American homes.

Modern methods have improved the harvests both in quantity and in flavor, so that *maté* will shortly find wide appreciation in Europe also, especially since the price of this stimulant is lower than that of any other.

The simplest form of *maté*, the dried twigs and leaves, sells at fifty pfennig per kilo, and a second drawing may be made from it, as from tea-leaves, with the advantage that this second brew is not of inferior quality. It is expected, therefore, to find wide acceptance among soldiers, laborers, and the poorer classes.

But another form of *maté*, designed to please more sophisticated palates, has very

scarce, have literally been submerged by the pile of soiled wash staring them in the face with persistent regularity each week.

But now the overworked farm wife of Chatfield and vicinity has more leisure and energy for other things.

> There will be increased time and strength for the mother to interest herself in her children, their associates, their entertainments and their education. There will be more time and strength for the mothers in any one locality to come together and bring their common interest and their combined strength to the bettering of all their common conditions. There will be more time for the study of preparing balanced rations for the family diet. There will be more time to study sanitation, purify water supplies and to carry out the plans which will help to improve the grounds round about farm homes.

Considered solely from the financial side, the coöperative laundry is an economical institution, for with the amount of time spent at the wash-tub and at the ironing-board, the mending was often neglected, so that clothes had to be replaced more frequently. In addition, there were also the doctor's bills resulting from overworked bodies, overstrained nerves, pneumonia, and colds from exposure. Now there is a considerable saving in all these items.

This rural laundry has not only won the commendation of the patrons of the creamery, but the people of the village and the surrounding country gladly make use of it, carrying their wash-baskets to platforms from which they are collected and taken to the laundry. Even the people of the surrounding towns send their baskets of soiled clothes to the laundry by train. Being a coöperative institution, the laundry is run not as a money-making proposition chiefly, but for its benefit to the community, and just pride is taken in the quality of the work turned out.

We are not surprised to be told by the writer that many inquiries regarding this enterprise have already come to the promoters of the Chatfield laundry from various parts of the country, which may result in the establishment of similar rural laundries elsewhere. It is certainly to be hoped that Miss Whedon is correct in her stated opinion that "the day is bound to come when it [the coöperative laundry] will be as common a thing as creameries and cheese factories." For this much desired relief from the unwarranted physical wear and tear of family washing processes, there would undoubtedly arise from farmers' wives all over the country a pæan of heartfelt thanksgiving.

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THE East and West meet in deep and mutual appreciation of the supreme literary gifts of the Hindu singer, Rabindranath Tagore, India's greatest lyric poet and spiritual and patriotic leader. Mr. Tagore is at the present time in America, where already he has gained a large constituency of admirers, although but a comparatively small portion of his work is available in translation.

His influence upon India for the last thirty years has been enormous; he has practically reconstructed the rational ideals of the masses through a wide dissemination of his poetry. Even our Western men of letters have felt the force of his genius: Yates confessed he has carried a volume of Tagore's Bengali lyrics in his pocket for ten years. Many British literary men and women have begun to study Bengali—the better to appreciate the beauty of Tagore in the original tongue.

The poet was born in 1860 and was carefully trained and educated by a spiritually minded father who believed the "school of nature" to be superior to the "walls of the classroom."

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Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy, in the *Open Court* (Chicago) for July, gives a complete and satisfactory outline of Tagore's life and literary accomplishments. Of his ancestry he writes:

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"Shelburne Essays," "The Drift of Romanticism,"[1] for here is Mr. More agreeing with Mr. Huneker about Pater's hard, gemlike-flame doctrine in a rather lengthy critical essay. More defends his condemnation of Pater in the words of one Blair, an old Scotch preacher: "To aim at a constant succession of high and vivid sensations of pleasure is an idea of happiness altogether chimerical. Instead of those fallacious hopes of perpetual festivity with which the world would allure us, religion confers upon us a cheerful tranquillity." We are a little suspicious of that cheerful Scotch tranquillity. Mr. More's papers on Huxley, Cardinal Newman, William Beckford (the master of Fonthill), and Definitions of Dualism, reveal all the essentials of a highly developed critical faculty. Taken together, they point out the steady romantic drift of the nineteenth century.

Modern Romanticism

Mr. Arthur Christopher Benson has a large reading public on this side of the water. If this public has heretofore read his books with the thought that, after all, the pleasant meditations of a man who lived sequestered from heartache and tantalizing worldly relationships could not give the man in the ruck of life much durable satisfaction, this public will change its mind after reading "Thy Rod and Thy Staff,"[2] the sequel to "The Silent Isle." Ill health came upon Mr. Benson, "neurasthenia, hypochondria, melancholia, hideous names for hideous things," and his complacency vanished. Through ways of misery he searches for God and, finding Him, walks "beside still waters," suffering in body, but exalted in mind and spirit. You will remember that Mr. Benson was a lover of solitude. Here is his new gospel of sanity, the pungent, humble truth of the book: "I have learnt by experience that it is not good to be much alone. . . . It is a sweet cup enough, but a subtle poison lurks in its pale, beaded, amber transparency. It is mischievous, because in solitude the mind runs its own busy race unchecked. To have to mix with other people, to find things that interest them, to humor them, to watch their glance and gestures, to try to be agreeable, is a real and wholesome discipline."

New Book By A. C. Benson

"Along the Road," another volume of essays by Mr. Benson, is in this author's accustomed vein, with added cheerfulness and somewhat less introspection.[3] Both books bring us nearer to the heart of life, to its genial kindliness and warm sympathy.

John Burroughs gives us science and scientific speculation in a collection of essays, "Time and Chance."[4] Burroughs loves the earth not for what he can get out of it to feed mind and body, but simply because it is the earth, and because its history, limned in rock and ledge and fossil-clay, inspires him with marvel and reverence. And for the reason that he truly loves to think and write of the "long road" of evolution, his book is a delight. The chapters deal with subjects that have to do with the different phases of evolution,—"The Divine Abyss," "The Grand Canyon of the Colorado," "Primal Energies," "Phantoms of the Past." One phrase of "The Gospel of Nature" stands vividly in remembrance: "The worlds are only red corpuscles in the arteries of the Infinite."

The Philosophy of John Burroughs

Roswell Park, M. D., offers a volume of studies in "anthropology, biology, philology, and history." Notable among the studies is his well-known address on "Thanatology" and a paper on "Iatro-Theugic Symbolism."[5] Dr. Park is an amazingly entertaining writer, who possesses the gift of presenting his research and fact knowledge in this borderland of medical science with simplicity and vitality. The book compels attention, is more thrilling than a Wild-West story, and amply rewards the reader with a harvest of curious facts.

Essays by a Surgeon

"New Thought" is a movement that has appeared to be, like Joseph's coat, "of many colors." Charles Brodie Patterson expounds its latest doctrines in a new book, "What Is New Thought?"[6] Of course, New Thought is old thought in a new dress that brings forgotten or neglected truths to light and shows their applications to life. This book points the way to attain poise, self-control, and freedom from mental and physical bondage. The chapter on the cultivation of the mind reveals Dr. Patterson at his best. He suggests that knowledge will come more abundantly to us if we cultivate tactfulness, ideality, concentration, meditation, and practical application before we lean too heavily upon our mental prop of fact-knowledge. It is difficult to find a more helpful or inspiring book. The author's statement of the principles of New Thought is masterly in its definitive skill and wisdom.

Principles of "New Thought"

Elsie Clews Parsons has gathered together primitive fancies about womenkind in her book, "The Old-Fashioned Woman."[7] The material is intended as food for the feminist and the anti-feminist, and the author cleverly observes that "feminism and anti-feminism are both made up of primitive ideas." She considers that the two schools will get into better agreement when they become ethnologically conscious of themselves.

Feminism and Anti-Feminism

Mary Taylor Blauvelt offers an exceedingly interesting and original book, "Solitude Letters."[8] It is a discussion between a woman writer and her correspondent of literature, prominent personalities, social and economic questions, marriage, ideals, and friendship. One of the causes of the failure of many modern marriages the author finds to be that women are prone to consider marriage an end in itself, and where we make any state final, growth stops. There is not a dull page in the book.

A Woman's Philosophy

[1] The Drift of Romanticism. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin. 302 pp. $1.25.
[2] Thy Rod and Thy Staff. By Arthur Christopher Benson. Putnam. 300 pp. $1.50.
[3] Along the Road. By Arthur Christopher Benson. Putnam. 462 pp. $1.25.
[4] Time and Chance. By John Burroughs. Houghton Mifflin. 279 pp. $1.10.
[5] Evil Eye: Thanatology and other Essays. By Roswell Park. Boston: Badger. 380 pp. $1.50.
[6] What is New Thought? By Charles Brodie Patterson. Crowell. 235 pp. $1.
[7] The Old-Fashioned Woman. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Putnam. $1.50.
[8] Solitude Letters. By Mary Taylor Blauvelt. Sherman, French. 216 pp. $1.30.

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Amongst the Tagores are counted men like Prosonno Koomar Tagore, a landowner, a lawyer of great reputation, an editor, a writer on legal and educational subjects, founder and president of the British India Association; Raja Sir Sourindra Mohun Tagore, undoubtedly one of the highest musical authorities in India, the founder of the Bengal Music School and the Bengal Academy of Music, and author of many volumes on Hindu music and musical instruments; Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, a distinguished painter, and an undisputed leader in the Hindu art revival; Maharaja Ramanath Tagore, brother of our poet's grandfather, a political leader and writer; Dwarakanath Tagore, the grandfather of the poet, a landlord, a founder of the Landholders' Society, a philanthropist, a social reformer, preëminently an agitator against the suttee, an ardent worker for the "identification of the feelings and interests of the Indians with their government," anxious to "strengthen the bond which unites India with Great Britain."

It was in such a family—a family that combined culture with wealth and leisure, that Rabindranath first saw the light of day. It is said that born poets are generally handsome. Rabindranath was no exception to the general rule. He has long been famous in India both for his poetry and beauty. Indeed, his youthful portraits bear a striking resemblance to the best pictures of the poet of Galilee who wrote not a single verse, but who hallowed the world with the majestic poetry of his life and sayings. The Hindu poet's flowing hair; his broad, unfurrowed forehead; his bright, black, magnetic eyes, chiseled nose, firm but gentle chin, delicate sensitive hands, his sweet voice, pleasant smile, keen sense of humor, and his innate refinement, make him a man of rare and charming personality. To look at him is to notice the true embodiment of the artist.

Tagore is primarily a poet but his versatility is so great that his genius finds expression in many channels.

To name a few of his activities and accomplishments: he is a profound philosopher, a spiritual and patriotic leader, an historical investigator, a singer and composer, an able editor (having edited four different magazines, *Sadhana, Bangadarsan, Bharati* and *Tattwabodhini*), a far-sighted educator, and a kind and considerate administrator of his vast "Zamindary" estate. But he is, above all, the poet—the poet of love. Love flows from his heart, mind and soul in a continuous stream, assuming all different forms in its windings from the gross to the spiritual, from the known to the unknown, from the finite to the infinite. He interprets love in all its multiform expressions—the love of mother, of son, husband, wife, lover, beloved, patriot, of the Dionysian, nature-drunk, and of the God-frenzied. Each and every one of these he portrays with his characteristic softness of touch that recalls the lyrics of Théophile Gautier, and with the exquisite felicity of Shelley and Keats.

His gospel is not the gospel of renunciation. The passionless bliss of the religious devotee is to him but a pale shadow of love that is triumphant. He says in one of his poems:



RABINDRANATH TAGORE, THE INDIAN POET AND LEADER OF THOUGHT, NOW IN AMERICA

My salvation shall never come through renunciation. I shall enjoy the triumph of salvation amidst the innumerable bondages of this world. . . . My *Maya* will evolve itself into *Mukti*, and my love will transform itself into adoration.

Mr. Roy writes concerning Mr. W. B. Yeats' conception of Tagore's single poetic theme—"the love of God."

In his poem, "The Infinite Love," Rabindranath Tagore, who combines in his poetry the idealistic flights of Shelley, the luxuriant imagery of Keats, the exalted beauty of Tennyson, and the spiritual fervor of Thomas à Kempis, strikes the dominant note of his life and work, both of which have been tremendously influenced by the sublime philosophy and the eloquent natural beauties of India. The poem as translated by the poet himself reads:

"I have ever loved thee in a hundred forms and times,
Age after age, in birth following birth.
The chain of songs that my fond heart did weave
Thou graciously didst take round thy neck,
Age after age, in birth following birth.

"When I listen to the tales of the primitive past,
The love-pangs of the far distant times,
The meetings and partings of the ancient ages—
I see thy form gathering light
Through the dark dimness of Eternity
And appearing as a star ever fixed in the memory of the ALL.

"We two have come floating by the twin currents of love
That well up from the inmost heart of the Beginningless.

We two have played in the lives of myriad lovers
In tearful solitude of sorrow
In tremulous shyness of sweet union,
In old, old love ever renewing its life.

"The onrolling flood of the love eternal
Hath at last found its perfect final course.
All the joys and sorrows and longings of the heart,
All the memories of the moments of ecstasy,
All the love-lyrics of poets of all climes and times
Have come from the everywhere
And gathered in one single love at thy feet."

PRESERVING WOOD BY ELECTRICITY

SINCE wood exposed to air and moisture tends to decay rapidly, it has long been the practice to fortify it for outdoor use by the injection of preservative chemicals which combat this tendency.

The chemicals ordinarily used for this purpose are creosote, copper sulphate, barium chloride, the alkaline fluorides, etc. These antiseptic liquids are generally driven into the wood either by pressure or by a vacuum. When the preservatives are soluble, however, they are gradually dissolved by rain and dew and washed away. Hence an improved method consists in making two successive injections of substances which react on each other chemically and thereby precipitate insoluble antiseptic products in the mass of the wood.

But these processes are said to fail to preserve the "heart" of the wood and also fail to remove certain "pockets" of air which injure the keeping qualities of the wood. They are also quite costly and tie up large quantities of capital because of the large plants required, the time occupied in curing, the costs of storing, of transportation, etc.

In a late number of *Cosmos* (Paris) Dr. Charles Nodon describes a process of curing wood, discovered by him, of treating wood by electricity, for which very remarkable claims are made as to simplicity, efficiency and economy.

As early as 1894 he made the discovery that the electric current produced an energetic action upon wood, the result of which was to impart new and valuable qualities.

He then devised the new process called the "electrical mineralization of wood." The wood was impregnated with antiseptic *conducting* liquids and then subjected to the electric current by means of electrodes placed between layers of the wood.

Dr. Nodon's first efforts to put his theories in practice were effective but costly, and demanded a cumbrous equipage. Certain improvements were made by him in 1903, and in 1906 he perfected the present process, which is declared to be as simple in method as it is valuable in result. It requires neither factory and lumber yards nor drying kilns, since it is applied in the forest where the trees are felled.

The necessary equipment is comparatively small and inexpensive, consisting of a locomobile made to burn wood; a small portable saw and a dynamo with alternating current, both operated by the motor; and finally the required electrodes, cable conductors, and incandescent lamps—the latter being merely to enable the work to go on at night.

The inventor recommends that the work be done in summer, when days are longer and nights warmer, since a warm, dry atmosphere is favorable to the process.

He continues:

> When the trees are felled they are cut into joists and subjected to electric treatment. The joists are placed flat on a loose floor, care being taken to place a moist electrode between each layer of wood.
>
> It should be stated that the joists are arranged in piles for the application of the treatment, which is completed in about ten days. The work goes on continuously, each pile, after treatment, being dismounted and rearranged as a *drying pile* in a windy space.

"The invention of this process was directly consequent on discoveries made by Dr. Nodon regarding the curious changes made in cellulose and its derivatives by prolonged application of the electric current. He says:

> Cellulose and its derivatives, as well as the materials chiefly composing sap, undergo profound transformations under the continued action of a sufficiently intense electric current, the consequence of which is to confer immunity against all germs of decay, such as bacteria, nitric ferments, yeasts, etc.

He states also that the wood acquires valuable physical and mechanical properties, becoming harder, more resistant, more homogeneous, and easier to work. It is also less hygrometric, less combustible, and acquires great sonority.

In 1906 the city of Bordeaux applied a rigorous test by comparing wood thus treated with ordinary creosoted wood as to its value

for street paving. Half of the blocks used were of pine thus prepared and half of the creosoted pine.

Photographs taken of the two sections at the end of seven years' wear show a marked superiority in the former.

NEW TENDENCIES IN ART

NEW and delicate instruments are made from time to time to investigate scientific discoveries of whose phenomena our accustomed instruments make but slight and unsatisfactory record. So in the world of Art, from time to time as Art's manifestations change, we grope about in the mazes of our mental machinery to discover new sensibilities, new mental antennæ wherewith to comprehend and bring into harmony with our appreciation of beauty, that which is at first strange and incomprehensible. The International Exhibition of Modern Art, shown in various cities during the past months, has provoked this search for new powers of appreciation and a flood of comment and discussion that still shows no abatement.

Mr. W. D. MacColl, in the July *Forum,* presents "An Impression" of the exhibition which is in the nature of a refutation of the critical work ("The Post-Impressionistic Illusion") by Royal Cortissoz. That brilliant critic regards the work of the later Post-Impressionists and their artistic kin as worthy of the oblivion of the rubbish heap, whither they long ago would have been swept had it not been for the "timidity of our mental habit." Mr. MacColl holds that the works in question are worth while, if only for the reason that they bring something into our lives that was not in them before, and something to Art "that was not in the art of painting before" and which "appeals to us with all the power and charm of a quickened consciousness of the value and meaning of life itself."

Mr. MacColl proceeds to elaborate the statement that the new art is "abstract":

> An abstraction, I find in my dictionary, is the "name of a quality apart from the thing," and a quality is "that which makes the thing what it is." From which I infer that an abstraction "is the name of that which makes a thing what it is" apart from what it is—It is a Name, it is not the thing—or the Name has become the thing.
>
> *We* want to personify *Wrong?* we bear witness against our neighbor or Public Opinion? we state our own; or Justice? we make a figure with a drawn sword, a book or scales in its hand, place it in the pediment of a tall building, in the Academy or in a book—and smile securely. There it stands for all time; IT is justice and has become—stone, paint, paper. . . . It is Nothing (or no-thing) as both the master (the emancipator) and the sceptic will tell you, because it is a Name. It is your name and personification of the name; that is quite true. But, unfortunately, it has been decreed that even you must take yourself out of the way again to let life, "to let humanity decide." Life, like a wave beating on the shore, recoils upon your name, wearing down its paint, its paper and its stoniness until it may be borne in even upon you that all this juggling, all this mouthing and sleight of hand is perishable. NAME, the unspeakable alone survives. Life is a quicksilver current on which names are running through you and past you forever. Like a bud unfolding itself, truth is unfolding itself in all things. The name, the Illusion, dies in order that the Reality, life, may become quickened. *This* is humanity's goal. This apparently is what it is deciding.
>
> All this is only to say that there is no more "license" or "stupidity" or "self-assertion" in Brancusi or in Lehmbruck than in Rodin; in Picabia than in Cezanne or Bellows; in Debussy than in Wagner or Brahms. We see the same contrasts in daily life. Why not in art, which has its "masters" and its "followers," its "demagogues," its "fashionables," its "athletes," its "primitives," and even its impresarios? To all good people is given the power to name everything. Alas! not to personify everything."

Henry Rankin Poore offers in a condensed volume, "The New Tendency in Art," many of the leading arguments for and against the newer forms of Art, together with interesting opinions from noted artists and critics. It covers the field of Post-Impressionism, Cubism and Futurism with admirable lucidity. Mr. Poore is lenient in judging new forms of art-expression. He writes: "Our civilization is many sizes larger than aforetime. It inventively and furtively seeks new modes with incessant unrest." Again he quotes from Edmund Gosse:

> "Change is the pulse of life on earth;
> The artist dies but Art lives on,
> New rhapsodies are ripe for birth
> When every rhapsodist seems gone.
>
> So to my day's extremity
> May I in patience infinite
> Attend the beauty that must be
> And though it slay me welcome it."

To condense the theory of all that is given in the discussion of the recent art-tendencies would be to say that Art is seeking through divers unheard-of, strange, and astonishing paths essential truths that lead on to spiritual expansion.

PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY



DR. F. C. HOWE
(Head of the People's Institute, New York City, and author of "European Cities at Work")

"EUROPEAN Cities at Work" is the title of a new book from the pen of Dr. Frederic C. Howe, the author of "The City: the Hope of Democracy."[1] The American reading public has now become, to a certain extent, familiar with the contrasts presented by European municipal government as compared with the government of American cities. It was natural and necessary, however, that most of the earlier books dealing with this subject presented the structural aspects of city government, and perhaps laid more emphasis upon the form than on the practical workings. We have now reached a point where there is a demand for information about the actual functions of European cities, and this demand is met most satisfactorily in Dr. Howe's latest volume, which is wholly given up to an account of the activities of European cities which are closely related to the comfort and well-being of the people. Even students of the subject are hardly aware of the great change that has taken place among European cities during the past decade. Americans were surprised many years ago to learn that the German conception of city government recognized no limits to administrative functions. Whatever promotes its own welfare and the welfare of its citizens becomes, *ipso facto*, the business of the municipality. Dr. Howe shows us in his book that this German conception has spread to other countries, and what was once true in German cities only has now become true of cities elsewhere in continental Europe, and even, to a limited extent, in Great Britain. Dr. Howe's studies for this work were made from human documents, and the result is an authoritative presentation of the whole subject. It is full of suggestions for the American city-dweller who can grasp the possibilities of a broader municipal development on this side the water.

The City and the People

The various problems of the smaller towns as distinguished from those of our great cities are presented in a little volume by Professor Frank L. McVey, of the University of North Dakota. Dr. McVey's aim is to bring to light some of the more essential features of town growth and the need of careful planning. Dr. McVey's book, "The Making of a Town," is a useful and suggestive little volume.[2]

World Problems

Dr. Josiah Strong, the author of "Our Country" and other books treating of national perils and betterment movements, has broadened the scope of his inquiries, and in his most recent work, "Our World,"[3] he calls attention to a world crisis and considers certain problems, which, in his judgment, unless they are duly solved, will become imminent perils. He shows that these problems can no longer be postponed to some other age or transferred to some other people. In the present volume Dr. Strong attempts no solution of these new world problems, but only an analysis which shows their real nature and their comparative importance. In later volumes the writer hopes to make clear the application of Christianity to existing conditions, and some of the special facilities afforded by America as a great laboratory for the solution of these problems.

Immigration and Its Restriction

Immigration as a world movement, having special significance to America, is the theme of a new book by Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, of Yale.[4] Most books on immigration have been written from the view-point of some particular class affected, or, at least, from that of national interest. Professor Fairchild's view-point is also that of the American citizen, but he points out that there are interests to be taken into account aside from those of the native American workingman, or even of the American nation as a whole. He looks upon the immigration question as a part of "an inclusive conservation program for all humanity." Controverting the popular notion that a belief in the restriction of immigration is inconsistent with sympathy for the immigrant, he main-

[1] European Cities at Work. By Frederic C. Howe. Scribners. 370 pp., ill. $1.75.

[2] The Making of a Town. By Frank L. McVey. McClurg. 221 pp. $1.

[3] Our World: The New World Life. By Josiah Strong. Doubleday, Page. 291 pp. $1.

[4] Immigration. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Macmillan. 455 pp. $1.75.

tains that the restrictionist may be the truest friend of the alien.

Politics

A useful "Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics" has been prepared by Professor P. Orman Ray, of the Pennsylvania State College. Since the work was designed as a text-book, it is necessarily severely condensed and is suggestive rather than encyclopedic. Any deficiencies resulting from this method of treatment, however, are offset by the extended list of references, which include both book titles and articles in periodicals.[1]

Minimum Wage Syndicalism

The pros and cons of the minimum-wage question and of the Syndicalist movement are set forth in a little volume by James Boyle, author of "What Is Socialism?"[2] It is still too early to make helpful deductions from American experience, but Mr. Boyle has attempted a survey of State regulation of wages in England, Australia, and New Zealand. His conclusions are conservative. As to syndicalism, Mr. Boyle takes it as a consensus of opinion of students of the subject that it is "doomed to extinction as a permanent force in the evolution of industrial and social economics."

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH



HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT
(Co-author with the Rev. Charles O. Gill of "The Country Church")

The Church at the Cross-roads

IT is easy to make sweeping assertions about the decline of the country church; yet statements of this nature usually have a slender basis of fact, for in truth nobody knows from exact and long-continued observation whether the American rural church is growing or decreasing, whether it is doing its work more or less successfully than in the past, or whether it is doing all that it should do for the bettering of social conditions. There is a general impression that the country church has failed, but in what respects? Without definite answers to these questions, little is likely to be accomplished towards a retrieval of the failure, if failure there has been. Two men who believe that the country church is worth saving have started to study it as the professor advised the freshman to begin to study biology,—not with "first principles," but a bushel of clams! These men,—the Rev. Charles Otis Gill and ex-Forester Gifford Pinchot,—began with two typical rural counties, one in Vermont and the other in New York State, and proceeded to acquire such facts as these: The church-going habits of the inhabitants of the two counties at the beginning and end, respectively, of a twenty-year period, together with comparative statements of income and expenditures, the educational equipment of ministers, the relation of existing churches to density of population, and other data bearing on the general problem. It was found that while in the twenty years "church expenditures in the two counties, expressed in dollars, indicated a gain, when expressed in purchasing power they showed a loss. While membership was making a trifling gain, church attendance was suffering an alarming reduction. In a word, the vitality and power of the country church in these two counties is in decline." The authors find that the situation calls for the adoption by the church of a new program of social service.[3]

About Going to Church

A frank discussion of the question of church attendance is published under the title "Smith and the Church."[4] This little book is really a series of sermons by the Rev. Harry H. Beattys. These sermons were called out by the appearance, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1912, of an article by Mr. Meredith Nicholson, of Indiana, on "Should Smith Go to Church?" This article set forth the position of the non-church-goer in terms that seem to have commended themselves to large numbers of people, while at the same time they brought to Mr. Nicholson many personal letters taking exception to his point of view. One of those whose interest was awakened by Mr. Nicholson's essay and who was set to thinking more seriously on the position of the non-church-goer was the Rev. Dr. Beattys. One result of his thinking on the question was the series of ser-

[1] An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics. By P. Orman Ray. Scribners. 493 pp. $1.50.

[2] Minimum Wage and Syndicalism. By James Boyle. Stewart & Kidd. 136 pp. $1.

[3] The Country Church. By C. O. Gill and Gifford Pinchot. Macmillan. 219 pp. $1.25.

[4] Smith and the Church. By Harry H. Beattys. Stokes. 118 pp. 60 cents.

mons on such subjects as "Who Is Smith?" "Why Smith Does Not Go to Church," "Smith and the Preacher," "Why Shouldn't Smith Play Golf Instead of Going to Church?" "Smith in God's Out-of-Doors," "Smith, Jr.," "Is Smith Wrong or the Church?" and "What Shall the Church Do About Smith?" The present publication of these sermons is accompanied with an introduction by Mr. Nicholson himself, who says of Dr. Beattys' sermons: "Dr. Beattys pays me the compliment of meeting all my criticisms fairly in the open. He has not rummaged in the dark lumber-room of medieval theology to find answers to Smith's questions, but has discussed them comprehensively in twentieth century sunlight." Taken as a whole, this little volume sums up the question of church-going from the point of view of the average business man, giving to the business man's questions a straightforward reply from the minister's standpoint.

Religion for Men

A book that sums up some of the most vital issues of the great Men and Religion campaign of 1912 is "A Man's Religion," by Fred B. Smith, Senior Secretary of the Religious Department of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations.[1] It is said that Mr. Smith has given more than twenty-five years of his life to evangelistic work, has traveled more than 500,000 miles, and has addressed 2,000,000 men in his efforts to set forth what he regards as the fundamental concepts of "A Man's Religion." His chief concern is to rouse the men of the whole world to a vital and more aggressive Christianity. In the present volume are chapters on: "A Religion of Social Service," "A Religion of Co-operation," "A Religion of Democracy," and on various other phases of the latter-day evangelistic movement, with which Mr. Smith is himself in hearty sympathy and in which he has enlisted the interest of scores and hundreds of men.

Religion as Life

By his works in the domain of theology and ethics, President Henry Churchill King, of Oberlin College, has won for himself a hearing unconfined by denominational barriers. In his latest book, "Religion as Life," following "The Moral and Religious Challenge of Our Times," "Rational Living," and the "Laws of Friendship, Human and Divine," President King makes a practical application, as it were, of the whole trend of his thought on these lines.[2] Religion, in President King's view, must offer more abundant life to man. With or without religion, man is increasingly seeking a larger and richer life. The test of religion is its power to satisfy this quest.

New Testament Scholarship

"The Life and Teachings of Jesus" is the fifth in a series entitled "The Historical Bible," by Prof. Charles Foster Kent, of Yale.[3] The preceding volumes in the series have all dealt with the Old Testament, and the author has met with a growing appreciation on the part of thoughtful men and women of the practical results that have come from the application of modern historical and literary methods to study of the Scriptures. He believes that what is true of the Old Testament is destined, in even larger measure; to prove true of the New Testament. In the present volume he has sought to embody in a single narrative the oldest records contained in the four Gospels, so arranged as to give a simple, logical, and, as far as possible, a chronological view of the life and teachings of Jesus.

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY

Mr. Huneker's Impressions

"THE Pathos of Distance," by James Huneker, bears the fanciful subtitle, "A Book of a Thousand and One Moments."[4] Its material consists of papers written at different periods of Mr. Huneker's career, which are concerned with art, personality, and a thousand and one other things that flit before Mr. Huneker's literary telescope. "Promenades of an Impressionist" in title and introduction holds promise of an explanation of "Nu descendant un escalier" or "The Lady with the Mustard Pot"; but disappointment awaits the reader. The ever-brilliant Mr. Huneker does not understand the frenzies of the Cubists and the later Post-Impressionists any more than the humble layman in art. He does awaken interest in the revolutionary art movement as a whole, and succeeds in setting Cezanne, Gaugoin, and Van Gogh in their proper niches in the hall of fame; also he is sensitive to certain beauties in the art that seems most ridiculous; to instance, he delights in the line of Matisse, just as he does in the free, bounding line of William Blake.

The essay on "The Later George Moore" reminds us that *no* one but Huneker (at least in this country) has ever understood Moore well enough to write impartially about his contradictory personality. Huneker's tribute to Arthur Davies is a delight; his version of "The Celtic Awakening" is inspiring. "The Philosophy for Philistines" is pragmatism; the "Playboy of Western Philosophy" is Bergsen. In "The Artist and His Wife" the author discusses pro and con the arguments for the marriage of the artist, be he of any kind. This stimulating volume, as colorful as it is brilliant, ends with "A Belated Preface to Egoists." Mr. Huneker says that he adduces no particular theory of life from his book, "The Egoists," but he drops one jewel of admonition into the belated preface, which is: "If you follow Walter Pater's poetic injunction and burn always with the clear, hard flame of some artistic enthusiasm, go ahead and burn, but watch yourself—that way neurasthenia lies." This would shock the gentle Pater (were he living now) into overturning with violence that jar of dead rose leaves he kept ever beside him to allure the esthetic muse.

Into Mr. Huneker's company we must bring Mr. Paul Elmer More, with a volume of the

[1] A Man's Religion. By Fred B. Smith. New York: Association Press. 267 pp. 75 cents.

[2] Religion as Life. By Henry Churchill King. Macmillan. 194 pp. $1.

[3] The Life and Teachings of Jesus. By Charles Foster Kent. Scribners. 337 pp. $1.25.

[4] The Pathos of Distance: A Book of a Thousand and One Moments. By James G. Huneker. Scribner. $2.

"Shelburne Essays," "The Drift of Romanticism,"[1] for here is Mr. More agreeing with Mr. Huneker about Pater's hard, gemlike-flame doctrine in a rather lengthy critical essay. More defends his condemnation of Pater in the words of one Blair, an old Scotch preacher: "To aim at a constant succession of high and vivid sensations of pleasure is an idea of happiness altogether chimerical. Instead of those fallacious hopes of perpetual festivity with which the world would allure us, religion confers upon us a cheerful tranquillity." We are a little suspicious of that cheerful Scotch tranquillity. Mr. More's papers on Huxley, Cardinal Newman, William Beckford (the master of Fonthill), and Definitions of Dualism, reveal all the essentials of a highly developed critical faculty. Taken together, they point out the steady romantic drift of the nineteenth century.

Modern Romanticism

Mr. Arthur Christopher Benson has a large reading public on this side of the water. If this public has heretofore read his books with the thought that, after all, the pleasant meditations of a man who lived sequestered from heartache and tantalizing worldly relationships could not give the ma.. in the ruck of life much durable satisfaction, this public will change its mind after reading "Thy Rod and Thy Staff,"[2] the sequel to "The Silent Isle." Ill health came upon Mr. Benson, "neurasthenia, hypochondria, melancholia, hideous names for hideous things," and his complacency vanished. Through ways of misery he searches for God and, finding Him, walks "beside still waters," suffering in body, but exalted in mind and spirit. You will remember that Mr. Benson was a lover of solitude. Here is his new gospel of sanity, the pungent, humble truth of the book: "I have learnt by experience that it is not good to be much alone. . . . It is a sweet cup enough, but a subtle poison lurks in its pale, beaded, amber transparency. It is mischievous, because in solitude the mind runs its own busy race unchecked. To have to mix with other people, to find things that interest them, to humor them, to watch their glance and gestures, to try to be agreeable, is a real and wholesome discipline."

New Book By A. C. Benson

"Along the Road," another volume of essays by Mr. Benson, is in this author's accustomed vein, with added cheerfulness and somewhat less introspection.[3] Both books bring us nearer to the heart of life, to its genial kindliness and warm sympathy.

John Burroughs gives us science and scientific speculation in a collection of essays, "Time and Chance."[4] Burroughs loves the earth not for what he can get out of it to feed mind and body, but simply because it is the earth, and because its history, limned in rock and ledge and fossil-clay, inspires him with marvel and reverence. And for the reason that he truly loves to think and write of the "long road" of evolution, his book is a delight. The chapters deal with subjects that have to do with the different phases of evolution,—"The Divine Abyss," "The Grand Canyon of the Colorado," "Primal Energies," "Phantoms of the Past." One phrase of "The Gospel of Nature" stands vividly in remembrance: "The worlds are only red corpuscles in the arteries of the Infinite."

The Philosophy of John Burroughs

Roswell Park, M. D., offers a volume of studies in "anthropology, biology, philology, and history." Notable among the studies is his well-known address on "Thanatology" and a paper on "Iatro-Theugic Symbolism."[5] Dr. Park is an amazingly entertaining writer, who possesses the gift of presenting his research and fact knowledge in this borderland of medical science with simplicity and vitality. The book compels attention, is more thrilling than a Wild-West story, and amply rewards the reader with a harvest of curious facts.

Essays by a Surgeon

"New Thought" is a movement that has appeared to be, like Joseph's coat, "of many colors." Charles Brodie Patterson expounds its latest doctrines in a new book, "What Is New Thought?"[6] Of course, New Thought is old thought in a new dress that brings forgotten or neglected truths to light and shows their applications to life. This book points the way to attain poise, self-control, and freedom from mental and physical bondage. The chapter on the cultivation of the mind reveals Dr. Patterson at his best. He suggests that knowledge will come more abundantly to us if we cultivate tactfulness, ideality, concentration, meditation, and practical application before we lean too heavily upon our mental prop of fact-knowledge. It is difficult to find a more helpful or inspiring book. The author's statement of the principles of New Thought is masterly in its definitive skill and wisdom.

Principles of "New Thought"

Elsie Clews Parsons has gathered together primitive fancies about womenkind in her book, "The Old-Fashioned Woman."[7] The material is intended as food for the feminist and the anti-feminist, and the author cleverly observes that "feminism and anti-feminism are both made up of primitive ideas." She considers that the two schools will get into better agreement when they become ethnologically conscious of themselves.

Feminism and Anti-Feminism

Mary Taylor Blauvelt offers an exceedingly interesting and original book, "Solitude Letters."[8] It is a discussion between a woman writer and her correspondent of literature, prominent personalities, social and economic questions, marriage, ideals, and friendship. One of the causes of the failure of many modern marriages the author finds to be that women are prone to consider marriage an end in itself, and where we make any state final, growth stops. There is not a dull page in the book.

A Woman's Philosophy

[1] The Drift of Romanticism. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin. 302 pp. $1.25.
[2] Thy Rod and Thy Staff. By Arthur Christopher Benson. Putnam. 300 pp. $1.50.
[3] Along the Road. By Arthur Christopher Benson. Putnam. 462 pp. $1.25.
[4] Time and Chance. By John Burroughs. Houghton Mifflin. 279 pp. $1.10.
[5] Evil Eye: Thanatology and other Essays. By Roswell Park. Boston: Badger. 380 pp. $1.50.
[6] What is New Thought? By Charles Brodie Patterson. Crowell. 235 pp. $1.
[7] The Old-Fashioned Woman. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Putnam. $1.50
[8] Solitude Letters. By Mary Taylor Blauvelt. Sherman, French. 216 pp. $1.30.

The last volume (the twelfth) of the collected works of Ambrose Bierce is entitled "In Motley."[1] It includes Bierce's clever animal stories, tales of the precocious and delightful "Little Bobbie" articles, dealing with political situations during the Cuban war, and other engaging Biercian contributions to magazines and newspapers. This volume is made notable by the inclusion of that humorous gem, "An Ancient Hunter," the history of one Tudor Rosenfelt, a mythical hunter whom tradition connected with "a city of the Chinese province of Wyo Ming, his subjugation of the usurper Tammano in the American city of N'yorx, and his conquest of the island of Cubebs." Bierce reports in this amusing skit that Rosenfelt did not long survive to enjoy prosperity, as in "the year 254 B. S. the entire continent of N. A. and the contiguous island of Omaha were swallowed up by the sea."

Ambrose Bierce's Humor

BIOGRAPHY, MEMOIRS, HISTORY



MRS. REGINALD DE KOVEN

(Daughter of the late Senator Farwell, of Illinois, and author of the new authoritative biography of Admiral John Paul Jones)

THE picturesque career of John Paul Jones, the naval hero of the Revolution, has proved a shining mark for biographers. At least ten "lives" of Jones of varying interest and historical value had been published before Mrs. Reginald De Koven undertook the preparation of the two-volume "Life and Letters," just published by the Scribners.[2] Of the earlier biographers none claimed a complete knowledge of written and printed materials relating to his subject. It remained for Mrs. De Koven to examine and make use of all the documents in the government archives of the United States, England, France, and Russia, those existing in public and private libraries in this country, and many manuscripts never before utilized for such a purpose. It is not strange that Mrs. De Koven's researches brought to light many heretofore unknown incidents in Jones' life and explained many references in his correspondence that had always seemed more or less mysterious. As a result, we now have for the first time a complete elucidation of the hitherto obscure and misunderstood periods in the career of Paul Jones, and a final and truthful estimate of his life and character is now for the first time possible.

Our First Naval Hero

In Mrs. De Koven's work there are several references to the unfortunate Silas Deane, who was associated with Franklin and Arthur Lee, as American Commissioner to France, in the first part of the Revolution. Deane suffered for years under untruthful charges against his personal integrity, and died in England under aspersions of treachery to his country. A new volume, by George L. Clark, undertakes to render justice to Deane and to present a clear view of his important services to the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. In the author's opinion, Deane was in no sense a traitor, but an honest and effective, though at length a discouraged, servant of his country. He died on shipboard in 1789.

Silas Deane

Two volumes (the fourth and fifth) complete the "Retrospections of an Active Life," by John Bigelow, the publication of which was begun before Mr. Bigelow's death, at the age of ninety-four.[4] These volumes bring the memoirs down to the close of the year 1879. They cover the active period of Mr. Bigelow's life after his return from France, where he had represented this country so ably during the Civil War, and include the years devoted to literary labor on the autobiography of Franklin, Mr. Bigelow's excursions into New York daily journalism, his intimate association with Samuel J. Tilden while Governor of New York and during Tilden's campaign for the Presidency. Mr. Bigelow corresponded during these years with an extraordinary number of notable Americans and not a few distinguished foreigners. His letters relate to literary, political, and social topics, and give an unusual revelation of the spirit and movement of his times.

The Bigelow Reminiscences

One of Mr. Bigelow's contemporaries, the late Goldwin Smith, was also gifted in the number and quality of his correspondents. This was clearly shown in the "Reminiscences" which appeared shortly after Dr. Smith's death in 1910. It is still further illustrated in the volume of

Goldwin Smith's Letters

[1] In Motley. Vol. XII. By Ambrose Bierce. Neale. 411 pp. $2.50.

[2] The Life and Letters of John Paul Jones. 2 Vols. By Mrs. Reginald De Koven. Scribners. 991 pp., ill. $5.

[3] Silas Deane; A Connecticut Leader in the American Revolution. By George L. Clark. Putnam. 286 pp., ill. $1.50.

[4] Retrospections of an Active Life. Vols. IV & V. By John Bigelow. Doubleday, Page. 1031 pp., ill. $4.

letters, chiefly to and from his English friends, written between the years 1846 and 1910, and collected by his literary executor, Arnold Haultain.[1] Perhaps no Englishman of his generation had a greater number of distinguished friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Among his intimates were John Bright, Richard Cobden and John Stuart Mill, while he had met and talked with Tennyson and Carlyle, and once, at least, sat at the same dinner-table with Macaulay. He had entertained Matthew Arnold, John Morley and James Bryce at his home, and had known Dean Stanley, Benjamin Jowett, Herbert Spencer, and E. A. Freeman. Among his correspondents were Frederic Harrison, Lord Salisbury, Max Müller, Professor Tyndall, Sir John A. Macdonald, Joseph Chamberlain, the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, the Earl of Rosebery, Justin McCarthy and John Burns. Goldwin Smith was himself a brilliant and incisive letter writer, and he called out those qualities in many of his correspondents.



DR. P. V. N. MYERS
(Author of "History as Past Ethics")

Broadening Freeman's well-known definition of history as "past politics," Dr. Philip Van Ness Myers chooses as the title of the final volume in his series of historical text-books the striking phrase, "History as Past Ethics."[2] Dr. Myers designs this book as a brief introduction to the history of morals. In treating the science of morals as a branch of history his purpose is to make the work of the department of history more helpfully introductory to that of the department of moral philosophy. The most important part of the historian's task, in his opinion, is to gather and systematize the facts of the moral life of the race in all the stages of its historic evolution, since these facts must serve as the basis of any philosophy of ethics that can be made a real stimulus and guide to social service and humanitarian effort. Dr. Myers began the writing of historical text-books more than thirty years ago. His "Ancient History," "Medieval and Modern History," and "General History" have long been in general use in schools and colleges, and even universities of the country. No one is better equipped than Dr. Myers to interpret for us the ethical movement of history.

Morals and History

Edward Martin Taber was an American artist and writer who died in 1896, at the age of thirty-three, after many years of ill-health. He had a farm at Stowe, Vermont, where he made many notes and observations upon nature and outdoor life. These have now been published under the title "Stowe Notes, Letters, and Verses."[3] The simplicity and directness of Taber's descriptive writing make these notes peculiarly attractive with re-nature-lovers. The volume is illustrated with reproductions of many of the artist's sketches and pencil drawings.

An Artist in Vermont

In the voluminous Gettysburg literature of the past few weeks and months, called out by the semi-centennial anniversary, we should not lose sight of the excellent narrative by the Rev. Jesse Bowman Young, who himself took part in the great battle, for years lived in or near Gettysburg, and is familiar with the ground fought and tramped over by both armies.[4] Mr. Young has also drawn freely on all the accessible information on the Confederate side, and has made a special point of including personal sketches regarding the careers of officers, together with the records of all West Point graduates who served in the campaign and battle, including those who were in the Confederate army.

Gettysburg

Like the Rev. Mr. Young, Miss Elsie Singmaster has unconsciously absorbed Gettysburg's local color during many years, for she has lived in the village, has mingled with the townspeople and the veterans who have returned, year by year, to the scene of the great conflict, and has written around the battlefield a group of stories which have the ring of sincerity and truth. These tales are brought together in a little volume entitled "Gettysburg: Stories of the Red Harvest and the Aftermath."[5] Some of these have, doubtless, been enjoyed by our readers at the time of their original appearance in the magazines.

The widow of General Pickett is the author of "The Bugles of Gettysburg," a romance written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the great battle.[6] "I have put my whole soul into this work. It is the story of the dying swan. I have been living and breathing the atmosphere of it all, reading old letters written in the camp and on the march, before and after the battle. It is all true."

[1] Goldwin Smith's Correspondence. Edited by Arnold Haultain. Duffield. 540 pp. $4.
[2] History as Past Ethics. By Philip Van Ness Myers. Ginn. 387 pp. $1.50.
[3] Stowe Notes, Letters, and Verses. By Edward Martin Taber. Houghton, Mifflin. 335 pp., ill. $3.50.
[4] The Battle of Gettysburg. By Jesse Bowman Young. Harpers. 463 pp., ill. $2.
[5] Gettysburg; Stories of the Red Harvest and the Aftermath. By Elsie Singmaster. Houghton, Mifflin. 190 pp. $1.
[6] The Bugles of Gettysburg. By La Salle Corbell Pickett. Chicago: F. G. Browne & Co. 163 pp. $1.

AMONG THE POETS OF TO-DAY

A FIRST book of verse by Fannie Stearns Davis, "Myself and I," [1] deserves consideration among the volumes of poetry that have appeared recently. Its freshness and originality are evident at a glance and delicate subtleties of poetic technique become apparent with further examination. Coming from the heart of New England, there is Puritanism a-plenty and artistic restraint; but the tricksy, dancing measures seem echoes of the song of those long-banished maskers of Merry-mount, whose Maypole revelry scandalized the austere Puritan fathers. Furry fauns, Satyr's bairns, naiads and gipsy folk dance upon the hilltops; and Conn, the Fool, pulls down the moon from the sky and plants moon-seeds so that

A New Note

"——Each shall have moons to his heart's desire,
Apples of silver and pearl;
Apples of orange and copper fire
Setting his five wits aswirl."

The title poem draws the line between the wantoning of fancy in the brain and the deeds that are possible to our objective selves. The inner pagan spirit, the renascence of outgrown animal shells, tempts us, yet warns: "Thou canst not do the sudden, happy things I call thee to"; yet again bids us remember that "I am God's own spark in thee."

There is Celtic imagery and Celtic wistfulness in Miss Davis' poesy; she gropes among the shadows and tilts with age and death. The body seems more wonderful to her than the soul, for while the soul goes forth changeless, immortal, the body—all its marvelous mechanism—turns to dust—that is the greatest wonder. A notable mastery of the art of the single line places her work in the front ranks. For example:

"The nights like a flock of birds go by."

"Through tarnished trails of the staggering sun
and soot-fog ochre and black."

"There's a grey wall that coils like a twist of
frayed-out rope."

These lines stamp their maker as a consummate artist in words.

Mr. Herbert Kaufman is a versifier of great virility and power. It has been considered difficult to be a poet and a social reformer at the same time, but the author of "Poems" [2] flings down the gage of warfare against social injustice in a brilliant volume of verse that possesses the essentials of true poesy. His music is of the martial order. With drums beating and colors flying, he marches his meters in a determined attack upon the wrongs of the age. Often he uses words like pigment, as in "The Drunkard." No brush could make more visible that "sneering, leering" brute, "goat-legs, mangy, smeared with muck," than Mr. Kaufman's words. In "America," the poem that closes the volume, he visions America rising out of her infirmities to will the earth to peace and fruitfully feed the nations.

Verses of Reform

The sonnets of Auguste Angellier, the eminent French lyricist, have found just appreciation in this country. Dr. Henry van Dyke has called our attention to the delicacy and charm of Angellier's work in his own translation. Mildred Knight and Charles Murphy deserve unstinted praise for their rendition of the sonnet sequence "To the Lost Friend." [3] So carefully chosen are the English word equivalents that scarcely any of that elusive beauty that characterizes the original can be said to be lost. The "Sequence" tells the story of a love that came into the poet's life, only to end in sorrow and separation. The following sonnet is his l'envoi to his record of love and remembrance:

A French Sonneteer

"O memories that in this verse I close,
You that I preserve, O withered flowers,
For you retain some perfume yet of those
Green places where you grew and dusky bowers,
You are but a handful of remembered hours
Gathered from gardens where sweet revery grows,
A single, hidden branch, where cluster showers
Of blossoms of past joys, forgotten woes.
To the great happiness that my heart bears
Your joy but as a dry, pressed bud compares
To flowerful meadows where the birds are loud;
And all your sorrow is to my long grief
Of heart, but as the wand'ring withered leaf
To the deep forest's desolation proud."

"Gabrielle and Other Poems" is Martha Gilbert Dickinson Bianchi's latest book of verse. [4] Her lyric work is characterized by an exquisite emotional sensibility that finds expression in flawless meters. Sense and music in her poems meet together at the trysting place of fair words. Her "Allegro Con Grazia," an interpretation of the "Symphony Pathetique" of Tschaikowsky, is perhaps, all things considered, the lyrical gem of this collection. "Gabrielle" is a poetic rendering of the tragic fate of that Gabrielle de Latour who, after waiting ten long years for her husband to return from the East, died of joy when she suddenly beheld him crossing the courtyard. "To the Cello" illustrates Mrs. Bianchi's serious style at its best.

Expressive Lyrics

Thou who hast sought as we—and never found—
And seeking still doth haunt the Shades of sound,
We hear thy footfall thread the darks of pain,
Through crypts of Being wander forth again.

[1] Myself and I. By Fannie Stearns Davis. Macmillan. 129 pp. $1.

[2] Poems. By Herbert Kaufman. Doran. 96 pp. $1.25.

[3] To the Lost Friend. By Auguste Angellier. Translated by Mildred J. Knight and Charles R. Murphy. Sherman, French. 122 pp. $1.

[4] Gabrielle and Other Poems. By Martha Gilbert Dickinson Bianchi. Duffield. 141 pp. $1.25.

The sea reverberates within thy chorded strings,
Her swimming ecstasies and fair, dead drowned things;
The wind doth sigh with thee from far off Pisgah heights
Fraught with the trembling mystery of forest nights,
Ranging through starry passions unassuaged and wise.

The Poet's soul thou art,—his hell and paradise,
Throughout our buried life a wanderer divine,
Bliss cannot bar thee out or agony confine;
Thine adorations lift a daring breath
Across the barricades of life and death;
Thou art to us what thou can'st never know—
The lifted veil of beauty here below.

An English Poet

"Perceptions," by Robert Bowman Peck,[1] voice little moments of high vision in light, sketchy verse that, despite carelessness of form, has its fine moments. His "Agathe" is like a whiff of Robert Herrick. It would seem that the forms of Cavalier verse should attract Mr. Peck's pen. We await a singer who may once again sing of "Corinna's Maying," in these days of lawless meters and Futurist experimentation with the mother tongue.

"If heart be tired and soul be sad,
As life goes on in homespun clad,
. . . . .
Why, look life in the face
And there again you may retrace
The dreams that once you had."

A Voice from Kentucky

This is the message Madison Cawein, the Kentucky poet, offers in "The Republic," a book of "homespun verse."[2] Mr. Cawein's nature-poetry is a vessel brimming with the Elixir of Youth in which our faded roses of remembrance renew once more their pristine freshness and perfume. His title poem prays for the release of the nation from materialism, in order that we may accomplish work that "counts something to the heart, and grows immortal part of life—the work called Art." A portrait bust of Mr. Cawein was recently unveiled in the Public Library of his native city, Louisville.

[1] Perceptions. By Robert Bowman Peck. London: Elkin Mathews. 48 pp.
[2] The Republic. By Madison J. Cawein. Stewart & Kidd 98 pp. $1.

A Disciple of Wordsworth

An interpretation of nature, humanity, and religion comes in exquisite versified form in "Wayside Garniture," by Thomas Hobbs Stacy.[3] His Nature is the beneficent mother of life; Humanity, God's well beloved children, and Religion, that deep spirituality that acknowledges an all-pervasive, all-embracing love beneath the foundations of the universe. To those who are interested in New England scenery, the book offers several fine bits of description. Many of the poems are simple Wordsworthian strains that reveal a happy sociability with robins and thrushes, flowers, mountains, lakes and streams.

Recent American Verse

In 1890, Isaac R. Pennypacker's stirring poem "Gettysburg" was published and afterwards read on the battlefield it commemorates. This work has been designated by Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman as a "noble free-hand epic." When the "Canterbury Tales" was published, later, the *Dial* considered Mr. Pennypacker to have accomplished what Clough and Morris did in England and Whittier in America. His latest book, "The Snow-Shoe Trail," will not disappoint the author's critics and admirers.[4] It collects and versifies incidents that are connected with our "battlefields, old inns and homesteads." Often he brings us a real thrill over past events which we have scarcely paused to remember. "The Dutch on the Delaware" is characteristic of his lighter vein. Its chorus sticks in one's memory:

"The Jersey Dutch,
The Delaware Dutch,
And the Dutch of Pennsylvania."

Other books of interesting verse that deserve more space than we are able to give them include "Vagaries in Verse and Lincoln Sketches," an attractive book, both as to binding and content;[5] "Poems," by Campbell Mason,[6] whose elegaic poem, "Tread Lightly on this Spot," outweighs in emotion and melodic effect many a more pretentious offering, and "Wayside Idyls," wherein Dr. Henry Graves, an Amherst graduate in 1856, sings tunefully songs of the eventful years.[7]

[3] Wayside Garniture. By Thomas Hobbs Stacy. Sherman, French. 217 pp. $1.25.
[4] The Snow-Shoe Trail. By Isaac Pennypacker. Philadelphia: Christopher Sower Co. 172 pp.
[5] Vagaries in Verse and Lincoln Sketches. By Asa Foster Smith. Milwaukee: Twentieth Century Press. 66 pp.
[6] Poems. By Campbell Mason. Cosmopolitan Press. 69 pp. $1.
[7] Wayside Idyls. By Henry C. Graves. Sherman, French. 151 pp. $1.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

WITH the exception of a brief period during the panic of 1907, prices of standard bonds at this writing are probably well below the average of any year since the great world-wide depression of 1893. The reason for this condition has been recently set forth with clearness by two of the country's leading bankers. Said J. P. Morgan at a public hearing in answer to a question as to how long the then poor bond market would continue: "I can hardly give an opinion on that. The trouble is that the call for capital just at present is a little greater than the available amount. I mean that the legitimate needs of business are greater than the available capital just now."

Speaking before the Detroit Bankers' Club, Joseph T. Talbert, vice-president of the National City Bank of New York, after describing the vast expansion in bank credits which has taken place since 1907, asked what remedies should be applied and answered in part: "All forms of enterprises involving fixed investments of capital should be discouraged, if not entirely denied"; and "new financing on a large scale wherever possible should be postponed."

But the senior vice-president of the New York Central Lines recently stated that improvements imperatively demanded by these companies within the next four years would cost $100,000,000. Relatively similar demands are being made by practically every large railroad system, and the absorption of capital by towns and cities goes on at a pace never be equaled. In consequence of the scarcity of capital the strongest railroads and even sovereign States, such as New York and Tennessee, are selling short-term notes, in many cases running for only one year. Tennessee sold short-term notes only after two successive failures to sell long-term bonds. President Brown, of the New York Central, says that if railroads continue to borrow at 6, 6½, and 7 per cent. permanent improvements will absolutely come to a standstill. He is authority for the statement that in 1908 the railroads borrowed $187,000,000 on one-year notes, while in 1912 the amount borrowed that way was $368,000,000. "If I knew the exact figures for 1913," he said, "I would be afraid to express them."

To revive an old story, Daniel Webster, whose easy-going financial habits were famous, having once succeeded with great difficulty in arranging for a loan, the proceeds of which went to pay off another which had just come due, wiped his brow and exclaimed: "Thank Heaven, that debt is paid." Only by such deceptive eleventh-hour methods are great corporations and States able to raise funds at this time.

Not only do new emissions of securities from necessity bear high rates of interest, but as a logical sequence old issues have declined in price to a parity with the new. Yet the solvency and earning power of established enterprises remain unimpaired. The world has been through periods of capital scarcity before, and has each time passed through and out of them to the opposite extreme. Twelve years ago conditions were all the other way. Bonds sold on a 3½ per cent. basis, and investors were rushing into long-term bonds at that rate because they feared if they purchased short-term securities they soon might be compelled to reinvest at 2 or 2½ per cent. Now men fear to invest in long-term 5 per cent. bonds for fear they will miss the opportunity of reinvesting in 7 or 8 per cent. bonds. The pendulum is sure to swing in the other direction.

There is no need at this writing for investors to run after third-rate, unseasoned, unmarketable public utility or new railroad bonds at 5 or 5¼ per cent. The old-established steam railroad issues are in many cases to be had to yield almost that amount, and these issues enjoy a good market, which the unseasoned type of bonds do not have as a rule, and are, moreover, backed by a past and present margin of safety of huge dimensions. Mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Atchison, St. Paul, and Baltimore & Ohio railroads may be had to yield from 4.40 to 4.90 per cent. These are distinctly high-grade issues suitable for the ultra-conservative type of investor. Indeed the convertible bonds of these same railroads in several cases yield more than 5 per cent. Such bonds, while not often specifically secured by mortgage, are backed by scores of millions of earnings, the credit of the greatest transportation companies in the

world, and are a direct promise to pay. A careful inquiry will show that certain of these bonds are now at prices close to what they would bring solely as investments without the speculative feature thrown in. That is, when stock prices are high a considerable part of the selling price of a bond convertible into stock represents the value of the conversion privilege. For example, Norfolk and Western convertible 4's sold last year up to 117, which was certainly above their investment value. But now these bonds are selling at 103. Southern Pacific convertibles are now selling at 36⅝, a return of 5.15 per cent. But, of course, if Southern Pacific stock should ever rise again to anything like its former heights this bond would be carried up with it to a considerable extent. Certainly the decline in stocks has taken much of the "froth" off of convertible bonds, leaving them sound investments from the income point of view, with prospects of a big advance in price thrown in for good measure. Naturally investment bankers are now calling attention to this class of bonds.

The public has neglected railroad securities, and in the opinion of many judges they appear relatively cheaper than other stocks and bonds. With the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific dissolution case and the long dreaded Minnesota rate case at last disposed of, and a concerted movement under way for higher freight rates, this class of investments, which is always the easiest of any for the investor to sell when he needs to, seems in fair way to regaining popularity.

It is difficult to draw up a list of bonds, the omissions from which would not seem to many judges of bond values as of greater value than the inclusions. But as simply typical of what has been said about railroad bonds rather than as complete or inclusive in any sense the following list of well-known railroad issues at prices prevailing toward the middle of July may prove of interest:

	Due.	*Net Return.*
Southern Pacific first and refunding 4's	1955	4.60
Louisville & Nashville first 5's	1937	4.60
Atlantic Coast Line first 4's	1952	4.73
Baltimore & Ohio prior lien 3½'s	1925	4.70
Atchison Eastern Oklahoma 4's	1928	4.79
Atchison adjustment 4's	1995	4.81
Union Pacific convertible 4's	1927	5.11
Pennsylvania convertible 3½'s	1914	5.20
Baltimore & Ohio convertible 4½'s	1933	5.25
Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis (portion of Big Four) first consolidated mortgage 7's	1914	5.25

With the exception of the convertibles and the two issues of Atchison bonds all of these issues are practically absolute first mortgages on the main lines of leading railroad systems. (The Louisville & Nashville and Big Four issues are mortgaged by only a comparatively small mileage in each case, but these two issues are for very small amounts. The Atchison adjustment 4's are practically a second mortgage on the Atchison main line, and the Eastern Oklahoma 4's are a first mortgage on nearly 500 miles of the Atchison system in Oklahoma.)

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 470. THE TROUBLES OF THE "FRISCO"

Will you please tell me what the trouble of the "Frisco" Railroad means? Why do the bondholders have to employ an attorney to look out for them? I always thought that a bondholder was secured by a mortgage upon the road, and that, in case of failure, was sure to be paid in full. Also, please tell me what you think of the purchase of the recently issued New York City bonds, and the bonds of the New York Central, Northern Pacific, Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania. Are these suitable for a small saver?

The trouble with which the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad has been confronted, resulting in receivership, means that there is going to be a complete readjustment of the finances of the company. The trouble was brought on largely because the road was overburdened with fixed charges, which, as a matter of fact, had been consuming so large a proportion of net earnings as to have an adverse effect upon the company's credit, and in turn making it impossible for it to raise the money necessary to meet a relatively insignificant amount of obligations that fell due on June 1. It is too early to tell along what lines the readjustment will be made, but it is not unlikely that there will be some scaling down of bonded indebtedness, or the cutting off of some of the company's burdensome leasehold obligations. There are a good many investors who, like yourself, buy bonds apparently without going to the pains of studying in detail the characteristics of the various kinds of such securities. This is a grave mistake that oftentimes leads people into losses they can ill afford to bear. Every investor ought to understand that there is really much less significance in the name "bond" than is frequently made to appear. For instance, there are securities that go by this name that are not mortgage obligations at all, but merely what are technically called "debentures," which are unsecured promises to pay, backed up by nothing more than the issuing company's credit. Sometimes such securities are issued under provisions which free the company from the obligation of paying interest on them, unless it is earned. Such bonds are called "income bonds," and are only a little bit removed from stock. Then, there are differ-

ent classes of mortgage bonds. These may be first mortgage, or prior lien securities, or they may be secured by second, third, fourth and fifth mortgages, and so on. When financial adversity overtakes a corporation, there is, of course, less necessity for the holders of the first mortgage, or prior lien bonds, to employ an attorney to look out for them. But in cases where there is doubt about there being enough assets for the satisfaction of other bonds, an attorney may serve a very useful purpose. In the case of the Frisco, we doubt the necessity of holders of the company's refunding mortgage 4 per cent. bonds depositing their securities with a protective committee. These bonds are in effect a first mortgage on a substantial part of the main lines of the system, and have outstanding ahead of them only a relatively small amount of prior liens. There has, as a matter of fact, been no default in interest on these bonds. We think, on the other hand, that if we were owners of any of the company's so-called "general lien" 5 per cent. bonds, we should be inclined to deposit them with the bankers who are looking out for the interests of the holders. These bonds are a direct first lien on a part of the system, but on the more important parts they are secured by second, third, fourth and fifth mortgages. For example, they are a second collateral lien on that part, covered as a first collateral lien by the refunding mortgage 4's. We believe the purchase of New York City bonds would be in all respects a conservative investment for the small saver. The New York Central, Northern Pacific, Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania all have different kinds of bond issues of varying degrees of investment merit. Generally speaking, however, they are among the most conservative of the railroad class.

No. 471. TWO NEW INDUSTRIAL STOCKS

Please inform me concerning the financial status of the M. Rumely Company. What is back of the common stock? I also desire to know something about the common stock of the F. W. Woolworth Company. Does this stock pay dividends?

It is pretty difficult to tell just now what equities there really are back of the common stock of the M. Rumely Company. Not long ago, this company was confronted with difficulties, said to have been the direct result of a too rapid expansion of its business, and an extravagant management that did not appreciate fully the unusually large amount of capital required in the agricultural implement trade. The situation was taken in hand by bankers, who had been instrumental in financing the company, and changes were made in the management, and certain capital requirements supplied, in time, it is believed, to avoid more than temporary set back. The company's common stock, however, occupies a very speculative position, and will continue in that position until the new management has time to work out the problems it has before it. F. W. Woolworth common we consider a semi-speculative stock, which ought not to be purchased by anyone not able to keep in fairly close touch at all times with developments in the company's affairs. We believe this company is to be criticized principally for placing an excessive valuation on good will. The common stock is now paying dividends at the rate of 1 per cent. quarterly, or 4 per cent. a year, while the preferred stock is receiving its full 7 per cent.

No. 472. SIX PER CENT. BONDS BELOW PAR

I enclose a circular offering Hercules and Atlas Powder bonds at about 90. Should not bonds paying 6 per cent. be selling above par? The fact that these are not makes me rather suspicious. Is it because they are taxable, or are not considered safe, or what?

The principal reason why these bonds sell so much below par, we believe, is that they are incomes, on which the companies are obligated to pay the full 6 per cent. only if earned. The first interest, moreover, is payable out of the companies' net earnings for the year next preceding February 1, 1914. It is provided that, in case there are not sufficient earnings to pay the full 6 per cent. in any year, the deficit shall not be cumulative. While it is generally understood that the business taken over by these two companies at the time of the dissolution of the so-called "Powder Trust" is such as to afford a good margin of earnings for the bonds, no official statements have been made, giving figures to show just how well the interest is being covered. The low quotations, then, are due not so much to any question of taxation, or to the fact that the bonds are considered unsafe, as to their fundamental characteristics, and to the lack of a definite basis on which to judge their real value. It is altogether likely that if they were secured by mortgage, or even by approved collateral, they would be selling nearer par, even in the current depression of prices for fixed income securities, as a class.

No. 473. "LEGAL" HUNDRED DOLLAR BONDS

I would appreciate your giving me a list of $100 bonds listed on the New York Stock Exchange; such bonds as are legal investments for savings banks, executors, etc. If the following two are not in your list, will you advise about them: Colorado & Southern refunding and extension 4½'s, and Keokuk & Des Moines 5's.

These are good bonds, but they do not meet the requirements to make them legal investments for savings banks and trustees in New York State. As a matter of fact, there appear to be but three listed issues that do meet these requirements, and that are available in denominations of $100. These are New York City bonds, now quoted to yield about 4½ per cent.; Norfolk & Western first consolidated 4's, now quoted to yield about 4¼ per cent.; and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, Denver division 4's, now quoted to yield but a trifle more than 4 per cent.

No. 474. SIX PER CENT AND SAFETY

Can you cite me to any investment, outside the field of public utility securities, which will net an income of 6 per cent. with absolute security of principal, and unfailingly prompt payment of interest when due?

Such an investment combination would, indeed, be a happy one. But it isn't met with as often as one might suppose. One type of security offering as high an income rate as 6 per cent. that perhaps approaches this "consummation devoutly to be wished" about as closely as anything, is the straight mortgage on improved, income-producing real estate in some of the localities where capital generally demands and obtains a rate above the average. In some places good mortgages on improved city property can be had to net the investor 6 per cent. Farm loans at that rate are, however, somewhat more common. If you would be interested in this type of investment, which is essentially one to hold through to maturity for income, and if you found it impossible to pick up anything of the kind in your locality, you might look into the offerings of some of the responsible and experienced dealers of the South and West.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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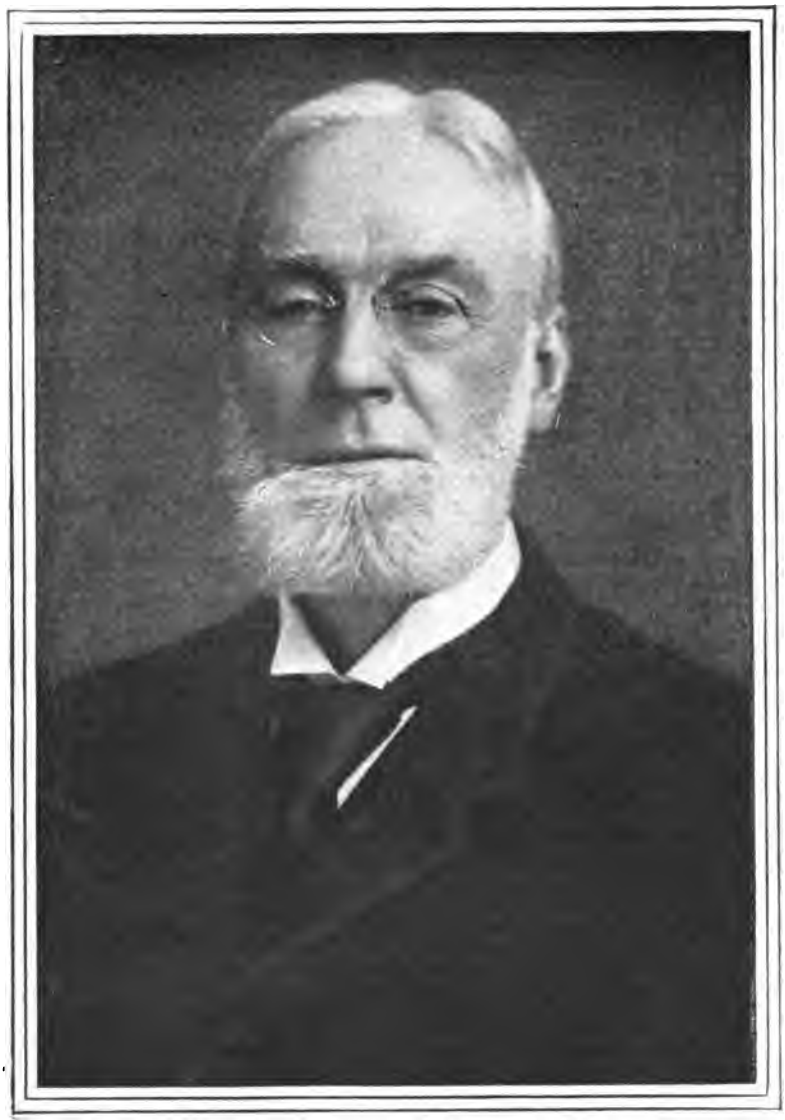
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THE LATE ROBERT CURTIS OGDEN

Robert C. Ogden, who died at his summer home in Maine on August 6, was in his seventy-eighth year, having been born in Philadelphia on June 20, 1836. His active life was spent in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, in both of which he filled a place of prominence and of leadership in good causes and movements. He retired from his long business association with Mr. John Wanamaker about seven years ago, on account of impaired health. His activities in philanthropic and educational work did not cease, however, until the end came last month. This magazine in a future issue will more fully set forth the great qualities and noble achievements of this large-moulded, unselfish, ever-generous servant of his fellow-men. As president of the board of trustees of the Hampton Institute, he had long been identified with the best efforts for the progress of the negro race. He had also from the beginning been a leading figure in the work of the Southern Education Board, the annual Conferences on Education in the South, and the General Education Board. His private beneficences were as constant and varied as his public and better-known services were unremitting and free from personal ambition or self-seeking.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Impeachment—An Unusual Process

Only one President of the United States has ever faced trial under impeachment charges, and he was acquitted. Impeachment of executive officers in England became obsolete a hundred years ago. Out of many hundreds of men who have served as elected Governors of our States, only one has ever been duly convicted and removed from office under impeachment charges. This was the case of Governor David Butler, of Nebraska, in the year 1871. He was accused of an improper use of State money—the diversion of a small amount of the public funds for his own private benefit—and was found guilty and removed from office, having been acquitted upon each of a number of other charges preferred against him. It has always been recognized that extreme hostility between a high executive officer and a legislature might arrive at the point where, for political or other reasons, the law-making body would persuade itself that its fight against a Governor or President ought to culminate in impeachment proceedings. Probably no intelligent student of history to-day believes that President Johnson ought to have been convicted by the Senate in 1868; yet so strong were the political and personal antagonisms of that day that there was lacking only one vote of the necessary two-thirds to have removed him from office. There would have been better ground for impeaching James Buchanan, and there was much talk of it; but it would have been politically impossible unless at the very end of his term. Both Johnson and Buchanan were high-minded and honorable men, so that there could have been no grounds of impeachment except those that we may term "political" in the broad sense, as distinguished from personal malfeasance and misconduct. There were several attempts at removal of Southern Governors in the reconstruction period, and one attempt in Kansas in 1862. These instances arose out of abnormal political conditions, and have little importance as precedents.

Governors Versus Legislatures

A President or a Governor represents the great body of the people by whose votes he has won his high office. Most members of the popular legislative body are individually obscure; and at best they represent small local constituencies. A legislature is often dominated by a political machine or boss, and where it is engaged in a fight against the Governor its course may be wholly directed by some political hand outside of the body itself. A Governor—in common experience—is a more responsible servant and representative of the people of the State than is the lower branch of the legislature. This remark applies particularly to States where the party system prevails, and where the legislature is controlled by a Republican or Democratic machine organization. In a contest, therefore, between a Governor and a legislature, the chances are that public opinion will side with the Governor. The administration of Governor Sulzer, of New York, began with the 1st day of January, 1913, and it has been marked by a fierce and continuous struggle between him and a legislature of his own party. In this contest, with its almost innumerable points at issue, the Governor has been almost invariably right and the Legislature has been almost invariably wrong.

Mr. Sulzer and the Larger Tammany

The Legislature, in both houses, has been strongly controlled by Tammany Hall, which means the personal mastery of Charles F. Murphy, the head of Tammany. Governor Sulzer had been a Tammany Hall Democrat for a great many years, and in his younger days he was in the Legislature and served as Speaker of the body which has now brought impeachment charges against him. But until he re-

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signed in order to be sworn in as Governor, eight months ago, Mr. Sulzer had been member of the House of Representatives at Washington for some eighteen years. He had not participated very actively in the political affairs of the State of New York for a long time, while, on the other hand, Tammany Hall had not concerned itself greatly about Government matters at Washington. In Sulzer's young days, Tammany's aim had been to control New York City affairs, and to be influential at Albany only for the sake



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CHARLES F. MURPHY

(Leader of Tammany Hall, who, according to the newspapers, personally directed the impeachment proceedings against Governor Sulzer, remaining at his home in New York City in constant telephonic communication with Albany up to the time of the Governor's actual impeachment)

of controlling measures relating to municipal and corporation matters in the metropolis. But as the State of New York had lately expanded its public activities, spending hundreds of millions upon canals, State roads, new prisons, and other important work, while also regulating public-utility corporations as well as insurance companies and banks, Tammany had aspired to control the situation at Albany, not merely for the sake of New York City affairs, but because it wished to acquire many State offices and to come into hand-and-glove relationship with the expenditure of enormous sums of State money. A larger Tammany had come into being.

How Sulzer Became Governor

These expanded aspirations of Tammany had been surprisingly realized under the weak and compliant administration of Governor Dix. Mr. Murphy and Tammany would gladly have renominated Dix, last fall, but the up-State Democrats would have bolted and would have supported the Progressive candidate, Mr. Straus. The only possible compromise between the Tammany management and the up-State Democratic reformers and honest politicians seemed to be upon Congressman Sulzer, who had already toured the State as an avowed candidate, and had shown himself fairly popular. There was no break between Sulzer and Tammany until after the election. Sulzer had made broadcast promises to do his duty as Governor and serve the people regardless of personal consequences. The Tammany men evidently regarded all this as a part of William Sulzer's characteristic campaign manner and pose. The people of the State did not know whether to take Sulzer seriously or not, but they were inclined to trust him and more than ready to give him a fair chance. He had talked generalities; but he came down to practical problems in a very few days after his inauguration.

The Beginnings of a Bitter War

Troubles came rapidly. The Murphy gang desired to control Sulzer's appointments to the important positions, while Sulzer was determined to choose high-class men and clean out the prevailing rottenness of the State departments. Governor Sulzer found the State institutions suffering under scandalous conditions of maladministration, and made swift but valuable preliminary investigations. He made remarkably good appointments, and found the State Senate disposed to block them under orders evidently emanating from the head of Tammany Hall. The fight came to its climax in the Governor's determination to enact a Statewide primary law, in order to secure the nomination of high officials by direct popular action. The political machines of both old parties were determined to keep the State conventions for the nomination of Governor and leading State officers, because the Governor, through his appointing power, has his hand upon the vast interests involved in the State highway department, the canal department, the prisons department, the regulation of railway and other public-service corporations, and the supervision of banks and insurance companies. Great things were at stake.



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
(From a photograph of Mr. Sulzer taken the day after impeachment proceedings were entered upon)

The Great Point at Issue

The control of State conventions to nominate the Governor and State ticket is essential in New York to the two party machines, and to the non-partisan interests that finance and support both of these machines. The politicians, who had always been opposed to the primary system, offered to concede everything to the Governor if he would allow them to keep the State conventions. He would not compromise with them, and vetoed repeatedly the primary-election bills that they passed through both houses and sent up for his approval. If Governor Sulzer had been willing to yield this one point, and allow the politicians to have a primary-election law that retained the State convention, nothing would have been heard of any impeachment proceedings against him. Governor Sulzer may have been guilty of mistakes, or indiscretions, or even worse. We shall be better able to judge of his conduct as to certain matters upon the conclusion of an impeachment trial set for opening on September 18.

Assailed for Virtues, Not for Faults

But, quite regardless of the Governor's mistakes or faults, it is an undoubted fact that he has shown high courage and great virtue as Governor of the State of New York during the brief period of his incumbency; and it is further true that the bitterness of the attacks

upon him which have led to the impeachment proceedings have been precisely in proportion to his exercise of political courage and public virtue in the discharge of his duties. However great or small his misdoings, his only fault in the eyes of those who are seeking his downfall lies in the fact that he has been, from their standpoint, to use their own word, an "impossible" Governor; that is to say, it has been impossible to get him to obey "Charlie" Murphy, whether by threatenings or cajolings.

The Stormy Special Session

The Legislature had adjourned on May 3, having refused to pass the Statewide primary bill that the Democratic platform had promised the people, and that Governor Sulzer demanded. Although there was little hope of getting any reversal of its action from the present Legislature, Governor Sulzer called a special session, and set June 16 for its beginning. The Governor took the stump and attempted to bring popular pressure to bear upon members of the Legislature. But Murphy himself was obdurate, and the Murphy control remained unshaken. Under the State constitution, a Legislature called in special session may only consider subjects expressly laid before it by the Governor. The special session rejected again the Governor's primary-election bill, and sent up to him again for his veto its own bill, so framed as to permit the machines to control the situation through their conventions. Some other matters were submitted by the Governor which are not pertinent for us to present in this connection. The fight became every day more bitter, and the Governor's attacks upon Murphy and Tammany had by this time gone so far as to preclude all hope of reconciliation or compromise. The Governor was determined to destroy the Tammany boss, and the Tammany boss in turn saw no way of escape except to destroy the Governor.

Trying to "Get" Sulzer

A good many weeks ago, according to private political information that came to us from sources that we regard as trustworthy, the Tammany leaders and the powerful interests behind them had determined to impeach the Governor in order to get him out of the way. A mere majority vote of the lower branch of the Legislature is all that is needed to start impeachment proceedings. This majority was in the absolute control of Tammany. It was the theory of the Tammany lawyers that, under the Constitution of New York, the beginning of such proceedings would summarily suspend the Governor from his office and put the Lieutenant-Governor in his place with full and unrestricted authority as Governor. At that time the Tammany machine had not decided what kind of charges they would bring against the Governor. Attempts were made to find him guilty of some impropriety in a law case twenty-five or thirty years ago. In these matters he was completely exonerated. A breach of promise suit was brought, which seemed on its face absurd, because it related to affairs long since gone by.



FOR NOT PLAYING THE GAME
From the *Tribune* (New York)

The Investigation of "Jim" Frawley

Finally an investigating committee of the Legislature was set to work to find out things against the Governor which could be used as a basis of charges in impeachment proceedings. The chairman of this joint committee was a Tammany Hall Senator, James J. Frawley, quite generally known among political people as "Jim" Frawley. It began its work in July, and the Legislature for weeks did little but mark time, adjourning and occasionally reassembling while this committee summoned witnesses and worked at its appointed task. Behind it was masterful guidance, supported by unlimited resources and controlled by motives of self-preservation stimulated to the utmost. Attempts were made to show that the Governor had tried to influence Assemblymen and Senators to obey their party

platform pledges and vote for a direct-primary bill by his attitude toward the various measures in which they were individually interested. Such a charge, of course, must work both ways. Members of the Legislature had also taken oaths of office, and are also liable to removal. The Governor could with much greater propriety ask them to support a public measure, like the Statewide primary bill, than they could ask him to affix his signature to the scores or hundreds of local and special measures that they had put through the Legislature by log-rolling and trading among themselves.

A Weak Point Found at Last

Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had not recognized the validity of this legislative investigation. The Legislature meets in regular session next January, and it could then do business upon its own initiative. But the Constitution requires that in sessions specially called by the Governor, he shall have the sole initiative as regards topics for consideration. In this contention the Governor was, in our judgment, right both morally and legally. All the charges brought against the Governor up to a certain time were undoubtedly frivolous. But finally a new line of attack was discovered that put the Governor in a most disagreeable position. The committee began to investigate the Governor's private financial affairs and his report of campaign expenditures last fall. Under the law of New York, every candidate, whether elected or defeated, must within a few days after the election file a report of moneys received for political use during his campaign and an itemized report of disbursements. Mr. Sulzer's report acknowledged the receipt of $5460, from sixty-eight contributors, and the expenditure of $7724. The Frawley committee, through its agents, succeeded in finding that Mr. Sulzer had one or two accounts with firms of bankers and brokers in the financial district of New York. By compelling members of these



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SENATOR JAMES J. FRAWLEY
(The Tammany man who investigated Sulzer)



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THE SO-CALLED "FRAWLEY COMMITTEE" THAT INVESTIGATED GOVERNOR SULZER AND UNEARTHED THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIM

(From left to right: Matthew T. Horgan, secretary; Eugene Lamb Richards, counsel; Senator Felix J. Sanner; Senator James J. Frawley, chairman; Senator Samuel J. Ramsperger; and Assemblyman Myron Smith.)

firms to appear and testify, they unearthed facts which pointed to the conclusion that some ten or twelve checks, aggregating perhaps eight thousand dollars, had been received from well-known persons desirous of aiding Mr. Sulzer's campaign, had been deposited to his private account, and had not been included in the return of receipts and expenditures made by him a number of weeks before his inauguration as Governor.

A Time for Suspended Judgment

A highly sensational use was made of these disclosures, and the Tammany machine felt that it had at last found something that it could use as basis for impeachment proceedings. The Governor had, for a time at least, disturbed the minds of his friends by seeming determined to suppress testimony affecting these matters, and to prevent the full truth being known. It would probably have been best for the Governor to have issued the fullest and completest possible statement of all the facts, quite regardless of the extent to which he might, in so doing, have confessed to mistakes and faults. He issued a very brief statement, saying that the return of campaign receipts and expenditures had been prepared by others, and certified to by himself in the belief that it was correct. Mr. Sulzer has had a long record in which he has maintained an unquestioned reputation for personal integrity and for truthfulness. It is not well, therefore, to jump at conclusions which would condemn a public man of his standing as dishonest—especially when the charges are framed by notoriously bad men whose grounds of hostility have simply been the fact that their own schemes were being blocked by a better man than they. Governor Sulzer was entitled to every benefit of the doubt when he stated that he had been guilty of no conscious or intentional wrongdoing.

The Condemnation by Frawley

The Frawley committee presented its report to the Legislature on the night of August 11. Their document, which was made rather extended and formidable, could be simmered down to the one point that Governor Sulzer had not filed a correct return of his election receipts and expenditures. This charge was embroidered with all kinds of accusations of theft and perjury, and of attempt to prevent witnesses from testifying before the Frawley committee. The accusation that Governor Sulzer had favored legislation to incorporate the New York Stock Exchange, with a motive of influencing the stock market and affecting the value of some railroad shares that he had bought, is so ridiculous that it is hard to understand how any member of the Legislature could have kept a straight face while promulgating such tomfoolery.



IMPEACHING SULZER
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

Some Bearings Upon the Case

An incorrect filing of campaign expenditures is indeed a serious matter. But before passing hasty judgment upon Governor Sulzer the reader should bear several things in mind. In the first place, the campaign for Governor of New York last fall was not based in any sense upon the use of money. There were three principal candidates—namely Sulzer (Democratic), Oscar Straus (Progressive), and Job Hedges (Republican). The voters were interested in the Presidential as well as in the State campaign, and were not brought into the voting booths to any extent by expenditure of money on behalf of the candidates for Governor. Mr. Sulzer was fairly and honorably elected. In the second place, it was well known that Mr. Sulzer was ambitious to make a fine record on high public grounds. It was said that he aspired to reach the White House at some future time. He is too good a politician, and too deeply versed in personal and party political history, to have supposed for a moment that he could report only a part of his campaign receipts and divert the

greater part to private speculation in Wall Street, without having the matter brought to light at some future time in such a way as to embarrass or ruin his political career. Everything in Sulzer's record goes to show that political success is a much stronger motive with him than private money-making. On the face of things, therefore, it is natural to believe that Governor Sulzer had not intentionally done the things which his accusers have set forth. Nor is it clear that there is anything in the alleged transactions that furnishes proper ground for impeachment charges.

A Novel Kind of Charge

It is not charged that he had won his seat as Governor by a corrupt expenditure of money. The charge against him is a wholly novel one, and without precedent in the field of politics or of public morals. The object of laws requiring the filing of campaign accounts has been to check the bribing of voters, or the lavish and unrestrained use of money to influence elections and bring about political results. Tammany's charges against Sulzer, however, take the novel form that the thrifty Governor did not spend very much money, and that he failed to give back to his admiring friends certain sums which they had privately sent to him for his use during the campaign. Here we have some rather fine technical questions. For instance, does personal money not actually spent in a campaign become money which ought to be reported? Suppose Mr. Sulzer, on the day after election, had sent back to Mr. Jacob Schiff, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, and others, the sums that they had previously sent to him in the form of personal checks, accompanying the return of these sums with statements to the effect that he had not needed the money for political purposes, had not used it, and did not intend to account for it as campaign funds. The chief object of the law, let us repeat, is to give publicity to campaign expenditures. We have known of instances in which candidates for high office have received very generous checks from honorable friends, which they have held for a time and then returned to the donors with the explanation that it has been deemed best not to accept the gifts, and that it has been found entirely possible to run the campaign without them. When such public men have made up their statements of receipts and expenses, it has not occurred to them to include these particular checks in their receipts.



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MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU, OF NEW YORK CITY

(Mr. Morgenthau is a citizen of public spirit and great influence, who was prominently connected with the campaign for President Wilson's nomination and election, and was one of the men who contributed liberally to Mr. Sulzer's campaign fund in New York. It has been reported that Mr. Morgenthau would accept President Wilson's offer of the post of ambassador at Constantinople)

Further Aspects of Sulzer's Offense

At the moment when the New York Legislature, last month, was determining to bring impeachment proceedings against Governor Sulzer upon this ground of failing to report certain contributions to his funds, a touch of pathos was afforded by the Governor's devoted wife. Mrs. Sulzer declared that the Governor's private business affairs had for a good while been entirely in her hands, that she had deposited the checks in question, and that any mistakes or errors for which the Governor might be deemed culpable were entirely hers and in no sense attributable to him. The Legislature ignored Mrs. Sulzer's declarations, but she will undoubtedly be an important witness when the charges come up for trial in the latter part of the present month. The New York statute which requires the filing of campaign receipts and expenditures by candidates, like those of other States, can, of course, be evaded in all sorts of ways. These statutes



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THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE ASSEMBLY TO CONDUCT THE TRIAL OF THE IMPEACHMENT CASE AGAINST GOVERNOR SULZER

(Sitting, left to right: Patrick McMahon, Aaron J. Levy [chairman], Abraham Greenberg. Standing, left to right: William J. Gillen, T. P. Madden, Theodore H. Ward, Thomas K. Smith, and J. V. Fitzgerald)

are comparatively recent in the United States. They have a good purpose, but their operation is not trustworthy or efficient. But for this recent statute the transactions of which the Governor is accused could hardly have been given an important public bearing. Individual contributors might fairly enough have asked the Governor to return to them money which he had not found it necessary to use in his legitimate campaign expenses. So much for the charges themselves—their legal and their intrinsic qualities.

Making Up the Indictment

The Legislature proceeded rapidly. Upon the presentation of the report, absentee members of the Assembly were hurriedly brought to Albany, in order to vote in favor of impeachment charges. On August 13, the vote was taken, upon a motion made by Mr. Levy, who is Tammany leader of the Assembly majority. The roll-call showed seventy-nine votes in favor of impeachment and forty-five against. Seven Republicans voted "aye," and about half of those voting "no" were Democrats. Half of the Republicans were absent and did not act. The Assembly has 150 members, and the vote was taken at five o'clock in the morning, after an all-night session, the delay being caused by the necessity of getting a majority of all the members to vote "aye." Thus seventy-six votes were necessary to bring the impeachment charges, and seventy-nine affirmative votes were recorded on the roll-call. The formal charges had already been prepared behind the scenes. Later, in the course of the same day (August 13), these formal charges were duly presented to the Senate by the Assembly, a committee of six Democrats and two Republicans having been appointed to prosecute the charges. The chairman of this committee is the floor leader of the Assembly, Aaron J. Levy, a New York City lawyer. Under the New York Constitution, impeachment charges are tried before a body of judges consisting of all the members of the State Senate, together with all the judges of the Court of Appeals, the chief judge of the Court of Appeals presiding over the deliberations. This court has seven elected members, besides three additional ones designated from lower courts to serve upon the bench of appeals.

Rival Governors and a Critical Dispute

As soon as the Legislature had determined upon this course of action a matter of the utmost importance arose at once. The legislative majority contended that the decision of the Assembly to bring charges must immediately suspend the Governor from office and put in his place the Lieutenant-Governor. The leading New York newspapers jumped at this same conclusion in editorials which even ridiculed the opposite contention. The Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Martin Glynn, editor of one of the numerous local newspapers of Albany, believed himself entitled at once, on the 13th of August, to exercise all the prerogatives of Governor of New York, and undertook to do so. Governor Sulzer showed determination to hold his place, and his lawyers supported his view as to his rights, while counseling peaceable proceedings and a prompt resort to the courts for an interpretation of the Constitution.



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LEADERS AT ALBANY IN THE TAMMANY ATTACK UPON SULZER

(Aaron Levy is floor leader of the Tammany majority in the Assembly, and Senator "Jim" Frawley was chairman of the committee which investigated the Governor)



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AARON J. LEVY

(Tammany leader in the Assembly and chief prosecutor of Governor Sulzer, also author of the notorious Levy election law)

Principles at Stake

A somewhat shocking ignorance of the whole subject in its broad bearings was exhibited, especially by some of the metropolitan newspapers. Andrew Johnson's authority as President was never interrupted for a moment by his impeachment trial in 1868. There is no difference between suspension from the office of Governor and absolute removal, excepting that a suspension might not extend through the entire elective term. A hostile majority in a legislative assembly could at any moment trump up impeachment charges against the Governor, upon any pretext, however flimsy, and the other branch of the Legislature would be obliged to fix a date and proceed with the trial. The trial committee appointed by the lower house could protract the proceedings for a long time by



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HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

(Who on August 14, being supported by most of the State officers and department heads, took upon himself the exercise of the functions of Governor in rivalry with Governor Sulzer)

their manner of marshaling evidence and making arguments. This would be a very easy way to throw a disliked Governor out of office, in the interest of a Lieutenant-Governor who would act in accordance with the wishes of the conspirators, if preferring charges involved instant removal. It is obvious that a Governor, elected by the votes of the people, should exercise his authority until removed from office by due process. The mere filing of charges by a majority in the Assembly constitutes no process at all. The only penalty for conviction by the court, after due trial of impeachment charges, is removal from office. It is preposterous in the highest degree to take the ground that the mere formulating of charges by one house, which has not even involved a preliminary process by an impartial body, could remove the State's chief magistrate from the office which the people gave him. That nobody knew what was law and custom in such a crisis is chiefly due to the fact that the impeachment of high executive officers is virtually an obsolete practice.

The General Rule of the States

In nearly all of the forty-eight States of the Union, the Governor is unquestionably protected by the State constitution, exactly as the President of the United States is protected. In other words, impeachment proceedings do not affect in any way the status of a President or a Governor until the charges are sustained by the formal action of the court which tries him. While this is unquestionably the case in nearly all of the States, following the analogy of the United States Constitution, it is also, in our opinion, the intention of the Constitution of the State of New York to give exactly the same protection to the Governor's office as is afforded by the constitution of nearly every other State, pursuing the example of the Federal Constitution. The New York Constitution of 1777 did, indeed, provide for suspension upon bringing charges. But the Constitution of 1846 struck out that objectionable arrangement. The trouble with the present New York Constitution is that in more than one place it uses the word "impeachment" in the ordinary and prevalent sense, meaning *successful* impeachment, or conviction under impeachment charges. It is wholly proper that a judge, if under impeachment, should not try cases until his own case is settled. A judicial office is not political, and originally judicial officers were appointive. The Constitution of New York, like those of most of the other States, expressly says that "no judicial officer shall exercise his office after articles of impeachment shall have been preferred to the Senate, until he shall have been acquitted."

Meaning of Present Instrument

It is reasonable to infer that no such prohibition was intended as respects the Governor or an elected executive officer by those who revised New York's Constitution in 1894. Ordinarily, the chief duty of the Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York is to preside over the Senate. The Constitution declares that in case of the impeachment of the Governor the Lieutenant-Governor must not act as one of the body that tries the charges. This is for reasons of obvious good taste, inasmuch as the Lieutenant-Governor would become Governor in case of a conviction by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the trial body. But surely the Constitution need not have prohibited the Lieutenant-Governor from sitting in the Senate and acting as a judge through the long weeks of an impeachment trial against the Governor

if the Constitution had also intended that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself fill the Governor's office from the very moment when the Assembly decided to prefer charges. The Constitution must be taken in all its parts, and a study of it as a whole makes it reasonable to assume that the State of New York had not intended to retain the absurd rule of 1777, but rather to follow the plan of the National Constitution and those of practically all the other important States in the Union.

Common Misuse of a Word

The whole difference of opinion comes from a use of the word "impeachment" in two senses by a careless drafting committee when the Constitution was prepared for adoption. Strictly speaking, the word "impeachment" means merely accusation. But the Constitution loosely speaks of the range of penalties for impeachment of an officer, when it means penalties in case of conviction after the trial of impeachment charges. Even well informed men of legal knowledge habitually use the word "impeachment," meaning conviction and removal from office. The New York Constitution defines the circumstances under which the Lieutenant-Governor might take the place of the Governor. These include death, absence from the State, such automatic causes as conviction of crime in court, and "impeachment" is mentioned as the first in the list. Since elsewhere in the instrument the word "impeachment" is used in the sense of conviction after an impeachment trial, it would seem entirely plain to a candid student of the subject in all its bearings, historical and otherwise, that it has not recently been the intention of the State of New York to allow a hostile majority in one branch of the Legislature to deprive the Governor of his office, and to install the Lieutenant-Governor on a moment's notice under suspension of rules by the mere passage of a resolution to bring impeachment charges. The present Constitution of New York was made by a sane and intelligent body, with the Hon. Joseph H. Choate as its president and the Hon. Elihu Root as one of its foremost members. This convention would never have permitted itself to do such an eccentric and ridiculous thing as to depart from what had become the well-established American rule (national and State), and to allow high executive officers to be deposed, in advance of an impeachment trial, by the mere whim of a political majority in one branch of the Legislature. The framers of the present Constitution of New York, in our judgment, meant to protect the office of Governor as against the Goths and Vandals of a Tammany majority in the Legislature, precisely as the Constitution of the United States meant to protect the high office of President against the fury of a hostile majority in the House of Representatives. If the present Tammany doctrine in New York were sound, and could have been applied at Wash-



CHIEF JUSTICE CULLEN, OF THE NEW YORK COURT OF APPEALS
(Who would preside over an impeachment court in case of the trial of a Governor)



WILL THE TIGER GET HIM?
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

ington, not only would Andrew Johnson have been deposed from office, but Grover Cleveland would more than once have had charges preferred against him for the mere sake of having him suspended from the exercise of his functions as President.

Too Eager Support for Tammany

Hidden behind the attempt to get rid of Governor Sulzer, beyond question, were various private interests, greedy to have conditions established under which their schemes might have better hope of prospering. The impeachment proceedings were obviously contrary to the provisions of the Constitution which limit the Legislature's initiative in an extra session. Exposure of the Governor's report of his campaign accounts last November could constitute no emergency. The whole business had the color of an audacious and wicked conspiracy. Its eager support by certain prominent New York newspapers was pitiable in its sophistries, in its hypocrisy and in its revelation of the well-nigh fatal power of the forces of "invisible government" that are engaged in a life-and-death struggle for continued mastery of the affairs of the State and City of New York. These papers continued to assert, day by day, that there could be no shadow of a doubt as to the meaning of the New York Constitution, and that Lieutenant-Governor Glynn, from August 13, had the clearest and most unquestionable title to exercise all the functions of government.



AND IT'S LOADED WITH MUD!
From the *Herald* (New York)



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HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER
(Tammany leader of the New York State Senate, and also active in the attempt to remove Governor Sulzer)

The Impartial View

Yet no intelligent and careful person could possibly read the Constitution and examine the facts, from the standpoint of an impartial student, without seeing that the weight of reason and common sense lay with Governor Sulzer's contention, while the literal text of the Constitution—though ambiguous at one point—was more favorable to the contention of Sulzer than to that of Glynn and Tammany. It was obvious, however, that the case was one for the law courts; and that Glynn, instead of trying to seize and exercise the functions of the Governorship should merely have presented his demand, and upon refusal to have his claims accepted should have had mandamus proceedings brought in the courts to determine the points at issue. The newspapers attempted to make it appear that Governor Sulzer was a usurper in remaining in the office to which he had been elected. This was a ridiculous inversion of principles, because it was obviously his duty to continue to serve under his oath of office until the courts had shown that a majority of the Assembly, in an extra session, had the power to suspend him. Governor Sulzer was not merely right in endeavoring to keep

possession of his office, but he would have been recreant and censurable if he had meekly abandoned his post prior to a decision of the courts as to the meaning of the Constitution in several important respects. His offer to accept a judicial decision was enough.

The Deadlock at Albany

At the time these pages were closed for the press, the conspiracy against Governor Sulzer had gained strength and made his position practically impossible by the desertion of the other governing forces of the State and their transfer of allegiance to Glynn. The Attorney-General, Mr. Carmody, had all along been regarded as hostile to Governor Sulzer. The heads of the National Guard had recognized the new claimant. Mr. Murphy's managers in both houses of the Legislature had arranged to stage the situation somewhat dramatically, when the session convened on Tuesday, August 19. Thus it was planned to receive a message from Martin Glynn as Governor, to reject appointments sent in by Governor Sulzer, and to ratify appointments made by Martin Glynn. The State as a whole was somewhat dazed by this rapid movement of events. Mr. Sulzer had amicably offered to Mr. Glynn to refer the questions involved to the courts to be immediately settled. Mr. Glynn had apparently not dared to face the courts, and had peremptorily refused. As we have already said, nothing whatever had happened which would legally have justified Governor Sulzer in abandoning a post the duties of which he had sworn to perform. All the legal and practical presumptions were in favor of a Governor who had not been tried for anything, but had been merely assailed and accused by an aggregation of enemies justly regarded as the worst and most corrupt political force in any portion of the civilized world.

The Struggling Forces in Politics

We have discussed this New York situation at some length, because its merely local aspects are overshadowed by its larger significance. It is an episode in the continuous struggle now going on in this country against corruption and rascality in politics. Tammany Hall—in control at Albany and in more or less perfect agreement with certain of the managers of the Republican machine—constitutes the worst and most desperate element in that combination of selfish and evil interests that tried to dominate both national parties last year. The whole meaning of the Progressive Party is combat in the interest of honest government against the machine control of Democratic and Republican politics. The chief effort of President Wilson at Washington is to accomplish things in law-making and administration through the support of sound public opinion, without having the results vitiated or compromised by the malign cunning of the bad elements in his own party. Governor Sulzer's strength has consisted in his determination to be a good Governor, in spite of all pressure to the contrary. His weakness has grown chiefly out of his past affiliations with Tammany Hall. He has been the more relentlessly pursued because his present enemies consider him a renegade. Quite regardless of all that may even now be said against Mr. Sulzer, he is probably the very best man now in public life who has ever been prominently connected with Tammany Hall; and incomparably superior to all of his opponents in merit and in title to public sympathy. But, under all the circumstances, it might now seem clear enough that the best man to be elected Governor last fall was Mr. Oscar Straus, the Progressive candidate. Even Mr. Straus, however, would probably de-



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HON. JOHN PURROY MITCHEL
(Fusion nominee for Mayor of New York)

clare that he could not have shown greater energy or courage than Governor Sulzer has shown in trying to reform the administration, the finances and all the governmental conditions of the State of New York.

The Great Municipal Contest

The municipal campaign in the City of New York will have deserved national attention, and we shall give it ample space and careful presentation next month, when all tickets are in the field and all issues fairly joined. Circumstances which have been described in this magazine from time to time made it obvious that good citizens ought not to be divided this fall, in municipal politics, upon the lines of national parties. The struggle four years ago was an intense one, and the candidate nominated for Mayor by Tammany Hall was elected, while the Fusion ticket was successful for the other important places. The most conspicuous of these places were the presidency of the Board of Aldermen, to which John Purroy Mitchel was elected; the Controllership, which was secured by Mr. William A. Prendergast, and the presidency of the Borough of Manhattan, to which Mr. George McAneny was elected. Mr. Charles S. Whitman, also the Fusion candidate, was at the same time elected District Attorney. Mayor Gaynor was opposed by Mr. Otto Bannard as the Fusion candidate and by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who ran on a third ticket—with the idea of diverting votes from Gaynor rather than from Bannard. Judge Gaynor had not been a Tammany man, but rather a progressive Democrat of independent and outspoken views. In many respects he has made an able and remarkable mayor. If he had not been the victim of an attack upon his life in the early part of his term, which impaired his health, he would have been nominated and elected Governor of the State in place of Dix; and this would have changed the course of State affairs besides making Gaynor a formidable candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1912.

Several Admirable Candidates

This year the guiding spirits in the Fusion movement have been opposed both to Tammany Hall and to the renomination of Mayor Gaynor. The District Attorney, Mr. Whitman, had become very popular through his exposure and prosecution of the police grafters. Mr. McAneny had won the highest approbation by his admirable management of the affairs of the Borough of Manhattan. Mr. Prendergast, as Controller, had made a noteworthy record. Mr. John Purroy Mitchel, younger than the others, had been a great force for good government as President of the Board of Aldermen and a member of the Board of Estimate. All of these men were regarded as eminently fit for the office of Mayor. The large Fusion committee finally named John Purroy Mitchel to head the ticket, renominated Mr. Prendergast for Controller, named Mr. McAneny for President of the Board of Aldermen, renominated Mr. Whitman for District Attorney and selected Mr. Marcus A. Marks to fill Mr. McAneny's present place as head of the Borough of Manhattan. Mr. John Purroy Mitchel had recently been appointed by President Wilson as Collector of the Port of New York. Mr. Whitman's friends were greatly disappointed, as were those of Mr. McAneny. But all of the men named accepted their places upon the ticket in a spirit of loyalty and with expressions of devotion to the public interest. The Republicans, who had preferred Whitman, finally accepted Mitchel. Mayor Gaynor was entirely disposed to run for a second term, and it was expected that he would secure the Tammany nomination, besides being named by certain independent bodies and groups. What progress in municipal government means and requires for the city of New York, we shall discuss next month, through the pen of a most competent authority.

The Grind at Washington in Dog Days

Another month at Washington had not radically changed political or legislative conditions. The middle of August found the Senate still wearily discussing the Tariff bill, and the House striving to complete and pass the Currency bill, while the lobby inquiry in the Senate was going forward with no prospect of termination, and the House had started a lobby inquiry of its own. The growing acuteness of conditions in Mexico had created much apprehension at Washington, while critical phases of diplomatic discussion with Japan had fortunately disappeared. President Wilson had remained at his post with alertness, unflagging attention to administrative and legislative affairs, and an exhibition of splendid staying qualities as regards both purpose and method. Thus President Wilson had not the slightest idea of acquiescing in the adjournment of Congress without the passage of a currency bill as well as that of a tariff bill.

The Currency Bill to Be Pressed

The pending Currency bill, having undergone some desirable modifications at the hands of the Democratic majority of the Committee on Currency and Banking, was duly offered to the caucus of all the Democratic members of the House of Representatives on Monday, August 11. Chairman Glass presented the bill as having the sanction of President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Bryan and other men of power and authority in the party. The opposition of bankers, furthermore, had been to a considerable extent modified. One of the changes in the bill provided that the appointive members of the Federal Reserve board should belong to different political parties, and another authorized the national banks to extend their functions to include those of savings banks. An important amendment in the caucus specified the recognition of warehouse certificates issued against staple products, such as cotton, wheat and corn, as a basis for credit and currency. This was in response to the efforts of Mr. Henry, of Texas, and other Southern and Western men; and as finally accepted by both wings of the party the new clause seems to have merit and to be free from serious objections. It was the plan of the House managers to make the bill, when approved by the caucus, on August 16, an official party measure. It would then be submitted to the Republican members of the Banking and Currency Committee as a matter of courtesy, and reported to the full House for a few days of formal debate before its assured passage by a very large majority. There was reason to expect that it would be sent to the Senate on or about Monday, August 25.



THINGS COMING HIS WAY IN THE SENATE
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

The Senate Must Work Till December

Meanwhile, the Senators were worn out and disheartened over the daily diminishing prospect of any vacation. Their real desire was to finish the tariff work and adjourn the session, leaving the Currency bill to be considered next winter. Debate cannot be hurried in the Senate, and there was no prospect of arriving at a final vote on the Tariff bill any earlier than the first days of September. The debate was moving perfunctorily, individual Senators taking ample time to put their views on record for the sake of their constituents and for future reference. The Senators were not regarded as likely to handle the currency question readily upon the party lines drawn by the other house. Nevertheless, on August 14, the Democratic caucus of the Senate heartily accepted President Wilson's view that the Currency bill must be taken up at once in the present session, without even permitting a recess of a week or two for the refreshment and health of the Senators. Senator O'Gorman, of New York, and Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, were opposed to currency legislation at this session, but they were almost entirely without support. It was hoped by the Democrats that their decision to proceed at once to the Currency bill would induce Republican Senators to agree upon a date for ending the tariff discussion. While no date was then agreed upon, there will be a natural tendency to expedite matters in view of the certainty that the currency issue cannot be postponed. It should be borne in mind that the Republicans have not been offering obstruction or using dilatory tactics, and that they all freely admit that the Tariff bill is quite certain to pass without material change. The extra session will probably last till the end of November, and the regular session begins on the first Monday of December.

Some Aspects of the Tariff Debate

It must not be supposed that the facts and arguments presented in the tariff debate have been without force or importance. Many of the speeches against the bill have shown great ability, and many of the criticisms have been well founded. Tariffs such as we make in this country do not rest upon a basis of consistent logic or principle. It was agreed,



JOHN KIRBY, JR. JAMES A. EMERY JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE

THREE FIGURES OF FORMER PROMINENCE IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, WHOSE NAMES HAVE RECURRED IN THE MULHALL CORRESPONDENCE AND TESTIMONY

however, that there had to be some kind of tariff revision, and that the Republicans, having failed to satisfy either themselves or the country when they had ample opportunity, must allow the Democrats to try their hand. The pending bill is not scientific, but the Democrats believe that its faults are not nearly so great as were those of the Payne-Aldrich bill. Senator Simmons introduced the bill on July 18, after it had been many weeks in the hands of the Finance Committee. Its average rates were said to be nearly 28 per cent. lower than those of the present Republican tariff, and more than 4 per cent. lower than those of the Underwood bill as it left the House. Senator Simmons as chairman of the Finance Committee explained and defended the bill. Senator Cummins took an early date to make a sweeping and drastic analytical criticism of the measure, condemning it with unsparing severity. Senator Smoot, Senator Burton and many others in succession assailed the bill, some of them from the standpoint of particular schedules and others upon the lines of broad policy. A number of these carefully-prepared speeches will stand as important documents in the great American debate that has been running for more than a hundred years upon protective tariffs as a matter of policy and of detailed practice. We shall not soon have reached the end of tariff debates, yet it is to be hoped that we may bring them to the more scientific lines of discussion that should properly belong to the problems of taxation.

The Protracted Lobby Inquiry

Elsewhere in this number is a very impressive article, by Mr. John Callan O'Laughlin, upon the significance of some of the things that have already come to light in the long-drawn-out investigation by a Senate committee at Washington of President Wilson's charges regarding the activities of lobbyists. Conclusions at present can only be tentative, because the inquiry has not yet come to an end. The star witness has been a certain Mr. Mulhall, who was for some time employed by the National Association of Manufacturers. It must not be supposed that this association has had corrupt or evil aims; but its management has occasionally erred through excess of zeal, and the organization has evidently, at times, used bad men and indefensible methods, while at other times—as, for example, in its work for a tariff commission in 1908—it has used excellent men and proper methods. The lobby inquiry will have served useful ends. Happily, it has not thus far brought any deep shadow of discredit, much less of disgrace, upon our prominent figures in the legislative life at Washington. Only one Representative seems to have been seriously smirched. It has been a tedious affair because certain members of the committee have asked thousands of needless questions.

Important Changes in the Parcel Post

Six months' trial of the tentative parcel-post system had demonstrated its success so immediately and conclusively that Postmaster-General Burleson was able to announce in July important extensions of the service and reduction of rates. On August 15 a change in the zone system became effective by which the first zone was made to include the territory within the local delivery of any post-office and the second zone to include the remainder of what was originally the first zone, together with all of the original second zone—that is to say, the area located within a radius of 150 miles from any given post-office. The rates were at the same time decreased, for the first zone, from 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound, to 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional two pounds; for the second zone the new rate is 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound. At the same time the maximum weight of packages receivable in the service for the first and second zones was increased from eleven pounds to twenty pounds. In the place of the parcel-post map, by which rates were figured on a zone basis, there is now a rate chart showing the charges as to each individual post-office. The Postmaster-General is optimistic as to the present working and future prospects of the service. Instead of the 300,000,000 parcels that the Post-Office expected to carry in the first year, the number actually transported will be about 600,000,000. Before the changes noted above were announced an important improvement had been made early in the summer in the matter of stamps, by allowing the regular letter postage stamps to be used in the parcel service, instead of the special parcel-post stamps, the exclusive use of which had caused altogether too much inconvenience and confusion for any advantage gained.



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POSTMASTER-GENERAL BURLESON

Further Improvements in the Parcel Post

The energetic Postmaster-General gives it as his opinion that ultimately the Government will, through the Post-Office, carry practically all the small packages of the country. He very wisely realizes that he must be cautious in extensions of the system and reductions of rates, as the Post-Office machinery might well be clogged with business that could not be handled profitably and efficiently if the service were extended too rapidly, but he believes that at least within fifteen or twenty years the Post-Office will be handling parcels up to 100 pounds in weight. The Postmaster-General, in his colloquy with members of the Senate Post-Office Committee who opposed the extensions now made, affirmed that in handling a twenty-pound package the Post-Office could, under the present rates, net a profit of 10 cents. His critics in the Senate maintained that the operation would show a loss of 8 cents instead of a profit. It is a vastly complicated calculation, in the present state of the Post-Office accounting system, to decide on the cost of a unit of operation, and probably no two accountants put on the problem would come to anything like similar conclusions. But if General Burleson's figures have any approximation of accuracy, such a very considerable margin of profit as is shown by his estimate of 10 cents should argue for a speedy further reduction of rates, and, certainly, for the extension of the service to receive packages of books. It was, doubtless, a matter of expedience and caution—certainly not of logic or convenience to the public—which excluded books from the parcel post system, and if the system is actually operated at a profit, or anything near a profit, the sooner books are included the better. Representative Lewis, of Maryland, has already introduced a bill in the House for the inclusion of books.

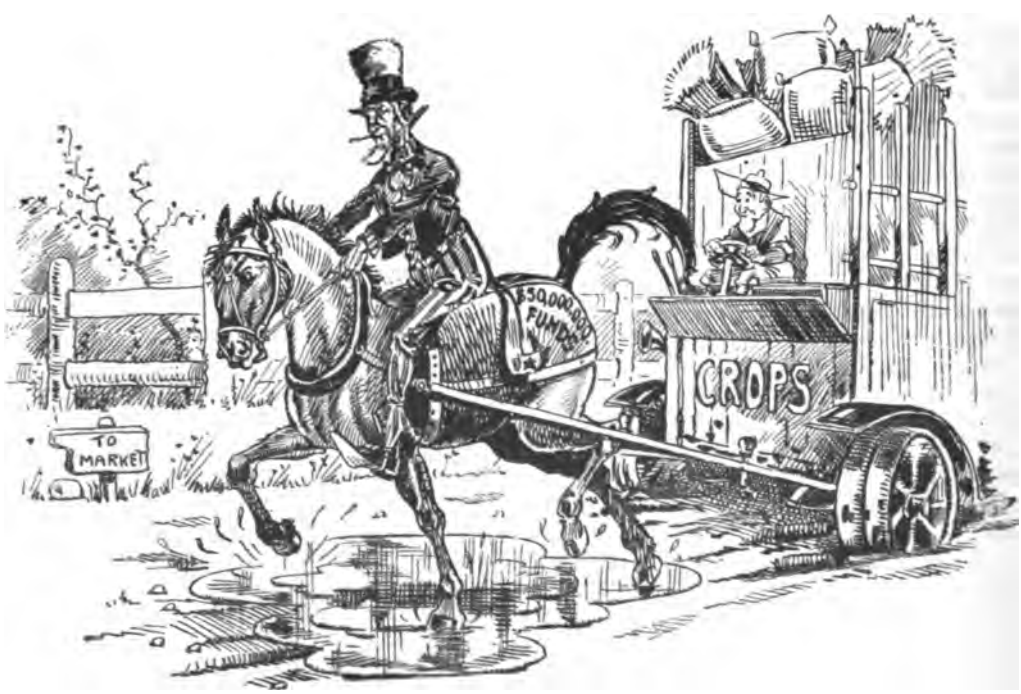
It is much to be hoped, too, that with the perfection of the service, the complicated, puzzling, and somewhat unfair zone method can be at least simplified by a radical reduction in the number of zones, if the geographical peculiarities of an American parcel-post system preclude the total abolition of zones and the substitution of the greatly preferable flat-rate system.

The Reduction of Express Rates

After long study of the express business of the country, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced early in August its order for rather sweeping reductions in rates. The charges for packages weighing as much as 100 pounds carried short distances were but little changed, and slight reductions are made for long distances. The rates for packages of fifty pounds and less were practically all reduced. Apparently, parcels weighing more than four pounds must now be carried by the express companies over distances of from 200 to 3000 miles at lower rates than those charged in the parcel post. It is stated that shippers will save, in the aggregate, $26,000,000 per annum as a result of the order. In addition to the rate reductions, the Commerce Commission prescribed an entirely new arrangement of express tariffs, by the block system, which is said to reduce the present 900,000,000 separate rates to less than 650,000. The new order is effective on October 15 of this year. The officers of the leading express companies are, naturally, not happy over a reduction of their revenues variously estimated by them at from 16 to 30 per cent.—coming at the same time with the new competition of the parcel post. Many of them predict that there will be no increase of business resulting from the lower rates, and see only disaster. As a whole, however, the companies show a tendency to grapple with the new conditions and attempt to work out, through greater efficiency of operation, some salvation for their stockholders.

The Crops and Trade

The Government gives out its estimates of the condition and amount of the year's crops on the eighth of each month, and the crucial report is that published in August. This year a widespread drought during July played havoc in the cornfields, producing an estimated loss of 300,000,000 bushels, and leaving a total yield of 2,672,200,000 bushels—less by 452,000,000 bushels than in 1912. On the other hand, the yield of winter wheat is the greatest in the history of the country—511,000,000 bushels—and the spring-wheat crop is fair. Potatoes, oats, barley and tobacco all show a heavy falling



"A FRIEND IN NEED"
(Uncle Sam lending his financial aid for the movement of the crops)
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

off from last year's figures. The final average result for the farmers and to the country is, thanks to the bumper wheat yield, a fair year. With the agricultural production thus respectably prosperous, the country has done a record year of business in foreign commerce, despite the stagnation and despair of Wall Street and the depression of prices on the foreign bourses. The final figures from the Department of Commerce show exports and imports of the United States, in the year ending June 30, 1913, of $4,275,000,000, surpassing the trade of the previous fiscal year by over $421,000,000. The great increase in exports came chiefly from a growth in manufactured products, which are increasing our foreign trade at a much greater rate than foodstuffs and raw materials.

Rural Coöperation and Credit

The Commission on Agricultural Coöperation named by President Wilson and the Governors of the various States sailed for Europe on April 26 and returned to this country on July 26, after making investigations in Italy, Hungary, Austria, France, Germany, England, Ireland, and Wales. Sub-committees had been sent to Russia, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Egypt, Spain, and Scotland. Immediately on its return the commission addressed a letter to the Governors and to farmers' organizations giving some of the results of its studies and stating that the commission had been deeply impressed with the vital importance of a thoroughly organized and united rural population, and that in this respect the countries of Europe offer a lesson from which America may profit. It is expected that the report which the commission is to make to Congress before the end of the year will be the basis of legislation to establish a system of rural credits. The commission found that the terms afforded European farmers in the matter of loans are generally better designed to meet their peculiar requirements than are the terms obtainable to-day by the American farmer.

Government Crop Loans

While the Government is planning to extend the credit facilities of the individual farmer wherever possible, it is also interested in having ample resources available for moving the farmers' crops to market. On July 31 Secretary McAdoo announced that he would deposit between $25,000,000 and $50,000,000 in the national banks of the South and West for this immediate purpose. For the first time in the history of the United States Treasury, commercial paper will be accepted as part security for these deposits. Clearing-house associations of fifty-eight cities were represented in a series of conferences held at Washington on August 7, 8, and 14. At these conferences the details of the proposed loans were explained by Mr. McAdoo and other Treasury officials, and the participants were asked to state their respective needs in order that an apportionment of the loan fund might be made.

Progressive Law-Making

At the time when the article on progressive legislation in the July number of this REVIEW was closed for the press several State legislatures were still in session, and some of the most important measures of the year were enacted after the publication of that article. The Wisconsin Legislature, which adjourned on the last day of July, succeeded in passing two minimum-wage bills—one of them applying to school-teachers—and a mothers' pension bill, besides "blue sky" legislation modeled on that of Kansas, and a bill aimed at illegal combinations of commission men which increase to the consumer the prices of food staples. (The market commission bill to place coöperative enterprises in charge of a State commission was defeated.) The legislatures of Illinois and Pennsylvania also extended their sessions beyond the usual length, and while the results were disappointing to reform leaders in both States, there were certain substantial gains even from the progressive standpoint. Thus the new primary law of Illinois provides for the popular election of delegates to national conventions and separates the Presidential primaries, in time, from the local and State primaries. Pennsylvania now has a direct-primary law applicable to all elected officers, such as Governor Sulzer has been demanding in New York. A Public Service Commission, with full power over rates, has been established, and the factory laws have been amended for the better as regards the hours of labor for women, although the Keystone State still lags in the matter of child-labor restriction.

The Paterson Strike

The strike of the silk workers of Paterson, N. J., which began on February 25 last and ended on July 28, was a costly experience for the workers themselves, for the silk companies,



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HON. WM. L. CHAMBERS HON. MARTIN KNAPP MR. G. W. W. HANGER

MEMBERS OF THE NEW FEDERAL BOARD OF MEDIATION APPOINTED UNDER THE ERDMAN ACT

and for thousands of the citizens of Paterson who were dependent, directly or indirectly, on the operation of the silk mills for their living. In the first place, during the five months that the 25,000 operatives were idle, nearly $5,500,000 in wages was lost to them. It is impossible to estimate accurately the loss to the manufacturers, but it can hardly have been less than the loss to the employees. When we consider that 1200 tenants failed to pay any rents for periods ranging from two to five months, that a number of small storekeepers, butchers, grocers, and clothiers were forced to close their shops, and that during the greater part of the strike the department stores and other large business houses of the city were obliged to cut down their working forces, we can well understand that it will take the people of Paterson at least a year to recover from the effects of this labor war. Furthermore, the mill operatives have almost nothing to show for the enormous cost which they assessed on themselves, their employers, and the general public. They gained neither increase of wages nor shortening of hours, and this is not to say that the strikers did not have grievances that demanded redress. The simple fact is that the controversy over wages and hours was not settled on its merits. The strike was a life-and-death struggle between the Industrial Workers of the World and the silk manufacturers. The American Federation of Labor was not involved. The manufacturers, having greater resources than the I. W. W., won the fight.

Railroad Arbitration

As was noted in these pages last month, the amended Erdman Act provides for a Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation to act in rail-



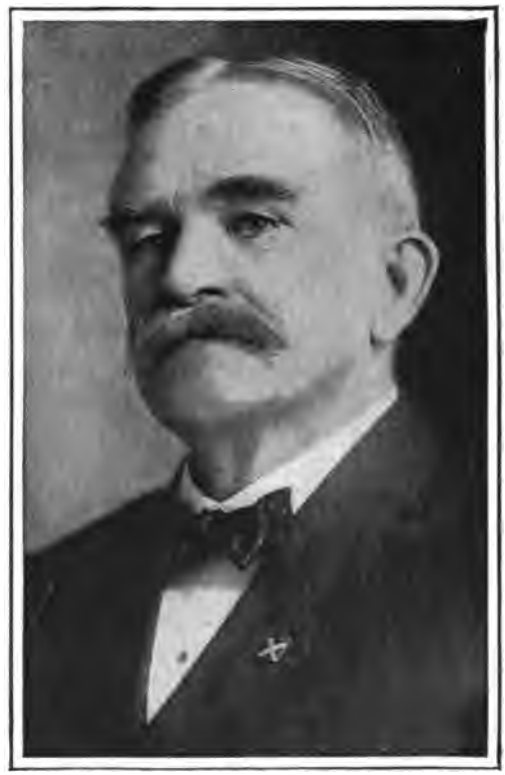
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TOM MANN, THE ENGLISH LABOR LEADER, AND "BIG BILL" HAYWOOD, THE I. W. W. ORGANIZER



HON. HENRY D. CLAYTON, OF ALABAMA

(Appointed to fill temporarily the vacant seat in the Senate. Mr. Clayton has been chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House)



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THE LATE SENATOR JOHNSTON, OF ALABAMA

(Mr. Joseph F. Johnston, who had not served many years in the Senate, died on August 8. He was a distinguished Confederate veteran)

road labor disputes with certain other officials designated by the President as a national board. President Wilson promptly named Judge William L. Chambers as Commissioner, Chief Statistician G. W. W. Hanger, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, as Assistant Commissioner, and Judge Martin A. Knapp, of the United States Commerce Court, and the new Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Prof. Royal Meeker, of Princeton, as the third and fourth members of the board, respectively.

Elections This Year and to Come

Election Day this year falls on the 4th of November. As regards contests of national interest and importance, it is truly an "off" year. Among the States, only three—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Virginia—are called upon to choose Governors this fall, as compared with thirty-one in 1912 and thirty-eight in 1914. Most of the States have arranged their elections so that they are held in "even" years, along with the national contests. Massachusetts is the only State whose Governor is elected annually, and New Jersey is the only one with a three-year term. Virginia alone, of the remaining forty-six States with two-year and four-year terms, holds an election in 1913. A United States Senator will be chosen in Maryland by direct popular vote, to serve for the unexpired term of the late Isidor Rayner. Senator Jackson is now serving by appointment of the Governor. A similar situation has arisen in Alabama, through the death last month of Senator Joseph F. Johnston; and in the near future his seat will have to be filled by a popular election. The scarcity of political contests of national importance this fall is somewhat made up for by an abundance of mayoralty elections in the larger cities. In New York, for instance, municipal elections are to be held in Greater New York, Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and Buffalo. In Ohio, mayors are to be chosen in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo. Other important mayoralty elections to be held this fall are those of Boston, New Haven, Bridgeport, Paterson, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Indianapolis, Louisville, and Los Angeles.



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HON. JOHN LIND
(President Wilson's Special Envoy to Mexico)

President Wilson and Mexico

President Wilson made it plain last month that his policy regarding Mexico was not merely a drifting one, or one lacking in motives or intentions. His policy, like that of the previous administration, assumes that the internal affairs of Mexico belong to the Mexicans, and that, while the United States has greater interests in the country south of the Rio Grande than has any other outside government, there is no ground for interfering or intervening unless some wholly unexpected contingency should arise. Our wishes towards Mexico are those of a good neighbor, hoping to see a régime of constitutional order and liberty soon established. Our Government naturally cares about American citizens and their lawful interests in Mexico, and will be solicitous to protect every American in his rights. But it is not regarded as the business of the Government at Washington to guarantee the comfort or the prosperity of an American citizen who chooses to subject himself in a foreign country to prevailing conditions of disorder that involve no intentional discrimination against Americans.

Should Huerta Be Recognized?

As for the recognition or non-recognition of an acting President, the question is purely one of our own judgment and discretion. It was nearly two years after General Diaz had seized the reins of government in Mexico, in 1876, before the United States Government recognized him as President. Great pressure has been brought to bear to cause President Wilson to recognize the Huerta régime in a full and formal way. Through our embassy we have transacted business continuously with Huerta's administration as a *de facto* government, and we have wisely refrained from going any further. The active championship of Huerta by our Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, has been so entirely out of keeping with the course deemed wise by the Administration that his conduct last month was sharply rebuked and bluntly repudiated in an explanation made by President Wilson, through diplomatic channels, to the British Government. The Ambassador, meanwhile, had returned to this country, had clashed with the Administration, and had been informed of the acceptance of his resignation to take effect at the end of his vacation, in October. The embassy at Mexico City had been left in charge of a



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HON. HENRY LANE WILSON
(Whose resignation as Ambassador to Mexico was accepted last month)

very competent and conscientious secretary, Nelson O'Shaughnessy by name.

Efforts to Stop Civil Warfare

Secretary Bryan, with President Wilson's concurrence, had desired to bring about, through mediation, an agreement among the factional leaders of Mexico to stop at once their devastating civil warfare and agree upon a provisional government pending the holding of a proper election. When Huerta had overthrown Madero, he had promised to hold an election promptly, and had apparently agreed not to be himself a candidate. It was obviously improper that either he or Felix Diaz should appear as candidates in an election for a new President. Advices have convinced President Wilson that the Huerta régime is not in control of the larger part of the territory of Mexico, and that it has none of that promise of stability which would justify full recognition. A step that was treated with exaggerated sensation by the newspapers soon followed the recall of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson to this country. This step was the sending of the Hon. John Lind, of Minnesota, as especially representing the President, to act as legal and general adviser of our embassy. It was declared at first that Huerta would not receive Lind, and that obstacles would be put in the way of his visit. It soon appeared, however, that Lind had no direct mission to Huerta, and that President Wilson was acting within the technical proprieties in sending Mr. Lind as adviser to our chargé d'affaires, Mr. O'Shaughnessy. The constantly repeated newspaper statement that European governments had somewhat critically questioned our State Department regarding our Mexican policy were declared on the highest authority to be without any foundation whatsoever. On the contrary, the best European opinion seems to have commended President Wilson's patience and discretion. It is natural enough that all European governments should wish to see the immense foreign investments of their subjects in Mexico duly protected. But since intervention from any outside source would be stoutly resisted by the Mexicans, it is reasonable to believe that foreign investments would be further injured rather than helped by armed invasion from this country or from any other.



GENERAL VICTORIANO HUERTA
(Provisional President of Mexico)

John Lind as a Strong Personality

President Wilson has been strengthening his administration by bringing many men of exceptional talent and character into the public service. Mr. Lind, for example, is a man of excellent record and high personal qualities. He has served several terms in Congress, has been Governor of Minnesota, and for a number of years has been president of the board of regents of the Minnesota State University. He is a man of well-poised judgment, of entire detachment from those financial interests that are said to have been trying to force American intervention in Mexican affairs, and of requisite firmness and dignity. It is to be inferred that when better days arrive Mr. Lind will be named as our Ambassador.

Mexico's Interest In Our Attitude

The chief interest for Americans, Europeans, and, it might be said, almost literally, of Mexicans themselves, in the Mexican situation during July and August was, beyond a doubt, in the relations of the United States to our neighbor republic. What were the plans of President Wilson and what was the atti-

tude of our Government toward the provisional administration of General Huerta? These were the questions Europeans as well as Americans were asking. So important and overshadowing was this interest in President Wilson's attitude and the mission of ex-Governor Lind to Mexico City that even the warring parties in the field ceased hostilities and awaited the action that would be taken at Washington. There were some minor engagements, it is true, and, on July 24, General Carranza, leader of the so-called Constitutionalists in the North, captured the city of Torreon and later took other towns. Generally speaking, however, America and Europe waited on the action of our Government in the matter.

Chaos South of the Rio Grande

For months news from Mexico has been slow in coming to the world, owing to the breakdown of communications, and there has been a good deal of confusion in reports. The best sources of information, however, agreed that the Huerta régime was very unsteady. The Mexican treasury is empty, and, without American recognition, Huerta could not borrow money. As we have pointed out already in these pages, revolution and anarchy have laid their hands on most of the centers of population throughout the country. Business is stagnant, and the army is honeycombed with sedition. Foreigners in Mexico are in danger of their lives, while political assassinations and military executions have become so frequent that they no longer even excite comment. Despite Huerta's promises, the safety of Americans in the border States is guaranteed only by an American border patrol. By the middle of last month it was evident that, even with the handicap of lack of arms, the Constitutionalists were apparently getting the better of the soldiers loyal to Huerta. They claim, furthermore, that if the embargo against bringing in munitions of war from the United States were removed—a measure which had long been urged by many Mexicans and Americans who understand the situation—they would utterly overcome the Federals. By the middle of August the northern states were almost entirely beyond the authority of Huerta, and a number of the bolder rebel chieftains from the South, including the famous Zapata, were parceling up the big plantations and confiscating property in the central states. Zapata is reported to be solving the land question by urging the peons to "squat" peacefully on the lands of the big proprietors and cultivate them, but to shoot anyone who asks for rent.



THE DOVE OF PEACE FROM THE NORTH
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

More Outrages Upon Americans

The already tense feeling over the disordered state of affairs in Mexico was further embittered when, on July 26, it was learned that Huerta's soldiers in Juarez had shot an American immigrant inspector named Dixon. In response to a sharp note from Secretary Bryan, General Huerta ordered the immediate release of Dixon, who had not been wounded fatally, and the arrest and trial of the soldiers who shot him. The tension of the public mind was further increased over Secretary Bryan's request to Congress, on August 1, to appropriate $100,000 to be used in aiding needy Americans to leave Mexico.

As to European Recognition of Huerta

Meanwhile, it had become known in Mexico that President Wilson and the American Congress were opposed to any formal recognition of Huerta as President. A number of prominent Mexicans thereupon began to exert their influence upon Huerta to resign. This he has steadily refused to consider. Most of the European nations and Japan have already recognized Huerta. The official explanation of recognition by Great Britain and Japan was that Huerta was actually in possession of governmental authority, and that failure to recognize him would endanger the lives and property of the natives of these countries in Mexico. Later it was given out

in London that Britain's recognition was granted "provisionally, pending an election."

Lind's Mission to Mexico

Growing concern in this country as to the safety of Americans in Mexico and the necessity for some action on the part of our Government was increased on July 22 by a resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Fall, of New Mexico, calling for adequate protection to American citizens residing in foreign countries. In the debate that followed a good many frank things were said that were resented by the Huerta Government. President Wilson, as we have already said, had been considering the expediency of mediation by a commission. It soon became known, however, that this plan would be opposed by both Huerta and the rebels. After the difference of opinion between the President and Ambassador Wilson, and the resignation of the latter, it was announced at Washington that the President had appointed ex-Governor Lind, of Minnesota, as his special representative to go to Mexico City as adviser to the American embassy there.

His Reception in Mexico City

Mr. Lind left New Orleans on August 9 on the battleship *New Hampshire,* and made the journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico City by regular train, arriving at the Mexican capital on August 10. A note to the American embassy, on August 9, from the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced that "if Mr. Lind does not bring credentials in due form, together with recognition of the Government of Mexico, his presence in this country will not be desirable." This occasioned some concern as to the envoy's personal safety. The next day, however, another note from the Mexican Foreign Office assured our embassy of ample protection for Mr. Lind. The trip to the capital was uneventful. Accompanied by his wife, Mr. Lind took up his residence at the embassy, and conferred with Secretary O'Shaughnessy, but made no formal official statement. Later he had several important interviews with Señor Federico Gamboa, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although the State Department declined to give out exact information as to details, it was generally believed that Mr. Lind let it be known to the Mexican Foreign Minister that the United States would grant recognition only to a Mexican President and Government that had been elected and installed by constitutional means.

Europe and Japan Endorse Our Attitude

It was also understood that the governments of Europe would be kept informed of the progress of Mr. Lind's mission. President Wilson hoped thereby to convince the world of the disinterestedness of our attitude toward our southern neighbor, and to show that the public opinion of the world condemns his treatment of Madero and the other opponents of his régime. The British announcement that the recognition of Huerta was only "provisional" pending a regular election, and the announcement of the Japanese Foreign Office, referred to in another paragraph, that it would not publicly receive General Diaz as special envoy, have been taken as evidence that Great Britain and Japan acquiesce in President Wilson's Mexican policy. The press of England and the continent is apparently beginning to understand the real nature of our attitude toward Mexico. The London *Times* exhorts Mexico to accept the American terms of restoring order, but "speaks for Europe" when it warns our Government "against the attitude of neutrality and non-intervention persisted in until it wears almost the aspect of shrinking from duty and responsibility, until it produces the very crisis it is intended to avert."

Prospects of an Election

While it is reported that the elections, expected to take place in October, have been indefinitely postponed, it is now believed that the low state of Huerta's finances and the disapproval of the rest of the world, which is being gradually manifested to him, will compel him to make at least a formal appeal to the voters at an early date. Huerta's chief rival for the presidency, General Felix Diaz, has been gotten rid of by being sent as Ambassador to Japan, with rather unpleasant consequences to himself, as we have already noted. It is believed that in an election, even though Huerta himself should be a candidate, the leaders of the new Liberal party, Manuel Calero and Florez Magon, would easily win. Calero is a familiar name in this country. He was Ambassador for six months at Washington last year. He is an exceedingly able lawyer, and is acquainted with the United States and the American people. He would have the probable support of the elder Diaz faction, the "Cientificos," and a large number of the former adherents of Madero. Florez Magon was a member of the Madero cabinet, and the most practical and the most successful of that unfortunate President's advisers.

Some Facts from the Canadian Census

An analysis of the figures of the Canadian census, completed toward the end of 1911, and now published, shows that the population of British origin is still in the majority, not only in the Dominion as a whole, but also in every province with the exception of Quebec. Although this majority is smaller than it was when the census of 1901 was taken, the figures show that the continental European immigration is not increasing, while the English-speaking American additions to the population are becoming greater. Five-sixths of the land sold during the last ten years by the great railway companies and other land-owning corporations is now occupied by English-speaking people. The increase of the English element during the decade in question, moreover, contrary to expectation, is the greatest of all, showing a gain of more than 44 per cent. The French-speaking population in Quebec increased by 24 per cent. After the French comes the German. In British Columbia the Chinese population, despite the heavy poll tax, has apparently increased slightly. But the white population of this Pacific province has increased even more rapidly, and to-day, to quote from one of the Government census bulletins, "the presence of the Chinese laborer cannot be said to constitute an economic danger." The Dominion, it will be remembered, is as much concerned in treating Japanese immigration with a wise regard for the future of its own population as are the Pacific States of our own country.

Are We to "Protect" Nicaragua?

In the last days of the Taft administration a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the exclusive right to construct an interoceanic canal across that country and to use the Gulf of Fonseca on the Pacific as a naval base. In consideration $3,000,000 was to be paid to Nicaragua and it was stipulated that the money was to be spent on public works and education. This treaty, with only minor modifications, pending in the Senate when Mr. Wilson became President, has been endorsed by his administration, and late in May Secretary Bryan asked the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to ratify it. Owing to the pressure on the Senate's time by the tariff and currency bills, the administration did not ask immediate action on the Nicaraguan treaty, but Mr. Bryan has asserted that enough Senators are in favor to make its eventual passage certain. In substance, the treaty would give the United States control of the foreign relations and finance of the Central American republic and the right to intervene "to preserve Nicaraguan independence and protect the lives and property whether of Americans or foreigners." This would mean a virtual protectorate over Nicaragua similar to that which the United States now exercises over Cuba by virtue of the Platt amendment to the Cuban Constitution and analogous to our relations to the Republic of Panama. By this means President Adolfo Diaz hopes to get insurance against revolution.

Hostility in Central and South America

The endorsement of the treaty by the Wilson Administration occasioned a good deal of discussion in the newspapers by the enemies of the administration over what was called "new imperialism" and interference in Latin-American affairs. It became known later that Mr. Bryan had offered to make similar treaties with Honduras and Salvador, but that representatives of these countries in Washington had declined to entertain the proposition. The government of Costa Rica, though not openly consulted, also expressed its opposition to any such plan. In Latin-American circles there has been much opposition to what has been called the American invasion of Central America, and the President of Salvador is reported to have declared that such a policy would make "forever impossible the proposed Central American union, the great ideal of these countries." There is a tendency in the South and Central American press to regard this and President Wilson's Mexican policy as the beginning of a movement to establish a protectorate over all countries between the Rio Grande and Panama. However, if the new policy is extended, the extension will undoubtedly come on the initiative of the southern republics themselves and not from any overt act on the part of our government.

Endorsement of the Bryan Peace Plan

The South American nations have apparently taken kindly to Secretary Bryan's peace plan. Up to the middle of last month all the countries of the southern continent had approved of this plan, Paraguay, which agreed on August 12, making the twenty-eighth to approve out of thirty-nine invited. The treaty with Salvador, signed on August 7, for five years, was the first one formally concluded. This treaty, which embodies the Bryan peace idea, calls for investigation and deliberation before any acts of hostility. Thus, says the Washington correspondent of the *New York Her-*

ald, referring to affairs in Mexico, Central America, Venezuela and Cuba, as well as to recent developments in our relations with Japan, "as President Wilson's Latin-American policy emerges from the melting pot, it is seen to be a complete acceptance of responsibility for policing the turbulent republics of Central America in return for a 'hands off' policy by Europe and Asia."

A New Castro Revolt—Colombian Amenities

With the exception of a new Castro revolt in Venezuela, which, early last month, seemed to have been effectively crushed by President Gomez, who had been given dictatorial powers, and the violent expression of popular resentment against ex-President Leguia, of Peru, for some obscure political intrigue, the republics on the continent of South America have been pursuing their peaceful way. Castro, with a small party of revolutionists, landed on Venezuelan shores late in July, and was soon at the head of an army which was reported to be marching upon Caracas. President Gomez at once moved against him with an army, and, it was reported, on August 9, defeated him in the Orinoco region. Two United States cruisers were ordered to Venezuelan waters to protect American interests. In Colombia there is becoming evident an increasing desire to resume cordial relations with the United States. In his message, sent to the Colombian Congress on July 20, President Restrepo expressed the hope that a perfect understanding would soon be arrived at between the two countries—"an understanding that becomes daily more necessary, owing to the early opening of the Panama Canal, and the peculiar necessities of Colombia's maritime provinces."

Argentina and American Beef Packers

In the Congress of Argentina, late in July, the Government introduced a bill for the control of monopolies somewhat along the lines of the Sherman anti-trust law. This law applies to foreign corporations as well as domestic concerns, and is regarded as the result of the inquiry and discussion concerning the conduct, in Argentina, of American beef packers. Secretary Houston has sent Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, to investigate the general business of slaughtering and packing in Argentina with a view to "expediting the entry into this country of fresh beef when the new tariff becomes effective." During July the congress of the Republic of Paraguay ratified a treaty of extradition with the United States. Paraguay is the last South American nation to conclude such an agreement with our Government.

Bills in the British Parliament

During the last days of its summer session the British Parliament considered a number of measures radically affecting the entire United Kingdom. The importance of these measures to Great Britain is not diminished by their apparent local application. The four chief measures, which have all passed their third reading in the House of Commons, are Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, Scottish Temperance, and Plural Voting. The Lords rejected the Home Rule bill for the second time on July 16. The ministry will introduce it again in the Commons early next spring, and then it will become a law in spite of the peers. The disestablishment of the Welsh Church, without, however, disendowing it, will also be put into practical effect as soon as the ministry can do so. The Scottish Temperance act, prescribing the conditions of sale and consumption of liquor in Scotland, and the general franchise bill abolishing plural voting, will also be advanced as rapidly as may be. Immediately upon the second rejection of the Irish Home Rule bill by the Lords, the Premier announced definitely in the Commons that a measure abolishing the hereditary house would be introduced in the next session of Parliament. The ministry intends to reconstitute the second chamber upon an elective basis. Parliament was prorogued by King George on August 15.

New Social-Reform Measures

Other important measures which will be introduced early in the next session, if the ministry has its way, include a scheme for redistributing parliamentary seats, a measure prohibiting newspaper prize competitions that require the payment of an entry fee, a new law regulating the money-loaning business, a bill for the nationalization of coal mines, and a number of measures dealing with different phases of the land question, all ardently advocated by Chancellor Lloyd-George. A Unionist member has introduced a bill establishing wage boards for agricultural laborers. This measure is being watched and supported by a group of very keen English social reformers in both parties. It proposes to set up, in certain specified counties of the United Kingdom, district boards constituted somewhat as

the present minimum-wage boards in the coal industry. These boards are to have power to fix a daily wage rate compulsory within the district, which will secure, "so far as is practicable, to the agricultural laborers affected, a living wage having reference to the cost of living in the districts."

The "Votes-for-Women" Campaign

The campaign of the militant suffragettes continues. A number of women have been convicted of attacks on property, and Mrs. Pankhurst, alternately in prison and on the stump, continues to arouse her co-workers in militancy. It is generally admitted, however, that the so-called "Cat and Mouse" act, passed at the instigation of Home Secretary McKenna, has had some effect in calming the militants. In accordance with this law, a militant who has been convicted of law-breaking is confined in jail until her health is in danger. She is then released, but may be rearrested as soon as her health is recovered. In this way she is forced to serve out the full term of her sentence. The leaders of the woman-suffrage movement in England claim that despite these setbacks their cause is making considerable progress. One of the more conservative of these leaders, Catharine E. Marshall, writing in *The Englishwoman,* an organ of the movement, for August, says that the suffragettes are placing a great deal of confidence in the support of the English Labor party, which, at its last annual conference, decided by a large majority "to oppose any franchise bill in which women are not included." Miss Marshall says that the women are hoping for the return of the Liberal government at the next election with a small majority, and a Labor representation demanding the enfranchisement of women strong enough to put pressure on the government.

Britain's Naval Program

Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, in announcing, on July 17, in the House of Commons, the naval programs for the years 1914-15, declared that since Britain could not be sure of the three Canadian battleships promised (owing to the conflict of policy between the two houses of the Canadian Parliament), the Admiralty had decided to "accelerate the construction of three ships of the British program." He stated further that while for years probably coal would remain the basis of England's sea power, oil had become so important to the navy as fuel that most of the new warships will be built for oil consumption. The Admiralty, furthermore, will set up an oil business of its own." Next month this magazine hopes to present to its readers a comprehensive article on the oil production of the world. A subsequent announcement declared that next spring there would be a redistribution of Britain's naval force in the Mediterranean, the Admiralty intending to increase the number of vessels at the West Indian station and erect a great naval base at Bermuda or Jamaica. A good deal of journalistic nonsense has been written about this as a challenge on the part of Great Britain to American control of the Panama Canal. When it is considered, however, that Britain's naval strength in the Caribbean has always been slight, it is quite natural for her, as the first shipping nation in the world, to make provision for the safeguarding of her commercial interests in this western hemisphere when the great canal is about to be opened to commerce. Of course, no nation thinks of challenging the naval supremacy of the United States in the South Atlantic and the Caribbean.

French Finances

After a discussion which lasted for more than thirteen months, both houses of the French parliament have adopted the budget for 1913. Seven-twelfths of the revenue provided by this budget had already been voted "on account," in order to permit the government to carry on its functions. The delay was caused principally by the bitterness of the agitation for and against the three-year military service bill. This bill was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, and by the Senate just one month later. It will bring the standing army of France up to nearly 800,000 men. The parliament passed the budget without any decisive action on the subject of the income tax, which has been agitating official France for nearly three years. Consequently the definite sources of the new revenue needed, mainly for military purposes, has not yet been determined. The figures of the Minister of Finance showed a deficit of approximately $2,000,000. The opposition insists that "politics have prevented the minister from stating the exact extent of the disquieting total." The French money market is very much concerned over the Balkan situation, and the final disposition to be made of the foreign debt of Turkey. French bankers are also becoming interested in the commercial possibilities of their colonies in the West Indies and the Pacific upon

the opening of the Panama Canal. Government proposals for the enlargement and improvement of harbors in these colonies are already being studied by these financial men.

End of the Krupp Scandal in Germany

Although the sentences pronounced upon the seven officials of the Prussian War Office who were convicted, on August 5, for accepting bribes from the Krupp company in return for military information were very light, sufficient evidence was brought out at the trial to indicate that there was an unfortunately broad foundation for the charges made against them. Last April, it will be remembered, as we noted in these pages at the time, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, one of the leaders of the Social Democrats in the Reichstag, taking advantage of the freedom of speech permitted in the German Parliament, asserted that the agent of the Krupp gunworks, of Berlin, had bribed officers of the War Department and obtained secret plans of the Government. This agent, said Dr. Liebknecht further, had learned the bids of rival firms for munitions of war, and thus enabled the Krupps to shut out competition. He also charged that, with the connivance of the government, the Krupp firm had fomented rumors of impending war in France, Germany and England for the sake of securing orders for war materials. Dr. Liebknecht sent copies of incriminating documents to the Minister of War, and afterwards presented them to the Reichstag.

The Court Martial

The War Minister, General von Heeringen, resigned, and the government felt compelled to take up the case. A court martial was therefore instituted on July 31, and seven officials of the War Department placed on trial. Whenever the documents in question were read, the judges went into secret session, but the officers on trial have admitted that the information given in these documents would, "if communicated to a foreign power, have been of the highest importance." In defense of their action, the accused men asserted that they believed the Krupps and the German Government to be one and the same thing, and that the War Minister himself had been ordered to give them—the accused men—all possible information. The trial was ended by the sentence of the seven men to imprisonment for terms varying from two months to a year. The court regretted that "this case has cast unjust suspicion on the German officials and army."

The Chancellor Denounces Socialism

Referring to this trial and the sentences of the military court at Erfurt on some army reservists who had indulged in a drunken brawl, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg delivered in the Reichstag an impassioned denunciation of the Socialists, who, he said, "made a cankering sore in the Empire" and "are responsible for the unfortunate prejudice which has begun to appear against militarism." In this connection, all the friends of universal peace will find most interesting reading in Herr Lamszus' extraordinary little book, "The Human Slaughter-House," which has so stirred Germany during recent months, and a notice of which appears on another page of this REVIEW this month. Another volume on the finer side of German character is Frederic W. Wile's collection of sketches of "The Men Around the Kaiser," which we summarize on page 321. Mr. Wile accords high place in this work to August Bebel, the veteran leader of the German Socialists, who died on August 13, at the age of 73. We have quoted a few of his graphic sentences summing up the achievements of the old "Socialist lion." The bill for the increase of the army, which, as we noted last month, was passed by the Reichstag on June 30, has occasioned the imposition of such increased taxes that popular opposition is manifesting itself in unusual ways. Up to August 1 more than 200 petitions of protest had been received by the government from powerful associations of all kinds in every part of the empire.

Victory of the Dutch Liberals

The victory which the Dutch Liberals won in the elections (on June 25) has proved an embarrassing one. The Liberal leader, Dr. Kirk Bos, who was asked by the queen to form a ministry, found himself dependent very materially on the Socialist deputies for his majority. The government has fifty-five votes, of which eighteen are Socialist, against forty-five of the opposition. In order to consolidate his majority, the leader, in his effort to form a cabinet, offered to David Troelstra, the Socialist leader, three portfolios—for himself and two of his colleagues. The Socialists of Holland, however, in congress assembled at Zwolle on August 12, "warned by the experience of France with Briand," voted down by a substantial majority the resolution to permit any of its members to enter a coalition cabinet. Dr. Bos, who is the Liberal leader, is a stout defender of the principle of free trade. His program in-



DR. KIRK BOS, THE DUTCH LIBERAL LEADER
(Who tried unsuccessfully, for a month, to induce three Socialists to help him form a ministry)

cluded "the preservation of the national schools threatened with clericalism by the last government," the upholding of free trade, the attainment of universal suffrage, "non-contributory" old age pensions, and "an increased proportion of direct taxation from those best able to bear it."

War Preparation and Peace Talk

Among the more serious problems that face the government at The Hague, that of preserving Holland's neutrality and guaranteeing her defense against invasion is the most important. The much discussed coast defense bill providing for new armaments, including the fortification of the port of Flushing and the general military protection of the East Indian colonies, was passed early in the summer. While these preparations against war were being made, the Twentieth Universal Peace Congress, under the presidency of the Prince Consort, was being held at the Dutch capital from August 18 to 20. Among the subjects discussed by representatives of all nations at this congress those of the most general interest were: "What the Press Might Do for the Cause of Peace" and "Commercial Rivalry and International Relations," the second being presented by the famous Frenchman Yves Guyot, and the equally famous Englishman and writer of books on international peace, Norman Angell. The Peace Palace at The Hague, founded largely through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, was formally opened on August 28.

The Dutch Centenary

This summer the Dutch complete the first century of their liberation from the France of Napoleon. After the Battle of Leipzig, in 1813, in which Napoleon was defeated, the French were driven out of Holland and the House of Orange once more recalled to power. In November of that year the Prince of Orange, son of William V, returned from England and was proclaimed William I of the Netherlands. It is the centenary of this historic event that was commemorated with manifestations of patriotism in the little country of dikes and dunes. Since the beginning of the twentieth century Holland has come to be looked upon by the world chiefly as the home of that splendid international tribunal at The Hague by the agreement of all the civilized powers of the world for the settlement of disputes between nations. The first world peace conference was held in the Dutch capital in 1899, and the second in 1907. When the beloved Queen Wilhelmina, at the age of eighteen, ascended to the throne of her fathers (in 1898) the reform of Dutch franchise laws had begun. Electoral reform has been one of the mooted questions in Dutch parliamentary procedure ever since. One of the most important pieces of legislation passed by the States-General during recent years was a law (in 1903) making railroad strikes illegal. Other questions of coast defense, colonies and a new customs tariff have engaged public attention during recent years.

The Dutch Dynasty and Character

One of the most appealing and important events of Dutch history since the beginning of the century was the marriage of Wilhelmina to Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In 1909 the birth of their first child, the little Princess Juliana, was received with great popular rejoicing. The Dutch feel that there is less to fear in the menace of German absorption—always a great bugbear to the Netherlanders—now that they have an heir to the throne. Holland is one of the centers of European civilization and progress, and it cannot fail to be of great interest and profit to traveling Americans this year to see this very modern little kingdom as it really is. There is probably no country of Europe in the track of the tourist about which there is so much misapprehension as Holland. Thanks to the genial Washington Irving, who, in his Knickerbocker History of New York, was the creator of the stage Dutchman, there has been a general impression abroad

of Holland as a rather antiquated country, peopled by a lot of stout folk who wear baggy trousers and wooden shoes. Many of us, however, have to learn, and a great many more to be reminded of the fact that so well has the little Dutch nation managed its affairs that in addition to taking care of its home government, it holds the reins over a vast empire of 35,000,000 Orientals, and, at the same time, keeps abreast of the commercial, industrial, educational and artistic world of civilization.

A Crisis in the German-Czech Struggle

The four years' conflict between the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia reached a critical stage late in July, when the Emperor dissolved the Bohemian Diet, suspended the provincial constitution and declared that the affairs of state would be administered by a bi-racial commission of seven—four Czechs and three Germans. The causes of German-Bohemian bitterness are all traceable to the difference in language and race. Measures of practical politics do not separate the two peoples. Of the population of 7,000,000 in Bohemia, nearly 75 per cent. are Czechs. The Germans, however, holding, as they have generally done, important administrative offices, have been able to keep up what would otherwise have been a hopeless contest. Several deadlocks during recent years, with consequent failure to pass budgets and the resultant delay in carrying out administrative measures and necessary public works, made some sort of a compromise necessary.

The Bohemian Constitution Suspended

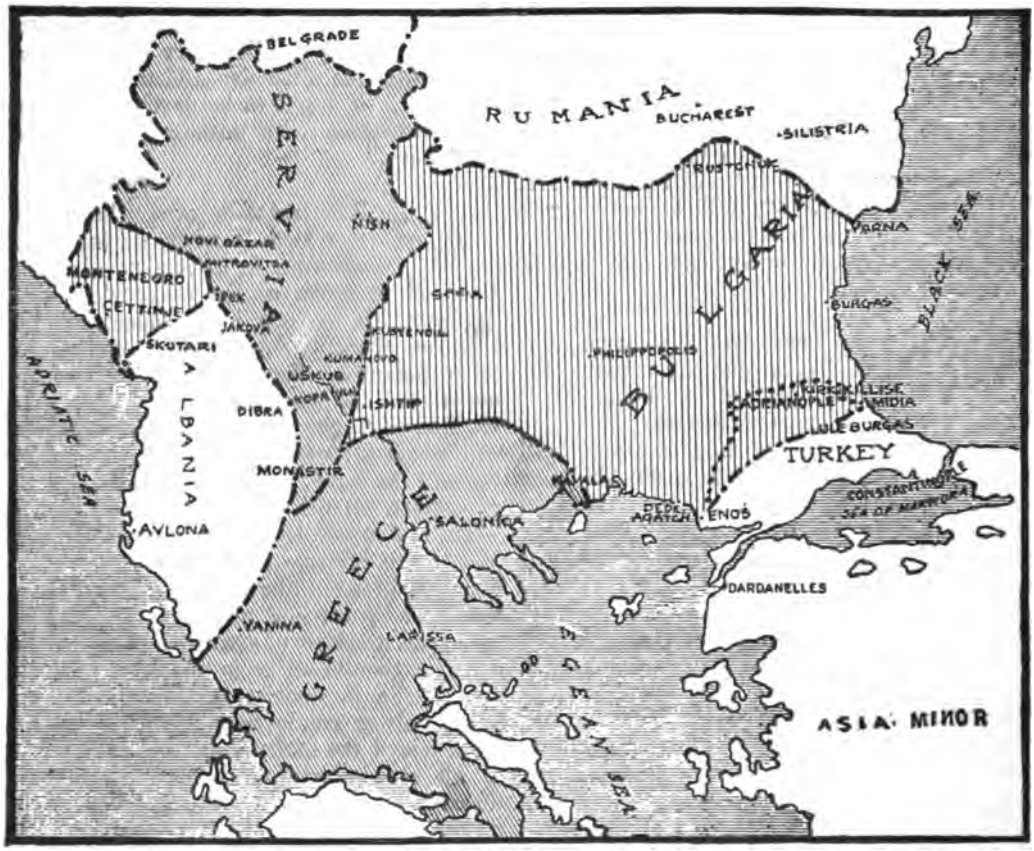
In the summer of last year it was agreed that as the price of political peace the provincial budget would be divided between the two nationalities in proportion to population, and the judicial and administrative offices in the districts would be determined by the character of the population, while the rule as to languages, German and Bohemian, would be settled by local law for the local officials and imperial law for the state officers. As a result of the nationalistic agitation of the Croats and Slavonians, and largely because of the triumphs of the Servians and other Slavs in the war against Turkey, the Czechs in Bohemia again pressed their demands for predominance, and, by the beginning of the present year, a complete deadlock had resulted in the Diet at Prague. The exchequer was empty and no money could be voted. The crown then stepped in and temporarily suspended Bohemian autonomy. The Minister of the Interior at Vienna, however, has announced that this suspension of the constitution is only a temporary measure, and that when the financial difficulty has been overcome, "it ought to be possible to restore the constitution with possibly a wider electoral basis."

The Strike in Italian Cities

The reaction after the Italian war with Turkey, during which the state in its foreign adventure absorbed so much of the country's wealth, has been felt in Italy in an industrial crisis affecting the entire peninsula. Strikes and other industrial disturbances have been frequent since the war ended. In June a strike for higher wages among a large number of workers in automobile factories in Milan was thought to have been compromised by the agreement, on the part of the employers, to "devote a certain sum to raise certain wages, but not to increase the remuneration of all their workers." The men refused to accept this, and by the end of July practically all the metal workers of northern Italy had declared a general strike in sympathy with the men in the automobile factories. Then the street railway employees in Milan and other cities joined the strikers and a general tie-up of all the industries of the kingdom was threatened. The military was called out to repress disorder, and some rioting and violence took place in Pisa, Genoa, Turin, Venice, Naples and Bologna, as well as in Milan itself. On August 11 the united Syndicalist and Socialist workmen's associations proclaimed a general strike. The next day, however, before there had been a general participation in the movement, the strike was called off. Martial law had been declared in Milan, and there was much complaint of arbitrary action on the part of the military authorities. It is reported that while the strike has been a failure on the face of it, nevertheless the employers have practically agreed to the demands of the workers.

End of the Second Balkan War

The second Balkan War, ending in the triumph of Rumania, Servia and Greece over Bulgaria, was concluded by the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest on August 10. This treaty, after providing for the evacuation of Bulgaria by the Rumanian, Servian and Greek armies, the demobilization of the Bulgarian forces and the resort to arbitration by Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, in the event of a disagreement over the new frontiers, divides up the troubled Balkan region as in-



THE NEW BALKANS AS MAPPED OUT BY THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST
(Showing the Greater Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, Rumania and Montenegro)

dicated on the accompanying map. Bulgaria gains the largest amount of territory, although not so much as she claimed after her victory over Turkey. Greece, on the other hand, is given the longest sea front, which, to a maritime nation such as the Greeks are, is of considerable importance. In the Greek acquisition are the important ports of Salonica and Kavala. It was over the possession of these cities chiefly that the Bulgars argued and fought. A certain portion of the territories assigned to Bulgaria may still have to be conquered from the Turks a second time. This portion is indicated by the dotted lines on the map. While the Bulgars were being pressed by their allies, the Turks took advantage of their extremity and crossed the line agreed upon by the Treaty of London, which closed the first Balkan war, and retook Kirk Kilisse and Adrianople. Even before the treaty was signed the Russian press advocated forcible ejection of the Turks, but the jealousy of the Powers prevented any agreement as to who should act.

What Rumania and Servia Gain

To Rumania is assigned a slice of northeastern Bulgaria, which she has always wanted to round out her Black Sea front. The desire to possess this was one of the reasons for her joining in the conflict. The main, if not the sole, purpose of the Servians, it will be remembered, in attacking Turkey, was to secure an outlet to the sea either on the Adriatic or the Egean sea. The second Balkan war leaves this ambition still unsatisfied. The European Powers prevented Servia from getting her "window on the Adriatic" at Durazzo. Having beaten the Bulgarians, the Servians wanted Kavala on the Egean, but Greece objected, since that city, one of the great tobacco centers of the world, is inhabited almost entirely by Greeks. The Servians finally persuaded the Powers to let them have commercial rights on the Egean. They also won back old Servia and their ancient capital, Uskub. Even Montenegro, which did not take any active part in the second war, and from which nothing has been heard since last

May when King Nicholas was forced by the great powers to give up Scutari, gets a small share of territory, the Sanjak of Novi-Bazaar and part of northern Albania.



KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA, WATCHING THE MOVEMENTS OF HIS TROOPS ON THE BATTLEFIELD
(He is using the very latest pattern of field glasses)

Causes of the Second War

We have already explained in these pages the origin of the disagreement between the allied Balkan nations after their victory over Turkey and the reason for Rumania's entrance upon the scene. Let us recall them briefly. According to the agreement made before the war with Turkey, the territory to be occupied, and which was occupied by the victorious allies, was to be proportioned upon a prearranged plan. After the war the great powers of Europe stepped in and set up, out of the territory which was to have fallen to the share of Servia and Greece, the autonomous principality of Albania. Bulgaria refused to recognize this new condition, or the justice of the Greek and Servian demands for compensation for the loss of Albania, and also for any return for their support of the Bulgarians in the operations in Thrace. The Bulgars refused to give over any of Macedonia to the Servians and Greeks. It is generally admitted that the claims of the Bulgars after the first war were arrogant, and that they went far to confirm the general belief that Czar Ferdinand, speaking through his Premier, Dr. Danev, really aimed to make Bulgaria the Prussia of the Balkans. Moreover, the feeling of hostility was intensified by persistent reports of blood-curdling atrocities perpetrated by the Bulgarians on Servian, Greek and Turkish population regardless of age or sex. In order, therefore, to chastise the Bulgarians for the barbarities of which they had been accused and to secure a fairer distribution of territory, the Greeks concluded with the Servians a secret treaty of offense against Bulgaria.



THE DEMOCRATIC KING CONSTANTINE, OF GREECE, AT HIS ARMY'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE WAR WITH BULGARIA

The Rumanian Case Against Bulgaria

There is a clash of statements as to which side began the attack, but the best evidence would seem to indicate that the Bulgarians first assumed the offensive by moving upon Salonica and by attacking the Greek and Servian lines in Macedonia. By accident, the plans of General Savov, commander of the Bulgarians, the victor of Kirk Kilisse, Lule Burgas and Adrianople, fell into the hands of the Greeks. The latter, with the Servians, at once attacked the Bulgarians, who had fallen into the fatal mistake of underrating their adversaries. The Servian army, under the Crown Prince, and the Greek army, under King Constantine himself, were slowly forcing their adversaries back, when Rumania entered the arena from the north. The Rumanian quarrel with Bulgaria dates back to 1878, when the Treaty of Berlin gave the Rumanians certain territory which was after-

wards partly absorbed by Russia and partly given to Bulgaria. Rumania has coveted the strip of Bulgarian territory on the south side of the Danube containing Silistria and some other important cities, and has long been striving by diplomacy to have this ceded to her. Moreover, Rumania, with a natural regard for her own interests, has feared just such a predominance in the Balkans as Bulgaria was apparently aiming at after her victory over the Turks. King Ferdinand refused to make any concessions to the demands from Bucharest. Therefore, the splendid Rumanian army was mobilized and marched across the Danube, taking the exhausted Bulgarians in the rear.

Ferdinand Asks Peace Terms

While the Rumanians fought no actions worth mentioning, it was their presence within thirty miles of Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, that finally induced King Ferdinand, all the efforts of his cabinet having failed to secure European help, to apply at once to King Charles for terms of peace. Meanwhile, the Porte had announced its purpose to reoccupy all the conquered territory up to and including Adrianople. On July 21 the celebrated Envir Bey, who had fought the Italians so valiantly in Tripoli, with a small mobile Turkish force, entered Adrianople, the Bulgarian garrison retreating before him. In reply to the overtures of Czar Ferdinand, King Charles of Rumania arranged with his allies for an armistice, and later called for a peace conference, which met at Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, on July 30. There were proposals and counter proposals submitted by Bulgaria and her allied enemies, but the final result was the treaty of peace, the chief terms of which we have set forth in a preceding paragraph. Thus ended the second of the two Balkan wars. During these conflicts, according to figures compiled by correspondents in the field, 358,000 persons died. Other estimates from reliable sources showing the number of men sent into the field by the different Balkan nations in the two wars, the losses sustained and the financial expense, have been summarized by a member of the Italian War Office as follows. It is certainly a ghastly total of dead. Bulgaria—350,000 soldiers mobilized; 80,000 dead; $300,000,000; Servia—250,000 soldiers; 30,000 dead; $160,000,000; Greece—10,000 dead out of 150,000; $70,000,000; Montenegro—8,000 dead out of 30,000; $4,000,000; Turkey—450,000; 100,000 dead; $400,000,000. For the second war: Bulgaria—60,000 dead; $180,000,000; Servia—40,000 dead; $100,000,000; Greece—30,000 dead; $50,000,000. But that was not all. How many were wounded, mutilated, or otherwise rendered unfit to meet the demands of after life may be guessed from one little advertisement which appeared in a German paper on August 1. It read: "Three thousand artificial legs wanted by the government of a nation at present in war." The British War Office estimates that more than $900,000,000 was the cost of the first war, and $300,000,000 the cost of the second, a total, approximately, of a billion and a quarter of money spent, with all the loss of life and damage to property, and yet no definite settlement of the points at issue.

Is It a Peace or Only a Truce?

That this peace is not a final one, and perhaps little more than what the Austrian Foreign Office has called it, a long truce, is shown by the fact that the great powers have very different opinions of the treaty of Bucharest. Austria and Russia, anxious that Bulgaria shall not be unduly weakened, have both declared that they "reserve the right to revise the peace treaty." Germany and France, on the other hand, are opposed to any revision, and, according to an official report from Paris, will insist upon having the peace now concluded made final. In a speech made on August 13, in the House of Commons, by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary declared that there was a "real basis" for the hope that Austria and Russia would abandon their demand for a revision of the Bucharest treaty. But an early revision seems likely, and it will come when Austria or Russia feel strong enough to demand it. As to the Turkish occupation of Adrianople, which the new treaty has assigned to Bulgaria permanently, the representatives of the great powers, in a joint note, on August 6, emphatically informed the Porte that Turkey must accept the treaty of London which ended the first Balkan war. Pressure will probably be exerted on the Turks if they fail to comply with this demand, not by armies, but, according to an official statement from Paris on August 15, by "withholding all money from the Ottoman Government until the evacuation of Adrianople is ordered."

The Barren Fourth Duma

The fourth Russian Duma closed its first regular session late in July, after seven months of life, and adjourned until November. Lit-

tle was accomplished during those months, and the Russian press, radical as well as conservative, is unanimous in declaring the session barren of any material results. Of the large number of bills introduced by the government and passed by the Duma, only two are worth mentioning—one simplifying civil procedure, and the other partially reforming the administration of justice in ten western provinces. Most of the time was spent in debates over the budget which increases yearly, but without any apparent benefit to the people. The deputies seemed never weary of condemning the policies of the administration in long and vigorous speeches, but the effort of the radical groups to bring the government to terms by refusing to vote the appropriations was frustrated by the conservative elements, who passed them by substantial majorities. To the disappointment of both the government and the Liberals, there was no permanent working majority.

Strike of a Cabinet

The Duma witnessed an incident unprecedented in the history of parliaments—a strike of ministers. Markov, a deputy of the "Right," addressed an insulting remark to Premier Kokovtzov while debating the appropriation for the Ministry of Finance, and the Cabinet decided not to attend the sessions of the Duma, a resolution they adhered to absolutely. Neither the Duma nor the Ministers made any move toward a reconciliation, and the session was adjourned without having settled the difference. The day on which the session closed, was, tragically enough, marked by the announcement of the Minister of Public Instruction that the secondary schools of the Empire have now passed under control of the secret police.

"Hunger Hooliganism" and Its Causes

One of the results of the oppressive laws and backward conditions in Russia generally to-day is the appearance, during the past year or two, of "hunger hooliganism." Assaults, depredations on property, robberies and similar crimes are of daily occurrence, and the police are apparently indifferent. The situation has become so serious that Maklakov, Minister of the Interior, recently called a conference of governors and other high government officials to consider measures against the evil. As yet, however, the administrative wisdom of the Russian bureaucracy does not go further than the time-honored method of "suppression." It was decided to give the governors special powers to deal with the hooligans summarily without trial. This measure proved to the liking of the provincial autocrats, and they applied it so vigorously that the Minister was compelled to advise them to use their power with more discrimination. But Russian hooliganism has its causes far deeper than such measures go. It is no doubt mainly due to the dire poverty of the people and to alcoholism, which is one of the largest sources of income to the government. Last year there was realized from the sale of alcoholic drinks, which is a government monopoly in Russia, more than 800,000,000 rubles ($400,000,000). Minister Maklakov with an amazing frankness finds that the severe climate of Russia makes alcohol "a vital necessity to the masses"—not a very statesmanlike point of view as westerners would consider it.

Does Yuan Shih-kai Aim at a Crown?

Opposition to what are called the monarchical aspirations of Yuan Shih-kai, provisional President of China, resulted, early in July, in the breaking out of a serious revolt against Yuan. Three provinces seceded, and five more threatened to follow. There was considerable fighting in the Southern provinces, Shanghai was set on fire by bombardment on July 30, and a number of other towns in the Yangste valley suffered severe loss in the fighting. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the inspirer of the recent revolution which swept away the Manchus, and first provisional president of the republic, is apparently behind the revolt. Dr. Sun is an idealist. Reform in his country is not progressing fast enough to suit him. He accuses Yuan of "intolerable tyranny." Moreover, he relies upon the benevolent interest of Japan and Russia.

The Revolt Against Him

Yuan, on the other hand, of a more practical mind, has, despite a certain brutality in the treatment of his enemies, inspired confidence by his engineering of the recent foreign loan and the vigor with which he has administered the government. He has been able to pay the Northern troops, who are favorable to him, and it would seem that the Southern revolutionists would find it impossible to make headway against him, if for no other reason than the lack of funds. It was reported, by the middle of last month, that the revolt had been crushed, but that "no bloody reprisals would be taken upon the vanquished." Dr. Sun directed the movement against Yuan from Tokyo. On



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DR. PAUL S. REINSCH, OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO CHINA

another page this month we present a sketch of Yuan from the pen of an American journalist, who lived for some years in China and has recently returned. Our own relations with the Peking Government continue excellent. Late in July Professor Paul Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, the well-known writer on international political and economic topics, was appointed by President Wilson to be Minister to Peking. Dr. Reinsch represents the best type of American public men, the scholar of broad sympathies and ethical outlook, in politics for the public weal. He has had a good deal of experience in foreign lands, and has represented the United States at several Pan-American conferences.

A New Japanese Note

Early last month it was announced that the Japanese Government had prepared a new note for presentment to our State Department in answer to Secretary Bryan's communication of July 16, concerning the California alien land ownership legislation. The new note, it was reported, defended the position already taken by the Japanese Government that the land ownership bill violates the Japanese-American treaty. The special arbitration treaty with Japan, which would have expired by limitation in July, was extended, on June 28, by protocols signed by Secretary Bryan and the Japanese Ambassador, but not immediately ratified by the Senate. Meanwhile, the Japanese Emperor has received the Hon. George W. Guthrie, the new American Ambassador, most cordially, and declined to receive General Felix Diaz, the leader of the Mexican revolutionists that overthrew Madero, who was recently sent by provisional President Huerta as a special ambassador to Japan, lest such reception be misinterpreted in the United States.

Strike in the Rand Mines

The strike of the gold miners in the Rand, South Africa, during July, not only paralyzed the industry, but threatened to undermine the entire government. The miners have been dissatisfied for years with the conditions under which they work. It has been said by Hon. John Merriman, Premier of Cape Colony, that the Rand miners pay "a higher price for their high wages than any other class of workers in the world." The white workers in the South African mines number between 10,000 and 12,000. They labor under very unfavorable sanitary conditions, and usually die before the age of forty, after less than ten years' service. Not less than 10,000 die in the mines every year, chiefly from miner's phthisis, a disease corresponding to pulmonary tuberculosis, due to the inhalation of fine dust from rock drilling and blasting without water spraying. The chairman of the Committee on Industrial Diseases, appointed by the British Government in 1907, to investigate conditions throughout the empire, reported that 90 per cent. of the Transvaal rock drillers died within two years after they returned to England.

Demands of the Men

On July 1 the men struck for "a flat minimum wage rather than the regular system of an allowance and living expense." They also demanded an eight-hour day, the abolition of Sunday labor, more liberal compensation in case of accident and disease, recognition of the union and a special session of parliament to enact "adequate legislation for safeguarding free speech and free public assembly." This last demand followed the proclamation of the government declaring that "owing to the unsettled conditions, all meetings of more than six people are illegal." It was in enforcing this last regulation that the police

and the British regulars were brought into collision with the mob at various points in the vicinity of Johannesburg, and which converted the revolt into almost an anarchist war. There was much rioting and destruction of property. Martial law was proclaimed on July 29.

Dilemma of the Government

After forty rioters had been killed and more than one hundred persons altogether had lost their lives, the strike was practically terminated by certain concessions on the part of the mine owners. The men, however, insist that the conditions upon which the operators recognized the unions "practically destroys their independence and usefulness to the workers." On the other hand, the mine owners accuse the unions of inciting the large force of black natives working in the mines to outrages upon the whites. There has been much criticism of the Botha Government for using the imperial regulars in subduing the strikers, and the federated unions of the South African Union have demanded the recall of Governor-General Gladstone. By the middle of last month it looked as though, by compromises on both sides, the situation had become normal. Legislation to improve the condition of the mine workers has now been introduced in the South African Parliament, and the Ministry of Mines has invited Colonel William C. Gorgas, who cleaned up Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone, to inspect the Rand mines and suggest improvement in health conditions.

The New Liberal Government in Australia

When, after several weeks of uncertainty, the results of the Australian general elections of May 31 were finally announced, and it was learned that the Labor party, in power for three years, was in a minority of one vote in the popular chamber, Premier Fisher handed in his resignation to the Governor-General. Late in July Mr. Joseph Cook was summoned by the representative of the Crown to form a new ministry. Mr. Cook became leader of the Liberal party last spring upon the resignation, on account of ill health, of Alfred Deacon, the Fusion leader. Mr. Cook, who was originally a miner in Australia, soon showed his ability to lead, and became recognized head of all the opposition forces to the program of the Fisher Labor government.



JOSEPH COOK, THE NEW PRIME MINISTER OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

A Close Election

In the main, the administration of the Labor party, which dominated for three years during the fourth parliament of the Commonwealth, was a good one. A good deal of opposition, however, had arisen over the way the government handled the recent general strike. The Australian Labor elements are not in favor of the immigration of workers, while it would appear to be the general conviction of the Australian nation that immigration is a highly desirable thing for the country. A distinctive feature of the recent election was a referendum on six important amendments to the constitution, looking toward reforms in connection with trusts and monopolies, strikes and lockouts, trade coöperation and commerce in general. These referenda were defeated. The three women candidates for membership in the Federal Parliament were also voted down. Instead of a majority of 12 for the Labor Party, the Fusion coalition, Free Traders, Protectionists and Liberals, have now a majority of one. The Senate, however, remains under Labor control and the Cook Government will probably not find its rule an easy one.



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FESTIVAL HALL, PLANNED FOR THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, TO BE HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO, IN 1915

(In this hall will be held the various important world conventions and assemblies scheduled to meet during the Exposition period at San Francisco)



HON. MANUEL CALERO

(Formerly Ambassador to the United States, who, it is predicted, will occupy a prominent position in the readjustment of political affairs in Mexico. Señor Calero is a lawyer with an extensive practice in both Spanish and English. See page 283)



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GEN. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

(Leader of the Constitutionalist party in Mexico, and a prominent opponent of the Huerta régime. The Carranza forces control a number of the northern provinces of Mexico. Gen. Carranza is Governor of the revolting state of Coahuila)

TWO IMPORTANT FIGURES IN THE MEXICAN SITUATION

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(*From July 16 to August 14, 1913*)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 18.—In the Senate, the Tariff bill is reported from the Finance Committee; the resolution of Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.), inquiring as to the amount of salary necessary to enable Secretary Bryan to drop his lecture tours, is tabled by vote of 41 to 29.

July 19.—The Senate begins debate on the Tariff bill, Mr. Simmons (Dem., N. C.), chairman of the Finance Committee, analyzing and defending the measure, and Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.) criticizing it as unjust and discriminating.

July 21.—In the Senate, Messrs. Burton (Rep., Ohio) and Smoot (Rep., Utah) speak against the Tariff bill.

July 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) endorses the principle of the Democratic income-tax measure, but advocates the raising of the exemption line; Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) concludes his criticism of the Tariff bill.

July 29.—In the House, Republican and Progressive members criticize the Administration for the delay in prosecuting the Diggs-Caminetti "white slave" cases in California.

July 31.—In the Senate, Mr. Thornton (Dem., La.) attacks the free-sugar section of the Tariff bill, and announces that he will not support the measure.

August 2.—The Senate completes its discussion of amendments to Schedules B and D of the Tariff bill; Mr. Walsh (Dem., Mont.) states that he will support the measure, although opposed to the free-wool provision.

August 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, vigorously opposes the adoption of currency legislation at the present session. . . . The Democratic members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency vote, 11 to 3, to submit the Currency bill to a party caucus.

August 6.—In the Senate, Mr. Lippitt (Rep., R. I.) speaks on the cotton schedule, charging the Democrats with favoring Southern mills and discriminating against those of New England.

August 11.—The House Democrats, in caucus, begin consideration of the Administration measure revising currency and banking.

August 14.—The Senate sustains the Finance Committee's amendments to the Tariff bill placing wheat and fresh eggs on the free list. . . . The Senate Democratic caucus adopts a resolution recommending that Congress consider currency and banking legislation immediately following the passage of the Tariff bill.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

July 18.—The President nominates William L. Chambers as the first Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation, and G. W. W. Hanger as Assistant Commissioner; Charles S. Hartman, of Montana, is nominated to be Minister to Ecuador.

July 19.—Secretary of State Bryan lays before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations the draft of the proposed treaty with Nicaragua, involving virtual control of the international affairs of that republic. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission orders the reduction of freight rates to Duluth, by rail and lake, from Eastern points.

July 22.—Archibald C. Hart (Dem.) is elected to Congress from the Sixth New Jersey District, succeeding the late Lewis J. Martin (Dem.). . . . The President nominates Royal Meeker, of New Jersey, to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

July 23.—George W. Hays (Dem.) is elected Governor of Arkansas to succeed Joseph T. Robinson, resigned. . . . James M. Sullivan, of New York, is nominated by the President to be Minister to Santo Domingo.

July 24.—The entire Michigan National Guard is called out to preserve order in the copper-mine district at Calumet. . . . L. E. Pinkham, of Hawaii, is nominated to be Governor by the President. . . . Mrs. Ella Flagg Young resigns as superintendent of the public schools of Chicago.

July 25.—The Postmaster General authorizes the increase of the parcel-post limit to twenty pounds in the first two zones, and a reduction in rates for those zones to five cents for the first pound and one cent for each additional two pounds. . . . The President nominates George C. Todd, of New York, as Assistant to the Attorney-General, and Charles S. Hamlin, of Massachusetts, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs. . . . The Wisconsin Legislature passes a bill requiring a health certificate before the granting of a marriage license.

July 26.—The President nominates John William Davis, of West Virginia, to be Solicitor-General. . . . Governor Tener signs bills creating a public-service commission in Pennsylvania and reducing the working hours of women from sixty to fifty-four a week.

July 28.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo charges that the market for Government 2 per cent. bonds has been depressed below par by New York bankers to help defeat the proposed currency-reform bill.

July 29.—Charles F. Marvin, head of the Instruments Division, is promoted to be Chief of the Weather Bureau.

July 31.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo announces that he will deposit $50,000,000 in national banks of the South and West to help in the harvesting and movement of crops, accepting commercial paper as part security.

August 1.—John Purroy Mitchel (Dem.), Collector of the Port of New York, is nominated for Mayor by the general fusion committee; District-Attorney Whitman (Rep.) is renominated, and Borough President McAneny (Dem.) is selected for President of the Board of Aldermen. . . . The California Railroad Commission orders reductions in express rates within the State which

will save shippers $750,000 annually. . . . The Mayor of Chicago appoints ten women as members of the police force.

August 2.—The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, by vote of 8 to 4, rejects Secretary Bryan's radical treaty with Nicaragua. . . . Governor McGovern approves the "blue sky" bill passed by the Wisconsin legislature.

August 4.—The President accepts the resignation of Henry Lane Wilson as Ambassador to Mexico. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission makes final its order that the express companies adopt and observe for two years, beginning October 15, the schedule of rates prepared by the Commission, the reductions averaging 16 per cent.



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HON. NELSON O'SHAUGHNESSY

(Secretary of the American Embassy in Mexico, and chargé d'affaires following the resignation of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson)

August 5.—The President nominates Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, to be Minister to China.

August 6.—The President sends to the Senate the nomination of Preston McGoodwin, of Oklahoma, to be Minister to Venezuela.

August 7.—The President nominates Madison R. Smith, of Missouri, to be Minister to Haiti.

August 8.—Testimony and exhibits before the special investigating committee of the New York Legislature tend to show that Governor Sulzer used unacknowledged campaign-contribution checks in personal stock-exchange transactions.

August 10.—Governor Sulzer issues a statement formally denying that he used campaign checks for private purposes or that he speculated in Wall Street.

August 11.—A resolution to impeach Governor Sulzer is introduced in the New York Legislature following the report of the special investigating committee.

August 13.—The New York Legislature, after an all-night session, impeaches Governor Sulzer by vote of 79 to 45. . . . The Governor of Alabama appoints Congressman Henry D. Clayton (Dem.) to succeed the late Joseph F. Johnston (Dem.) in the United States Senate. . . . The President nominates William J. Price, of Kentucky, to be Minister to Panama.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

July 16.—Serious revolts against the Yuan Shih-kai Government are reported throughout the southern provinces of the Chinese Republic.

July 17.—Three members of the Argentine cabinet resign because of disagreement over foreign loans for public works.

July 18.—Tsen Chunhsuan is proclaimed President by the revolutionary leaders of southern China.

July 19.—The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 358 to 204, adopts the bill increasing the term of compulsory military service from two to three years. . . . The province of Kwang Tung, China, proclaims its independence.

July 20.—A coalition cabinet is formed in Bulgaria, under the premiership of M. Radoslavov.

July 21.—The province of Fu Kien secedes from the Chinese Republic.

July 22.—The British House of Lords rejects the Welsh Disestablishment bill.

July 23-24.—The garrison of the Kiang-Nan arsenal at Shanghai repulses several attacks by a large force of revolutionists.

July 24.—The House of Lords rejects the bill abolishing plural voting in the British Isles.

July 25.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes the budget ($960,000,000).

July 26.—Chinese Government troops take possession of the city of Chin-kiang; the province of Hu-Nan secedes.

July 30.—The province of Kwang Tung renounces its proclamation of independence. . . . The French Senate passes the Budget bill. . . . It is reported from Venezuela that ex-President Castro has begun revolutionary measures at various points on the Colombian frontier.

August 1.—The Venezuelan Federal Council authorizes President Gomez to assume dictatorial powers until the revolutionary movement is suppressed. . . . General Huerta, Provisional President of Mexico, declares that he will neither resign nor permit foreign interference. . . . P. W. A. Cort van der Linden is intrusted with the formation of a cabinet in the Netherlands, to be selected from outside the Parliament.

August 6.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, former Provisional President and a leader in the recent revolution, flees from China on a ship bound for Formosa.

August 7.—The French Senate passes the three-year military service bill, by vote of 245 to 37.

August 10.—Ex-President Leguia is exiled from Peru.

August 12.—The Venezuelan revolution is declared a failure by the American consul at Caracas.

August 13.—Chinese revolutionists and Govern-

ment troops engage in looting Canton City, 1200 persons being killed in the fighting; the revolutionists in the province of Kwang Tung for the third time fly their flag over the Governor's residence at Nanking. . . . The Italian decennial census shows a population of 34,671,377, an increase of 1,750,000.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 18.—The Rumanian troops advance to within thirty miles of Sofia; King Ferdinand informs King Charles of Rumania that Bulgaria is ready to negotiate terms of settlement.

July 22.—Turkish forces retake Adrianople and Kirk-Kilisseh with but little opposition from the Bulgarian garrison.

July 25.—Austria warns Servia and Greece that Bulgaria should not be too greatly humiliated in the arrangement of peace.

July 26.—At the request of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, the Rumanian advance is halted ten miles from Sofia, the capital.

July 27.—The United States demands the arrest of Mexicans responsible for the shooting of Charles B. Dixon, Jr., United States Immigration Inspector at Juarez.

July 29.—The conference of ambassadors at London settles the status of the new state of Albania; an international commission is to control pending the choice of a prince.

July 30.—Representatives of Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, Rumania, and Montenegro meet at Bucharest to arrange peace terms; an armistice is agreed upon . . . . A Bulgarian attack upon Greek troops at Djuma, south of Sofia, results in the most sanguinary engagement of the war. . . . The British Government informs the American Ambassador that it will not participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915.

July 31.—It is announced at Washington that Germany has declined to participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

August 1.—It is stated at St. Petersburg that Russia has decided not to take part in the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

August 4.—Ex-Governor John Lind, of Minnesota, is sent to Mexico as the personal representative of President Wilson to attempt a settlement of the revolution.

August 5.—Sir Edward Grey denies, in the House of Commons, that Great Britain's decision not to participate in the San Francisco Exposition was due to the Panama Canal controversy.

August 6.—A compromise agreement is reached by the peace conferees at Bucharest. . . . The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, by order of President Huerta, declares that Mr. Lind will be regarded as an undesirable envoy unless he brings recognition of the existing government.

August 7.—The first of Secretary Bryan's peace treaties is signed with Salvador.

August 10.—A treaty of peace is signed at Bucharest by representatives of Bulgaria, Rumania, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro, bringing to a close the six weeks' war against Bulgaria.

August 11.—Mr. Lind, the special envoy from the United States to the Huerta government, arrives in Mexico City.



MR. HOWARD ELLIOTT, THE NEW HEAD OF THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD

(Mr. Elliott, a railroad administrator of wide reputation, comes from the Northern Pacific Railway, of which he had been president for ten years, to occupy the newly created post of chairman of the board of directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. He succeeds Mr. Charles S. Mellen, who resigned on July 17, as active head of the New Haven system)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 16.—Dr. Robert Bridges is appointed Poet Laureate of England. . . . The Sixth International Congress on Religious Progress is opened at Paris.

July 17.—Charles S. Mellen resigns the presidency of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. . . . The foreign trade of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30 shows unprecedented totals, imports amounting to $1,812,621,160 and exports of $2,465,761,910.

July 22.—A factory fire at Binghamton, N. Y., results in the death of forty persons, mostly women and girls.

July 23.—The strike of silk workers at Paterson, N. J., which lasted five months and affected 25,000 employees, is abandoned.

July 25.—Howard Elliott, president of the Northern Pacific, is chosen president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.

July 28.—The American lawn-tennis team de-



SCIARRINO PIETRO, THE NEW YORK SCULPTOR, AND HIS BUST OF THE LATE J. P. MORGAN

(The bust, to be cast in bronze, is to be placed in the public park of Ascoli, Italy, in recognition of the return by Mr. Morgan, a few years ago, of the famous cope of Pope Nicholas IV., which had been stolen from the cathedral at Ascoli)

feats the British players, at Wimbledon, England, in the deciding match for the Davis Cup.

August 2.—Nineteen persons are killed and a score seriously injured in two explosions in a mine of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, near Tower City, Pa.

August 6.—John Henry Mears, arriving at New York City, completes a trip around the world for the New York *Evening Sun* in 35 days, 21 hours, and 35 minutes, breaking the previous record by nearly four days, and averaging 27½ miles an hour. . . . The International Medical Congress is opened in London, with 10,000 persons in attendance.

August 7.—Capt. S. F. Cody, the aviator, is killed with a passenger in an accident to his machine at Aldershot, England. . . . A general strike at Barcelona, Spain, throws 75,000 men out of work and closes 260 factories.

August 8.—C. Murvin Wood, flying in a monoplane from Hempstead, L. I., to within sixteen miles of Washington, establishes a new American record for a non-stop flight across country.

August 10.—Internal-revenue collections (including the corporation tax) for the fiscal year ending June 30 total $344,424,453, exceeding all previous years. . . . At the end of the first week of a general strike at Milan, Italy, it is estimated that twenty-three persons have been killed, including nine soldiers, with thousands arrested; 30,000 soldiers are on strike duty.

August 12.—A general strike proclaimed throughout Italy is declared to be a failure excepting in Pisa and Genoa.

OBITUARY

July 19.—Alford W. Cooley, formerly Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Civil Service Commissioner, and justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, 40. . . . Marlin E. Olmsted, of Pennsylvania, a member of the Fifty-fifth to the Sixty-second Congresses.

July 20.—Brig.-Gen. Carl A. Woodruff, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 72.

July 21.—Zephaniah Hopper, for more than seventy years an instructor in the elementary and high schools of Philadelphia, 88.

July 22.—Anthony N. Brady, the lighting and traction magnate of New York, 68.

July 24.—J. W. Sauer, Minister of Justice in the South African Union.

July 26.—Christopher Christopherson, a former Foreign Minister of Norway.

July 29.—Thomas C. O'Sullivan, a prominent New York City jurist. . . . Tobias Michael Carel Asser, a member of the Hague Court of Arbitration and the Dutch Council of State, 75.

July 30.—Sir Richard Powell Cooper, owner of extensive farm lands in England and in North and South America, 65.

July 31.—Prof. John Milne, the noted English authority on earthquakes, 63. . . . Louis Charles Paulin Passy, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies since the establishment of the Third Republic, 83. . . . Dr. Hiram Collins Haydn, former president of Western Reserve University, 81.

August 3.—William Pitt Preble Longfellow, a prominent Massachusetts architect and author of works on architecture, 77. . . . Sir William John Lyne, former Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, 69.

August 4.—George Hitchcock, the painter, 63.

August 5.—Vernon H. Brown, for many years American agent of the Cunard Steamship Company, 81. . . . Samuel W. Williams, Populist candidate for Vice-President in 1908, 62.

August 6.—Robert C. Ogden, the New York City merchant, noted for his work for Southern education, 77 (see frontispiece). . . . Justice Samuel P. Hall, of the California Court of Appeals.

August 7.—William Wallace Screws, editor of the Montgomery *Advertiser* and former Secretary of State of Alabama, 74.

August 8.—Joseph F. Johnston, United States Senator from Alabama, former Governor, and Confederate veteran, 70. . . . Father Ohrwalder, the famous Austrian missionary in the Sudan, 58.

August 9.—Carl N. Eichler, the violinist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 87. . . . William R. Finch, ex-Minister to Paraguay and Uruguay, 68.

August 11.—Bishop William Tufnell Sabine, of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 74. . . . Dr. Itibere da Cunha, Brazilian Minister to Germany.

August 12.—Judge Uriah M. Rose, a member of the second international peace conference at The Hague, 79. . . . Prof. Edwin E. Goldmann, a noted German authority on cancer, 51. . . . Aime Morot, a French painter, 63.

August 13.—August Ferdinand Bebel, the German Socialist leader, 73.

August 14.—Gen. Edward F. Jones, a noted Civil War officer and New York manufacturer, 85. . . . Rear-Admiral Silas Casey, U. S. N., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 72.

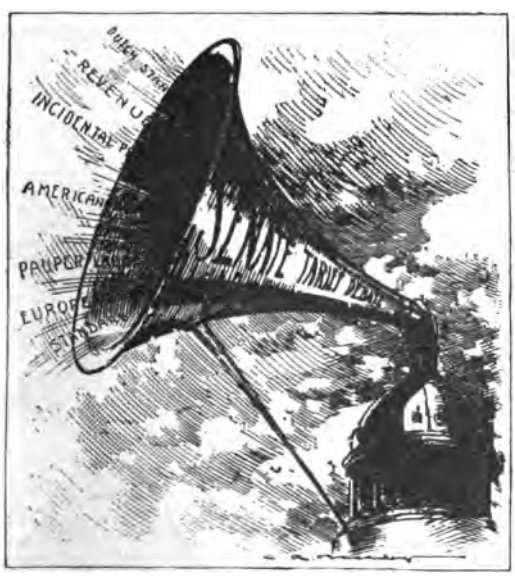
CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS



THE DOCTOR

(The President, having given Uncle Sam the tariff bitters, is now administering to him the currency pill, while Secretary Bryan stands approvingly by)
From *Truth* (Boston)

THE tariff and currency reform continue to be the main subjects of debate in Congress, with side excursions into the Mexican situation, the lobby investigation, and the possibility of war with Japan.



ONLY A LITTLE LONGER
(And then, with the tariff bill finally passed, the Senate gramophone will change its tune, taking up the discussion of the currency bill)
From the *World* (New York)



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THE BABES IN THE WOOD
(The President and the Secretary of State in the midst of their problems)
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



IN FOR REPAIRS
(Uncle Sam's monetary machine is now being overhauled in the Congressional garage)
From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)



FLAGGED!
(The threatened railroad strike was happily averted by arrangements for arbitration)
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

A number of industrial and financial topics were prominent last month. Among these were the currency reform bill, and Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo's plan to assist the movement of crops in the South and West by means of Government funds. What threatened to be a serious railroad strike was averted by an agreement to arbitrate the differences between the companies and the employees, with the help of a Federal board of mediators appointed by the President. The reduction of express rates ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the increase in the size of packages mailable by the parcel post, were considered additional blows to the express business.



A HANDY VEHICLE IN EMERGENCY
(Referring to the plan to aid the movement of the crops with Government funds)
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



GIVING HIM ANOTHER BITTER PILL
(Referring to the reduction in express rates and the extension of the parcel post)
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth, Minn.)



WHY NOT SWEEP AT HOME?
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



ANXIOUS MOMENTS
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

Various reports have appeared in the public press to the effect that certain European governments had demanded that the United States take some immediate action in the Mexican situation. Hence Mr. Ireland's cartoon in the Columbus (Ohio) *Evening Dispatch,* suggesting that Europe clean up her own Balkan region. Ambassador Wilson's endeavor to impress his views of the Mexican situation on the administration is humorously portrayed in Mr. French's cartoon in which the Ambassador urges the President to wear the "Huerta government hat." Mr. Lind's mission to Mexico is indeed a delicate one, as the cartoonist suggests, especially in view of the hostile attitude that had been at first assumed toward the plan by the Huerta Government, putting it in the position of the incorrigibles in the cartoon who "don't want to be saved." Subsequent reports, however, indicated a more conciliatory attitude toward the American envoy and his errand.



A TICKLISH JOB IS MR. LIND'S
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE INCORRIGIBLES
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



KISMET

TURKEY (in Adrianople): "Quite like old times being back here!"
EUROPE: "Ah, but you will be kicked out you know!"
TURKEY: "Well, that'll be like old times, too!"
From *Punch* (London)



A STUBBORN GROWTH

THE WORLD (viewing the great crop of bayonets on his face and realizing the inadequacy of the razor of diplomacy to keep them down)—"What would I not give for a *good safety* razor!"
From the *Graphic* (London)



GLORIOUS TIMES!

"Why do we carry such heavy burdens?"
"Well, my master tells me I must carry him, as otherwise you will attack me!"
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



A BROKEN LULLABY

EUROPA: "Oh, hush thee, my baby!"
THE INFANT ALBANIA: "How can I hush me with all th's infernal noise going on?"
EUROPA: "Well, you must do as I do, and pretend you don't hear it."
From *Punch* (London)

THE STORY OF EMERSON, HIGH PRIEST OF THE NEW SCIENCE OF EFFICIENCY

BY HERBERT N. CASSON

HARRINGTON EMERSON is the man who made Efficiency a national slogan. It was he who startled the nation by saying, "I can show the railroads how to save a million dollars a day." It was he who first discovered for himself the principles of Efficiency, in a remarkable career of romance and adventure, and who then persistently compelled the whole United States to respect the new ideas and to listen to the gospel of Efficiency.

Efficiency!

Thanks to Emerson and his co-workers, this word has become the keynote of American business. It is the watchword of our trade conventions. It is the text of speeches, endorsed by Harvard University, by the City of New York, by the Federal Government. It is no longer a mere set of theories. It has been so widely adopted, by corporations and public officials, that we may fairly call it the art of success, worked out from the American point of view.

The Emerson definition of Efficiency is "the elimination of all needless wastes, in material, in labor and in equipment, so as to reduce costs, increase profits and raise wages."

The Roosevelt definition is "applying the conservation principle of production."

The Brandeis definition is "universal preparedness."

My own definition is "the securing of a higher percentage of results, by applying scientific methods to the activities of the business world."

No definition, however, can be very accurate, for the reason that Efficiency is new. Very little of it has been written down in books. As a general tendency, it is everywhere; but as a clear-cut system of thought, it exists only in the minds of a comparatively small number of men.

Those who appreciate and understand Efficiency are too busy to explain it to others. They are applying what they know and learning more. Naturally, they are somewhat inclined to keep this valuable new knowledge to themselves, just as the gold miner, who has struck a rich vein of yellow treasure, is inclined to be secretive about his good luck. The total literature of Efficiency would barely fill a five-foot shelf, and most of the books are special studies of one problem or one trade. Just as there was only one book in 1865 which gave a general explanation of the theory of evolution—Darwin's "Origin of Species," so there is to-day only one book which gives a general explanation of the Efficiency movement—Emerson's "Twelve Principles of Efficiency."

EFFICIENCY, AS A CONSCIOUS SCIENCE, IS NEW

Efficiency began—when? Only a few years ago, in its present form. In 1900 it had no name and the "Engineering Magazine" christened it "production engineering." Several years later, Emerson fixed upon the word "Efficiency" as being better fitted to describe the new ideas; and later still, Mr. Frederick W. Taylor chose the phrase "Scientific Management."

In its larger sense, of course, Efficiency is nothing less than the scientific spirit in its latest manifestation. Efficiency really began when some ancient Egyptian or Assyrian first applied geometry to the problems of our globe. It grew during the lifetime of such pioneers as Democritos of Abdera, who conceived of the universe as a mechanism twenty-two centuries ago. It was strengthened by Euclid and Archimedes and Copernicus and Kepler and Newton. It was applied to discovery by Magellan and Columbus, to chemistry by Boyle, to anatomy by Vesalius, to the study of nature by Darwin, to geology by Lyell, to militarism by Von Moltke, to the art of invention by Edison, and to the culture of fruits by Burbank of California.

Whoever first conceived of a wheel—that ingenious circular leg with a perpetual foot—helped along the international movement towards an efficient civilization. Whoever first made fire and cooking and clothes and flour and leather and houses—every one of these unknown pathfinders did his share in pushing the race upwards. Above all, perhaps, James Watt, who gave us the steam-engine as the chief prime mover of the world, created the Age of Machinery, and thus shifted the industrial nations from a basis of muscle to a basis of brain.

Since Watt, the builders of Efficiency have been too numerous to name. Under the stimulation of steam, men began to think faster. They began to invent, until in the last hundred years a million patents have been issued to American inventors. Whitney gave us cheap cotton; Howe gave us cheap clothing; McCormick gave us cheap wheat; Morse and Bell gave us cheap communication; Rockefeller gave us cheap oil; and Carnegie gave us cheap steel. All of these men, and hundreds of others, gave us the material foundation upon which we are now preparing to erect our structure of Efficiency.

APPLYING THE SCIENCE TO MAN HIMSELF

The next great step, in the progress of civilization, is to apply these victorious principles of Efficiency to MAN HIMSELF. The next factor to master is the HUMAN factor. We are now about to study men as well as machines. We are to develop the NEW WORKER, who is not to be a cog nor a wage-serf, but rather an Architect of Labor. We are to unite Labor and Capital and the Public by adopting methods that serve the interests of all; and by developing the personality of the worker as well as the productiveness of the plant.

So hope the prophets of Efficiency. Is it a dream? Who knows? So many dreams have come true in the last fifty years that we are no longer doubtful of dreams. Anyway, Business as well as Science may have its dreams. If a scientist may hope to create life some day out of carbon and water and ammonia and a few salts, why may not a manufacturer hope to eliminate waste and friction and ill-will, in the making and selling of his goods?

WHAT EFFICIENCY IS NOT

Efficiency is not a new name for an old truth, so far as it relates to industry and to individual success. It is an absolutely new point of view in the business world.

It is not Expert Accounting, for the reason that accounting deals only with records and not with methods.

It is not Economy, for the reason that mere saving is often the most suicidal of all business policies.

It is not Energy, for the reason that misdirected energy is the most universal of all industrial wastes.

It is not Slave-driving, for the reason that one of its main benefits is to elevate and profit the wage-workers, not to degrade or oppress them.

And it is not System, for the reason that the most useless and wasteful actions can be done in the most systematic way. There can easily be too much system, but there can never be too much Efficiency.

Efficiency means more *net*. This little word of three letters—N-E-T, has in recent years become the most important word in the vocabulary of bhsiness. *Net* means not how much money you took in, but how much you have left. If you take in three million dollars and pay out the same amount, you have no net at all. It is better to take in one dollar and have ten cents left, than to take in ten dollars and have only five cents left.

It is the NET that decides whether or not we are winning or losing, in the game of business. Gross receipts may pile up as high as a mountain, and yet at the end of the year there may be no residue of profit. It is not volume of business that makes net. Neither is it system nor energy nor resources. It is all these, PLUS EFFICIENCY.

Consequently, there is no other subject, just at the present crisis in our industrial evolution, that is attracting such keen interest as Efficiency. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent by railroads and other corporations to cut down the wastes and losses that arise from slipshod management. Cities and even states have employed experts to teach them the methods of Efficiency; and even the Federal Government has a President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency under the supervision of Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland.

EMERSON THE CENTRAL FIGURE

Emerson was not, of course, the inventor or discoverer of the Efficient Life. He was not a Columbus, enlarging the known world by bringing to view a new continent. He



HARRINGTON EMERSON

was one of a notable band of pioneers, numbering such men as Taylor, the steel-mill scientist; Duncan, the industrial chemist; Gilbreth, the master of the craft of bricklaying; and Going, the indefatigable editor of the Efficiency group.

But Emerson has been, from the first, much more than a pioneer. He is much more than a compiler of industrial data. He is at all times a guide over the whole field and not merely a local investigator. He appreciates the work of others with a generosity that is seldom found in pioneers. He has come to be generally regarded as the one man who can best represent his fellow experts, and who, therefore, can tell the story of Efficiency in the most helpful and comprehensive way.

For at least three very good reasons, Mr. Emerson may be regarded as the central figure of the new Efficiency Movement:

1. He was first to compel the attention of the nation to the subject of eliminating industrial waste.

2. He was the first to try out the principles of Efficiency by applying them to the greatest variety of industries and professions.

3. He has been the most tireless trainer of young men and counselor of experts, be-



SNAP-SHOT OF MR. EMERSON AT HIS DESK IN THE TERMINAL BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

ing the only member of the original Efficiency group who was fortunate enough to have had both an engineering and a pedagogic education.

"A MILLION DOLLARS A DAY WASTED"

It is now ten years or more since Emerson first announced the slogan that made Efficiency famous, "I can show the railroads how to save a million dollars a day." For years he went from one railroad president to another, and met with an almost unanimous series of refusals and rebuffs. One railroad, and only one, appreciated his revolutionary ideas. The Santa Fé Railroad engaged him for a term of three years, and the remarkable results which he produced during those three years are still pointed to as the high-water mark of railroad efficiency.

But not even the betterments which he established on the Santa Fé could influence the other railroads to adopt the new knowledge and the new methods of which Emerson was the advocate. Then came the important case of the Shippers *vs.* Railroads. Brandeis was the attorney for the Shippers. He knew little or nothing at that time of either Emerson or Efficiency, but he was quick enough to see that Emerson had a new point of view from which the Railroads could be attacked and defeated.

The Railroads were asking permission to raise their freight rates; while the Shippers maintained that the freight rates were already high enough. "Instead of raising freight rates," said Brandeis, "why not eliminate waste? Here is Harrington Emerson, the greatest of all efficiency engineers, and he maintains that the Railroads are wasting a million dollars a day."

Mr. Emerson was put on the stand, as were other experts of national reputation. They overwhelmed the Railroads with their facts and figures. They presented a new variety of data against which the amazed railroad experts had no defense. They convinced the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, won the case for the Shippers, and established Efficiency as one of the most powerful and practical factors in the scheme of our national life.

SOME EFFICIENCY ACHIEVEMENTS

As to the improvements that Emerson has made in various plants, many of them are well known in the world of manufacturing. In one Pittsburgh plant, the yard gang was cut down from seventy to twenty-six by means of a dispatching-board. In the Topeka railroad shops, wages were increased 14 per cent., costs were reduced 36 per cent., and the output was moved up 57 per cent. A large forging shop in Kansas doubled its output with a decrease in the payroll of $500 a month. A Canadian engine-plant made five locomotives a week, instead of three, without more men or more machinery.

Emerson has handled union and non-union shops alike, without any serious opposition from employees. "The workmen," he says, "give me less trouble than anything else." He has always maintained that no improvement can be made permanent unless it helps the men as well as the corporation. He meets the men fairly and respects their point of view until he cancels their spirit of suspicion and hostility. "When that man Emerson gets busy in a factory," said a Santa Fé foreman, "he changes the men from half-hearted loafers into active, honest, self-respecting men, who take an intense interest in their work."

EMERSON'S INDIFFERENCE TO PERSONAL PROFIT

As might be expected, Emerson has found his efficiency profitable. He has made mil-



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LOUIS D. BRANDEIS (The noted legal advocate of efficiency)

WILLIAM R. WILLCOX (President of the Efficiency Society)

DR. FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND (Head of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency)

THREE NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE EFFICIENCY MOVEMENT

lions for others and several hundred thousands for himself. But he has often followed the line of least personal profit.

In the sorting of his morning's mail, the letter that pleases him most is the one that contains a new series of facts or figures bearing on the elimination of waste. The next most welcome letter is the one that asks an intelligent question on some matter of better methods in industry. And the third most interesting letter is the one that contains a check in payment of his services.

I remember very well the look of helpless protest upon the face of one of his business managers when Emerson arrived home from a trip to Cincinnati and announced delightedly that he had refused a big job in that city and had paid all his own expenses.

"It was worth thousands of dollars to me to see that factory," he explained. "It was 95 per cent. efficient. I never saw a better plant. So I just told the owner of it that I could do nothing for him, and that I was greatly indebted to him for both his efficiency and his courtesy."

On another occasion, when invited by the War Department to study the target practice of our warships, he went with the expectation of finding antiquated methods and the poorest results. To his surprise and delight, he found the most marvelous efficiency. He learned that an American battleship can fire a salvo of twelve 12-inch shells in thirty seconds, while steaming at twenty-one knots an hour, hitting a target sixty feet wide and thirty feet high, eight miles away, with six shots out of twelve. One hit every five seconds at full speed! Emerson was fascinated. He at once forgot that he was the central authority on efficiency and became for the time a student.

A HIGH PRIEST OF EFFICIENCY

In the work of propaganda, he is as tireless as St. Paul. He is incessantly traveling from city to city, and from corporation to corporation, making speeches, preparing reports, warning, advising, investigating. As an orator he is not especially effective, because of his lack of humor; but there have been occasions when he has risen to the peaks of eloquence and truly rhetorical power.

One of Emerson's rarest gifts is the power of compelling his associates to think. No one can meet him, even for a half-hour's informal conversation, without being forced to investigate and reflect. No habit is safe from his scrutiny. He is incessantly asking "Why?" "What for?" "How much?" "How do you know?" He is as disturbing as Socrates was to those Athenians who took the opinions of their day at face value.

Once, when he and I were walking past a certain public library, I remarked:



A GROUP OF WORKERS UNDER THE EMERSON SYSTEM OF FACTORY MANAGEMENT

(Every man in the group is on bonus. For the week ending May 11, 1918, the average efficiency, with 91 per cent. of the work covered by standards, was 107 per cent. The initial efficiency of the group, one year previous, was approximately 40 per cent.)

"What a magnificent structure that is!"

"Is it?" he retorted. "What is a library for? Why should it be made of marble? Why is it built like a storage warehouse or an armory, with its thick walls and narrow windows? An efficient library would be built of steel and glass, so as to give the greatest possible safety and the greatest possible light. As for this building, anyone can see it was designed mainly for the profit of the contractor and the glory of the architect." It may be true that with a half-hour of further study Emerson would have come to a different conclusion; but the incident shows how he will take nothing for granted, and how with him the first thought must be—Efficiency.

HIS YOUTH SPENT ABROAD

Emerson was born in New Jersey in 1853 and was educated in Europe. At the age of nineteen he entered the Royal Polytechnic at Munich, and became absorbed in mechanical engineering. Many of the professors there were men of great renown—Linde, Bauschinger, Beitz, Erlenmyer and others—but modern mechanical development had not yet really begun. There were no electric lights, no dynamos, no motors, no gas engines, no steam turbines, no acetylene, no telephones, no phonographs.

In 1873, Emerson read for the first time Darwin's "Origin of Species." This introduced him to the fascinating writings of Huxley and Tyndall. These writers opened up to him a new world of science and improvement, and he became at once one of the most zealous and active propagandists of the theory of evolution.

A COLLEGE PROFESSOR AT TWENTY-THREE

In 1876, after having spent the summer at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, Emerson received a call to the professorship of modern languages at the State University of Nebraska. This again was a new experience. He found himself in charge of a department in a rapidly growing university, in which there was as yet no system and no solidarity. Here he and several other young professors, with iconoclastic tendencies, went diligently to work, remodeled the university, and made it an efficient institution.

At the end of six years his salary as a university professor was $1800. Emerson concluded that this was not enough. He left the university and became a dealer in real estate on the frontier. The first year he cleared $5000, and presently found himself on the staff of the General Manager of the Burlington Railroad. For several years he was the general "trouble man" of the rail-

road. Every odd job fell to his lot, such as the selection of town sites, excursions of settlers, prospects of coal mines, crop failures, freight rates, and taxes.

SUCCESSFUL MAN OF AFFAIRS

After ten years of frontier and railroad life, he moved to the city of Denver. By this time he had become wealthy, and had a wide Western reputation as a successful man of large affairs. He became at this time a representative of an English syndicate which was seeking American industrial investments. This work obliged him to investigate from the inside many different mills and factories. He began for the first time to shape in his own mind the causes and remedies of failure. All told, he investigated more than 200 American plants, and in this way laid a broad basis for his doctrines of Efficiency.

In 1896 there came the news of gold discoveries in Alaska. Fascinated with the risk and the possibilities of great wealth, Emerson at once went to the Yukon. He opened and financed the longest star route in America—2700 miles from Juneau to St. Michaels. He learned to drive dog sleds, and to travel forty miles a day trotting behind the sled. He came into contact with pioneer conditions at their worst, and learned in several cases how they could be overcome.

FIRST TRIUMPH IN EFFICIENCY ENGINEERING

The first factory which came under his influence as an efficiency engineer was that of the Appert Glass Company. This was a simple, one-product plant, which had grappled with the new problem of making wire glass. Emerson was made practically the dictator of this factory, and had, for the first time, full swing in the application of his new principles. The results were electrical. At the end of the first half-year, a monthly loss of $3000 was converted into a monthly profit of $10,000.

This success decided the trend of his career. He was amazed to find out how great were the wastes and the losses, and how easily and quickly they could be overcome. Here, in a few months, he had achieved the impossible. He had raised both profits and wages and lowered both costs and selling price.

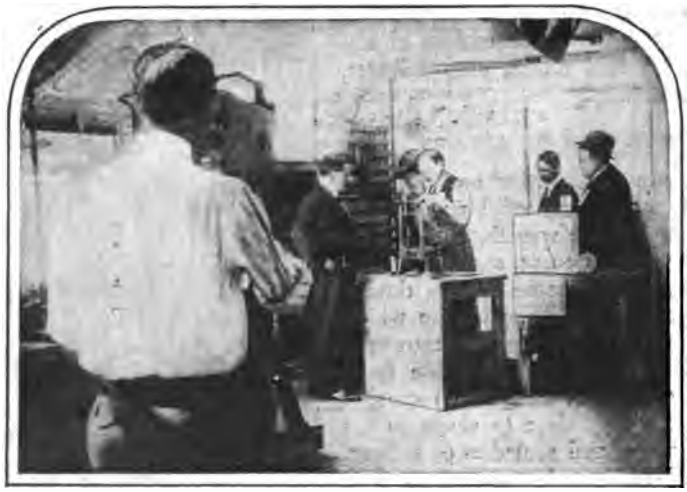
From here, after several years of miscellaneous work in small factories, Emerson went to the help of the Santa Fé Railroad. The work which he did here is, perhaps, his best and most enduring monument. In the carrying out of the betterments on the Santa Fé, Emerson had to deal with 12,000 employees, who were busy in twelve Southwestern States. He built up a corps of thirty assistants, many of whom are now recognized as the most skilled specialists in their various lines.



A 110 PER CENT. MAN

The story of the Santa Fé improvements has often been told, and no more need be said here than that it is now nationally recognized that the Santa Fé Railroad has become a model for all students of railroading and efficiency. Right at the outset, after a very few months of work, Emerson showed how to eliminate annual wastes and losses to the extent of $1,500,000.

At the conclusion of his Santa Fé contract, Mr. Emerson opened a consulting office in New York City, so that he would be able to



MAKING TIME STUDIES WITH A MOVING-PICTURE MACHINE

handle a number of corporations at the same time. He has since worked in over 100 different plants, many of them the largest of their kind in the world. His staff of assistants varies from thirty to fifty, and his company is practically a great training school or university of Efficiency.

He is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Ingénieurs Civil de France, Efficiency Society, American Railway Master Mechanics' Association, American Economic Association, American Foundrymen's Association, several other technical societies, the Boston City Club, and the Railroad, Engineers', and Aero clubs, of New York.

A PIONEER AND DISCOVERER

Harrington Emerson is by nature a pioneer. He is more in love with the future than the present. He is concerned with the battle of life, but not at all with the victories and the rewards. He is still a lonely figure in the midst of a multitude that throngs about him to do him honor.

What he planned for has come to pass. What he preached in the desert of indifference is now being shouted from the housetops. The word Efficiency has become a national slogan. Corporations are vowing allegiance to it, in their annual reports. Politicians are using it to persuade voters. Advertisers are using it to sell goods. Preachers are using it to obtain congregations.

Yet Emerson all the while is absorbed in a new series of experiments. Just as Daniel Boone was wont to move farther back into the forest, when he saw the smoke of other men's camps, so Emerson has dropped those phases of efficiency which have become generally understood, and has delved into further researches concerning which the public has little or no knowledge.

THE PERSONAL SIDE OF EFFICIENCY

If I may, with a word or two, indicate Mr. Emerson's present line of investigation, I would describe it as a swing from methods to men. Instead of applying machinery to raw material, he is rather trying to introduce PERSONALITY into the whole task of production. His new word is APTITUDE. His new thought is that the most important of all machines is man himself. The man and the job must fit. There must be the right man for the work, as well as the right tool and the right raw material. He is still bent upon the elimination of waste, but to-day it is not so much the waste of power or machinery or materials; it is the waste of MISPLACED MEN.

Just as a long-legged man makes a good apple-picker but a poor shoveler, so there are differences of temperament, differences of education, differences of mentality, which make or mar a man as a producer of wealth. How to ascertain and chart the variables in men, how to pick exactly the men for each species of labor—such are the problems that are at the present time absorbing his nights and days.

HOW AN EFFICIENCY ENGINEER GOES TO WORK

Many people ask, "What does Emerson actually do, to earn his unusual fees? How does he work his industrial miracles? What is the process by which he increases the effi-

ciency of a great manufacturing plant?"

To answer such questions is not easy. What was learned in a lifetime cannot be told in a moment. But usually, when Emerson pays his first visit to a factory, his plan is to go swiftly through the whole plant, so as to get a general view of its condition. He probes here, there, and everywhere to dig up the basic facts. He takes nothing for granted. He asks, "Is this factory in the right location? How far is it from its raw materials? How far from its market?" He inquires about the plan of the building. Was it designed for its own purpose, or did it grow up in a haphazard way? How is the raw material unloaded? How is it inspected? Is it stored properly? What is its path through the factory? Are the machines placed in proper sequence? Who is in charge of the tools? Is there any one workman who is a specialist on belts? How are the records taken? Who maintains discipline? What inducements are offered for better work? If a mechanic does his stunt in half the time, what does he get as a reward? What is the percentage of breakage? Does every machine pay a net profit? How much actual working time is obtained from each machine? How many laborers are allowed in a gang? Who fits the men to the jobs?

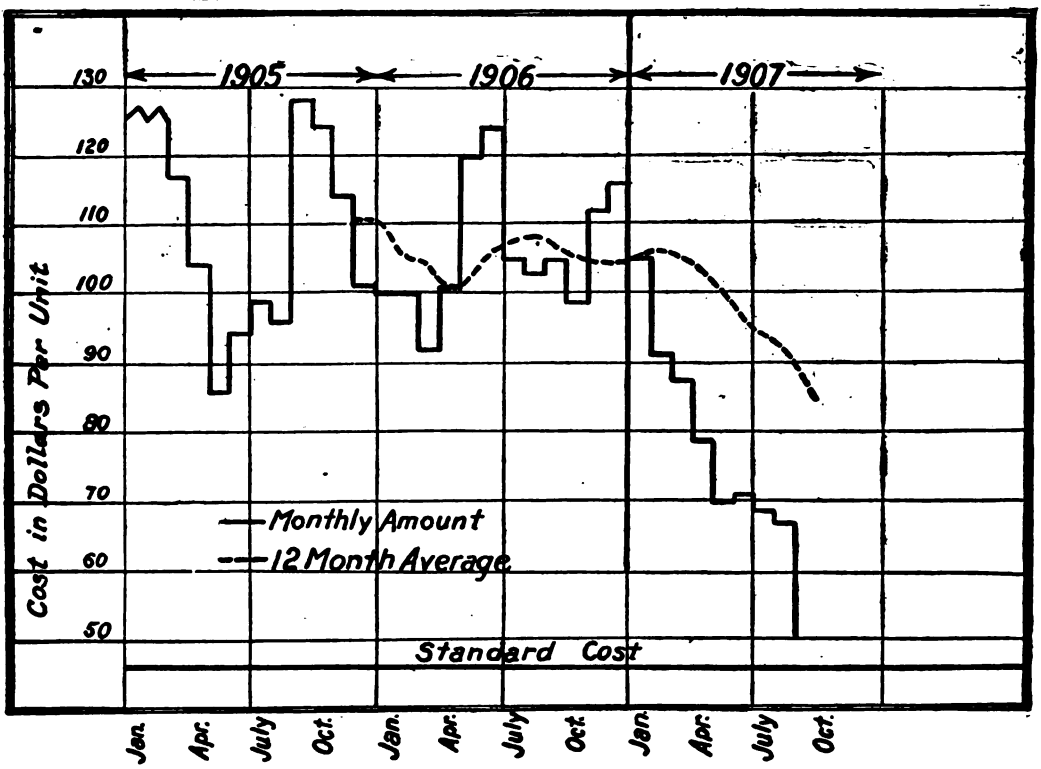


Such are Emerson's test-questions. By the manner in which they are received, and the readiness with which they are answered, much can be discovered. Meanwhile, Emerson is keenly watching to catch the general spirit of the factory. He notices the faces of the men. Are they sullen or cheerful? Are they soggy or alert? Are they pushing ahead or hanging back? How many are standing idle? How many are walking about?

In all, there are four factors that he investigates,—men, machinery, methods, and materials. At the end of the survey, he decides which department of the factory is in worst condition. Here he begins. Certain definite changes are made at once. The causes of the trouble are removed. Then three or four young men are set to work making "time studies" in this department. These "time studies" are highly important. They are exact records, made by the stop-watch, of the time taken to perform each piece of work. Every job is thus split up into its various parts and analyzed. After days, perhaps weeks, of study, it is learned that a 58-minute job can be done in 33 minutes — a two-hour job in 92 minutes — a four-day job in three days. It is at this point that the skill of the expert is needed, to decide justly and wisely the amount of time that ought to be allowed. Then, following this task of job-building, comes the second of wage-building, and so on from one task to another, until a satisfactory condi-



MOVING-PICTURE FILMS THAT SHOW ACTUAL MOVEMENTS OF WORKMEN



Under ordinary management. Under Emerson efficiency methods.

CHART SHOWING REDUCTION OF MANUFACTURING COSTS BY APPLYING PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY

tion has been reached. The problem has not been solved, in the opinion of an efficiency expert, until there is harmony and good-will between the corporation and its employees. When the men produce more and get paid more, with less effort, and when the corporation has lower costs and higher dividends, then and not before, may a company consider itself as traveling on the straight road of efficiency.

HIS LIFE A CHALLENGE TO INEFFICIENCY

Emerson is very similar to Darwin in his naïve indifference to opposition. He is not

Month of Service	Number of Men on Schedule	Total Number of Hours Worked.	% of Hours Worked on Schedules	Standard Hours on Schedules.	Actual Hours on Schedules.	% Average Efficiency Attained
1st	21	5,250	68.9	2,011.2	3,613.9	55.6
2nd	50	12,500	59.4	4,350.2	7,418.8	58.6
3rd	77	19,250	66.2	7,649.6	12,748.3	60.
7th	251	62,750	66.	37,051.8	41,463.0	89.5
12th	656	164,000	77.2	122,736.4	126,534.4	97.
13th	731	182,750	66.	120,357.5	120,478.0	99.9
14th	771	192,750	76.	148,841.0	146,434.0	101.7

LABOR EFFICIENCIES IN THE TOPEKA REPAIR SHOPS

(The twenty-one men with whom the start was made were the best men in the shops. The others were not as high in efficiency. The net result was the raising of the efficiency of 771 men as to 76 per cent. of their time from 55.6 per cent to 101.7 per cent. The average number of hours per month per man is 250, and 76 per cent. of this is 190 hours. The standard schedules of 771 men for 190 hours each are 146,434 hours, costing the company for wages and overhead charges 90 cents an hour, or a total of $131,790. At 55.6 per cent. efficiency, the hours required are 373,553, at an average cost of 85 cents, making a total of $317,520. Thus the reduction in labor cost brought about by increasing the efficiency amounted to $185,730.)

at all combative, in the sense that he craves fighting for fighting's sake. Yet he finds himself in a perpetual contest. His habitual mood is one of challenge. No matter whether the object of his wrath is a corporation, or a profession, or a race-habit, he flings down his gauntlet and declares war upon it, if it is caught in the act of inefficiency.

He is as unmoved to-day by fame as he was in 1908 by neglect. Neither the temptations that come with adulation nor the discouragements that spring from hostility have any marked effect upon him. One by one his young men leave him, caught by the lure of higher pay and quicker promotion. Competitors of all varieties, from competent co-workers all the way down to shallow and worthless pretenders, have sprung up around Emerson; but none of these things move him. He is wholly absorbed in his own studies and investigations.

Such is his marvelous energy that he has already lived several lifetimes. He is always working. You can find him at his office in the Hudson Terminal Building invariably at 8 o'clock—an hour ahead of his stenographer. Probably no other man of our time has ever seen and done as great a variety of things, and certainly no other man of our time has done as much to instruct and to inspire the workers of the business world.



HARRINGTON EMERSON, AS AN ALASKAN PIONEER

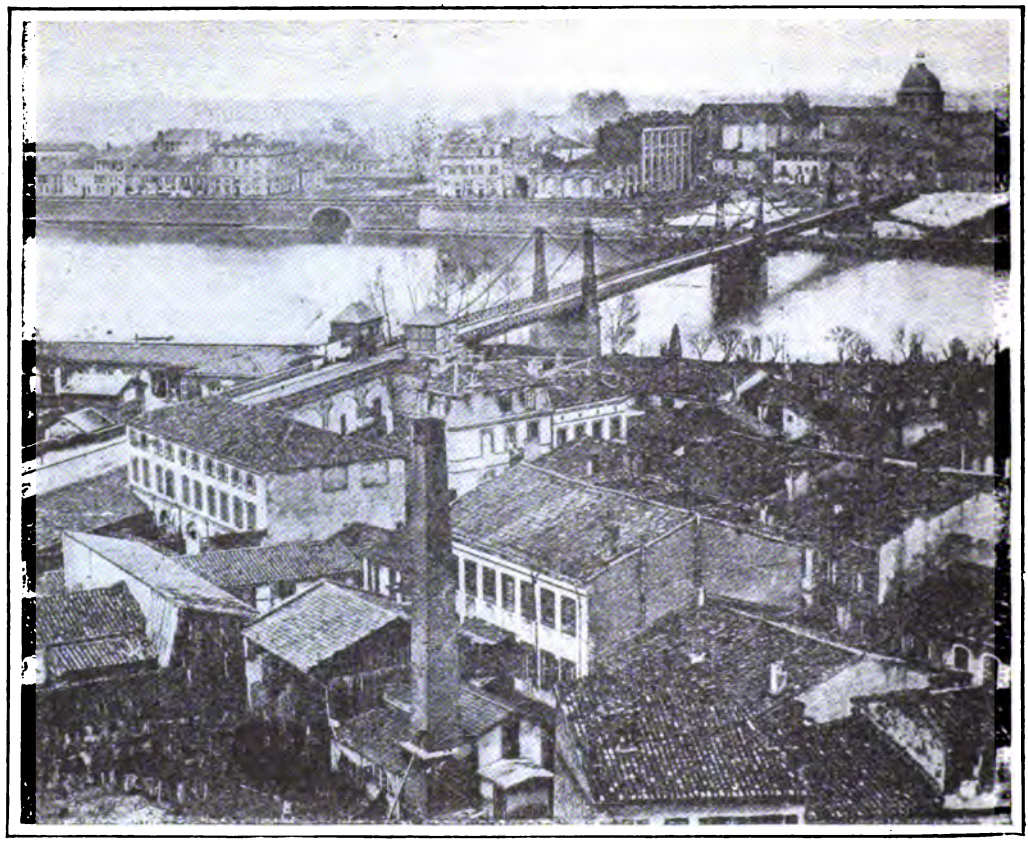
THE GLORIOUS FUTURE OF THE EFFICIENCY IDEAL

Emerson believes that the big fortunes of the future will be made by the men who know how to prevent waste. Philip D. Armour, the Chicago packer, had the same belief. "We shall see larger fortunes made," said Armour, "out of the things that are now thrown away." There is not only the waste of the railroads, which Emerson places at a million dollars a day, or 20 per cent. of the total expenditure. Besides this, there is the waste of the Federal Government, which Senator Aldrich has declared to be three hundred millions a year. There is the *horse* waste, which the motor-truck and tractor experts declare to be several hundreds of millions more. And there is the stupendous *fire* waste, which has cost us in the last fifteen years two billions of dollars and twenty thousand lives.

The fact is that the United States has grown to be so big that the making or losing of a million dollars has become a small matter. If every manufacturing plant, for instance, were to save four dollars a day, the total daily saving would be a million. Fifteen cents daily from every factory worker, or ten cents daily from every farmer, or ***one cent*** daily per capita, would produce a million dollars a day.

Even such estimates as these are the merest trifling, compared with the problem of waste from a national point of view. According to the Emersonian data, the labor of the United States is only 70 per cent. efficient and the capital is only 30 per cent. If this be true, then our labor army of twenty million workers dwindles to fourteen millions; and our railroad and manufacturing capital of thirty billions dwindles to nine billions. Complete efficiency would add to the nation a total of six million workers and twenty-one billions of capital. Such is the golden dream of the experts of Efficiency.

What steam did for transportation, say these experts, Efficiency will do in the elimination of waste and risk and drudgery. Just as there is no comparison between the digging that is done in Korea, where nine men operate one spade, and the digging that is done in the Mesaba Iron Range, where three men operate a steam shovel that digs five tons of ore every three minutes; so there can be no comparison between a nation of haphazard and a nation of forethought and scientific precision.



PART OF THE CITY OF TOULOUSE (SEE PAGE 318)

FRANCE A CENTRALIZED STATE

BY JESSE MACY

[The present article is the fourth, and last, in Professor Macy's series of articles appearing in this magazine on present phases of European democracy. The previous articles appeared in the February, May and June issues of the REVIEW, and contained much practical information upon popular advancement in politics in the countries of Western Europe. The article in the June number was upon the Swiss as teachers of democracy, and the present one, upon French centralization, marks a strong contrast. Professor Macy has been lecturing in the provincial French universities located at the important cities of Lille, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Toulouse, under the scheme of exchange professorships. He has been explaining to citizens of French departments the differences between a federated republic like ours and an almost completely centralized state like France. This lifelong citizen of Iowa, lecturing on American politics in the English language in provincial capitals of France, affords a new and valuable indication of what may be accomplished through such an arrangement as the professional exchange.—THE EDITOR.]

I HAVE been for six weeks in the provinces of France searching for the springs of political life among the local institutions of the people. I had expected to find traces of local autonomy strong enough to serve as a counterpoise to the all-powerful central government; but in this I have been disappointed.

Of course I had heard and read that the French have no local government; that Paris is France, and that the French people prefer to be governed by one central authority. But I had read also that a system of logically arranged local areas existed, under the name of departments, which are subdivided into arrondissements, and these again into cantons, while the entire country is divided into communes; that in these local areas there are elected councils, or bodies of magistrates, having a variety of duties and functions; and that in the not distant past there have been serious uprisings of the communes.

Somewhere among these local institutions

I fully expected to find the beginnings of local autonomy, such as are now much in evidence in England. Thus far I have found nothing of the sort. Speaking simply from present impressions, centralized authority seems more real and pervasive than I had been led to believe it to be. Six weeks, however, is too short a time for attaining assured convictions upon so intricate a subject. All that I have to report is present and, perchance, temporary impressions.

I have many times met with clues that furnished *prima facie* evidence of a decentralizing tendency. It is said, for instance, that the Orleanists seek to gain favor with the people by an effort to revive the older and larger provinces in place of the Napoleonic Departments. I had an evening with the Marquis de Roux, of Poitiers, a leading Orleanist, and found that he attached no great importance to that part of their propaganda. I plied him with questions concerning the new idea of democratic monarchy, such as is described in my article in the February number of this REVIEW. But the Marquis was very explicit in his repudiation of the Norwegian and English types of monarchy. France, in his opinion, needs a sovereign with a large measure of independent administrative power.

WHAT THE ORLEANISTS WANT

The Orleanists would maintain universal suffrage; they would have a legislature to make the laws; but they would have a king to execute them. A limited constitutional monarchy is their ideal of government. They would separate legislation from administration; and would have the monarch limited though not controlled by the legislature. They would repudiate cabinet government and, likewise, that form of monarchy which, as in Norway, makes the king a figurehead. The reactionary nature of the Orleanist program, coupled with the fact that almost the entire support of the party comes from a centralizing church and a centralizing army, leaves scant ground for belief that local autonomous government will receive any effective support from such a source.

NATIONALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist political party is locally organized and the local organizations take an active part in city elections. To American eyes it might appear that such a party, exerting as it does an immense influence throughout the nation, would incidentally make material contributions to the strengthening of the ties of local neighborhood life. The fact appears to be otherwise.

The Socialist party is a great nationalizing institution, and the participation of the Socialists in local affairs is entirely subordinate to their chief aim, which is to gain control of the state. They would be the last to engage in a decentralizing, divisive propaganda. Their leaders emphatically repudiate any such intention. Regarding themselves as victims of a persecuting centralized government, the Socialists make the control of that government their direct aim. They oppose the referendum, because it was by a *plebiscite* that Napoleon III made himself master of France, and to them the modern referendum appears a divisive issue. They seek as a leading purpose to build up an organization national in character, military in discipline, and, in the end, strong enough to dominate and administer the affairs of the state.

The masses of the French people are apparently deficient in ability for constructive organization. Labor unions in France have been weak and inefficient. In England and the United States their influence has been conservative; they have resisted and retarded the more radical programs of the Socialists. The situation in France is strikingly different. Here the Socialists, being more thoroughly organized, appear as a conservative factor, while the ineffectively organized labor unions degenerate into a policy of sabotage, syndicalism, direct and destructive warfare against the capitalists. So it is the Socialists who act as a conservative force to oppose the anarchical and subversive tendencies of the syndicalists.

THE DREAD OF MOB RULE

The ever-present fear of the French mob goes far towards explaining the extreme centralization in government. The need of an irresistible power for maintaining order is deeply felt. There may be conflict of authority between the mayor of a city and the prefect, who represents the central government, and sometimes when the mayor has strong local support his will may be permitted to prevail against that of the prefect. But if the case is serious, threatening an uprising of the mob, all thought of local authority vanishes and the appeal is to the strong arm.

There appears to be no standing ground for a political party or for any group of voters who would openly contend for local autonomy or decentralization in authority. The

fear that the monarchists, supported by the priests and a portion of the army, may stir up the French mob and effect a revolution is yet very real. To the republicans the monarchists are treasonable revolutionists; while to the monarchists the republicans are the revolutionists; and there appears no disposition to commit this issue to calm, deliberate debate, and rely upon the unforced choice of the people for the decision of the question. The controlling dread of violence makes therefore for centralization of power.

THE WAR SPECTER

Then there is the ever-present dread of a European war, the deeply felt necessity of maintaining an army adequate for protection against possible invasion by German forces. The increase of the French army is stoutly resisted by the Socialists, and there is a growing disposition on the part of the masses of the French people to unite with the Socialists of Germany in a common resistance to the increase of military burdens. But thus far this is not strong enough to prevail against the overmastering fear that plays into the hands of the strong government.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

I have, however, been often reminded of the fact that the French are not a homogeneous people; that there is indeed a much greater diversity among them than is indicated by the unified, centralized government to which all sections of the country readily submit. There are ancient lines of well-marked social distinctions reaching back to feudal and even to Roman times.

Southern France, for instance, was much more thoroughly Romanized during the later centuries of the empire than was the north of France, and to the present day the people of the South maintain social customs which we naturally associate with Italy or Spain.

MUSIC CULTURE IN TOULOUSE

Toulouse is a typical Southern-French city. Like the Italians, the inhabitants are distinguished for their appreciation of art. They live the outdoor life and they delight especially in the art of music. The opera is an endowed institution and is supported by the city. Admission is not entirely free, but the required fees are so small that none need be excluded. The opening of the opera season is a great event in the life of the city. New aspirants for musical position and honor always appear, and the audiences sit in judgment upon their qualifications. The listeners are the judges of the music, and unless the candidates for artistic recognition meet their requirements they are rejected: the people refuse to hear them. Only those persevering ones who finally succeed in passing the rigid popular examinations are admitted to the profession. This is an old institution, dating back to a time "when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." So there was democracy in art earlier than the dream of democracy in government.

A LEISURELY OLD AGE

Conversation is also a fine art. The people delight to sit in the open air, sipping their wine and talking with their neighbors. It is not good form in Southern France to be in a hurry. Strenuous hard labor is to be avoided or justified only by special or temporary reasons. I am told that a large proportion of the population of Toulouse is made up of families who in early life worked hard for a few years, in order that for their remaining years they might be rid of the annoyance of labor. A man would set his mark at the accumulation of six thousand dollars—or ten thousand, according to his ambition or his ideals of comfort. Until this goal was reached he would put forth almost abnormal energy. But when that fortune was made, when, according to American standards, the point was reached at which the accumulation of riches should become more rapid, the business would be closed out or allowed to pass to other hands. The modest little competence was applied to the purpose for which it was sought. It enabled its possessor to abandon effort. Establishing himself upon a small holding in the suburbs, near enough to his beloved city to remain a part of its life, he follows a simple, dignified existence, with no thought of ever adding to his possessions.

Such persons may be seen by the hundred sitting in the city parks, merely living and letting other people live.

THE BULL-FIGHT IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

These Southern French are remarkably free from vice and crime. Murder for jealousy or the greed of money is almost unknown. Drunkenness is of rare occurrence. Animals are treated with kindness and consideration. Nevertheless, it is in Southwestern France that the bull-fight survives among the established and honored institutions, in seeming contradiction to the assertion just made.

That there is no real contradiction I am assured by those who know well both the people and the ancient sport. Cruelty is not a feature of the amusement. The animal forming the central figure is throughout his entire life the object of unusual care and consideration. His breeding is the business of a gentleman, and apparently his sole reason for existence is to furnish entertainment to the admiring crowds. If the sport should be abolished the brute would go the way of the American buffalo.

Though he comes to the closing event of his career in a spectacular manner, upon a bloody field and before an applauding multitude, his previous life has been passed under close attention and under expert training at the hands of a gentleman, and his life is precious in his owner's eyes. When the final event is staged, the name of the gentleman trainer is given as a guaranty of the fighting qualities of the animal. Before that day there has been many a bout between master and brute. In these combats the bull always survives. Occasionally the master does not survive. The name of a nobleman in Toulouse was mentioned to me as that of one who had succumbed in a training match with one of his bulls. In such cases there is never any question of foul play or unfair dealing, as is common in the most brutal of our American sports. Bull and man are both giving expression to one side of their natures and the slain falls in a fair fight.

That there is a female variation of this sport was to me a new discovery. The cows likewise combat for public entertainment, and it appears that they are even "more deadly than the male." They are real "suffragettes" for the violence and the uncertainty of their attacks, insomuch that they must needs be restrained by invisible cords in the hands of a man with a fine combination of nerve, muscle and judgment. An American who so far forgot himself as to patronize one of these cow fights testifies that the holder of the restraining cord failed in some one of the requirements, and the cow impaled her opponent with fatal results. An occasional occurrence of this sort no doubt adds piquancy to the sport; yet I am informed that, as compared with the modern game of American football the fatalities of the Spanish bull-fight are ridiculously few.

Oddly enough it is the bull-fight in Southern France which, more nearly than anything else that I have found, furnishes illustration of an institutional, local limitation upon the centralized authority of the Government.



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT POINCARÉ OF FRANCE

The sport has long been forbidden by law, and throughout the country in general the law is strictly enforced. But within the limited section where the bull-fight survives it is evaded. Those responsible for a game that has taken place go before a magistrate, are convicted of a violation of law, pay a few francs as a fine and the Government is quiescent. Yet when a fight is arranged to be held outside the recognized geographical limits, the central authority orders out the troops and prevents the game.

It is altogether probable that as the Republic becomes more securely established and the people are relieved from the nightmare of bloody revolution and the dread of invading armies other local institutions may regain their long-lost power.

THE ENGLISH SENSE OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

England has, like France, been classified a one of the unified, centralized States. theory all power resides in the British Pa ment. But England has had its Wales its intense spirit of nationality, its Scotl

with its separate system of jurisprudence, a distinct educational system, a belligerent and resistant church; and especially has England had its Ireland, which has for eight centuries maintained incessant warfare against the authority of the British Government. These national and sectional factors have effectively resisted such thorough unification in the state as prevails in France.

Even in England taken alone a marked difference appears. Like France, England did lose much of the independent local autonomy of its municipalities. Power did become much centralized in a Cabinet and House of Commons. But there always survived at least the memory of local autonomy and some of its forms; so that, when Parliament at last called into existence local municipal councils suited to modern democratic tendencies, there immediately arose a series of independent experiments in the government of cities, poor-law unions, school districts and counties. A sense of local, neighborhood life had persisted among the English, strong enough to assume institutional form and to react upon, and in many respects to control and guide the central government.

FRENCH DEMOCRACY — CENTRALIZED, NOT LOCAL

The French have apparently lost this local sense. They have their local councils, popularly chosen; but these are lacking in power to control effectively the central authority. So complete and so long existent has been the unification of government that local autonomy has the appearance of anarchy. The locally elected councils may coöperate with and assist the Government; they may even criticize it; but they must not set up an opposing authority. France is moving towards democracy, as are all the states of Europe, but it is a centralized democracy. By the use of the modern agencies for rapid communication a great state is becoming, as it were, an enlarged town-meeting, always in session, always engaged in the process of taking the sense of the people, discovering the general will, and choosing officers with full power to execute that will in every part of the state.



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"FRENCH THRIFT," THE SALON PAINTING BY THE AMERICAN ARTIST RIDGWAY KNIGHT



THE CROWN PRINCE THE KAISER PRINCE HENRY

THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND HIS ROYAL CO-WORKERS, BROTHER AND SON

THE MEN AROUND THE KAISER

IN one of the eulogies upon the pacific achievements of Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany upon the occasion of the silver jubilee, in June, which commemorated the twenty-five years the Kaiser has spent in bringing his empire to the pinnacle of national greatness, the Emperor was referred to as the "Managing Director of Germany, Ltd." The world has been fascinated by his picturesque and kaleidoscopic personality, and there has been a tendency to regard him almost exclusively as the author of the phenomenal advance of the Fatherland. Germany's development, however, has not been a one-man show. Although their identities and personalities, with only very rare exceptions, are unknown abroad, there have been many makers of modern Germany. In a vividly-told series of sketches under the general title "The Men Around the Kaiser,"[1] Frederic William Wile, for many years Berlin correspondent of the New York *Times* and the London *Daily Mail*, sketches the characters and careers of thirty-two of these latter-day Teutonic Knights.

Among the statesmen and ex-statesmen who have directed the national administration in the Fatherland, Mr. Wile gives prominent places to Grand-Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, Secretary of State for the Imperial Navy since 1898, "the real creator of the Kaiser's fleet," and a possible future Chancellor; Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, Imperial Chancellor, philosopher, and "obedient servant of his imperial master"; Prince Bernhard von Buelow, fourth Chancellor, the polished diplomat who "had it pounded into him that while Germany has a parliament, she has no parliamentary government"; Foreign Secretary Herr Gottlieb von Jagow, smooth diplomat, experienced administrator, noted for urbanity, industry, and loyalty; von Jagow's predecessor, the blustering, strenuous von Kiderlen-Waechter, who, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, failed to coerce France in the Morocco matter; Dr. Count Arthur von Posadowsky-Wehner, M. P. for "Bielefeld of Westphalia," Germany's foremost social reformer, father of German social legislation and personification of the Teutonic aristocrat-democrat; Prince Karl Maximilian Lichnowsky, German Ambassador at London, who is said to understand England and the English better than any other living German; the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, often called the most eminent diplomat of German history, who built up German power at Constantinople, and died last year while representing his country at London; Count Johann von Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington, who "represents the highest

[1] The Men Around the Kaiser. By Frederick W. Wile. Lippincott 279 pp., ill. $1.75



KOESTER — Head of the Navy League
KIDERLEN-WAECHTER — Ex-Foreign Minister
BUELOW — Diplomat and Former Chancellor
BETHMANN-HOLLWEG — Imperial Chancellor
TIRPITZ — Secretary of the Navy



BIEBERSTEIN — Statesman and Diplomat
ZEPPELIN — "Conqueror of the Air"
BEBEL — Leader of the Social Democrats
DERNBURG — Ex-Colonial Minister
JAGOW — Minister of Foreign Affairs



BERNSTORFF — Ambassador to the United States
FÜRSTENBERG — "Power Behind the German Throne"
LICHNOWSKY — Ambassador to Great Britain
HEYDEBRAND — Leader of the Agrarians
POSADOWSKY — Germany's Foremost Social Reformer

SOME OF GERMANY'S STATESMEN, DIPLOMATS AND EMPIRE BUILDERS

type of modern German diplomat," who was born in London and "speaks English better than many Americans," and whose ideal is "unity and friendship between Germany, England and the United States"; Professor Hans Delbrück, who occupies the chair of history at the University of Berlin, edits the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, and is one of the most "fervid apostles of greater Germany"; Admiral Hans Ludwig von Koester, President of the celebrated Navy League, a veteran seaman, and one of the builders of the navy of the Fatherland: Bernhard Dernburg, [illegible] onial Minister,



RATHENAU
Head of the German "General Electric"

THYSSEN
The German Carnegie

SCHERL
Newspaper Magnate

DELBRÜCK
"Apostle of Greater Germany"

VON DER GOLTZ
Supreme Trainer of Armies



REINHARDT
King of the German Stage

HARDEN
Editor of the *Zukunft*

STRAUSS
Composer and Conductor

HAUPTMANN
Author, Dramatist, Thinker

LIEBERMANN
Revolutionary Painter



GWINNER
Director of the Deutsche Bank

COUNT AND BERTHA KRUPP VON BOHLEN
Heads of the Krupp Gun Works

BALLIN
Head of the Hamburg-American Line

EHRLICH
Developer of Preventive Medicine

GERMANS EMINENT IN ART, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND COMMERCE

banker, and general commercial expert; and Field Marshal General Baron von der Goltz, Inspector General of the Army, most famous organizer of the German military forces and those of other countries, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, writer on military topics, and probable field commander of the German armies in case of war.

But there are many others besides statesmen, soldiers, and administrators who have helped to make Germany great. "The Greatest German of the Twentieth Century" is the title that the Kaiser himself has conferred upon Count von Zeppelin, the septuagenarian inventor of the dirigible balloon; Albert Ballin, Director-General o

Hamburg-American lines, whom the Kaiser has called "the most far-seeing and tireless pioneer of German commerce and export trade"; Arthur von Gwinner, senior director of the *Deutsche Bank,* the "premier financier of the realm," one of the "biggest captains of German industry"; Emil Rathenau, head of "A. E. G." (*Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft*—General Electric Company), "with interests and influence that comprehend the globe," in its own country "almost as much of an institution as the army and without which Germany would not be what she is"; August Bebel, head of the Social-Democratic party in the Reichstag, a born tactician, and general of the "finest drilled army in the world," the German Social Democracy, "who would be, if Germany had a real parliament instead of a mere debating society, the leader of the Kaiser's Loyal Opposition"; Dr. Ernst von Heydebrand, chief of the agrarian party,—the Prussian Junkers,—"the uncrowned King of Prussia," leader of a conservative minority of agriculturists, who, despite all opposition, run the government; August Scherl, founder and proprietor of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger,* the most enterprising and sensational of the German dailies, the creator of the modern German press; August Thyssen, the Captain General of the German steel industry, who has made the Fatherland lead Europe in the production of steel, one of the pioneers of "Americanism" on the continent of Europe, and who has come to be known as the German Carnegie; Dr. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and his wife, who was born Bertha Krupp, daughter of the great gun magnate, and who is known as the Cannon Queen.

Among the artists, stage masters, and writers whose work has contributed to make the Fatherland great in these days, Mr. Wile sketches the careers of Max Reinhardt, who dominates the German stage and makes it respected abroad; Richard Strauss, the supreme composer, and "the peerless orchestral leader of the continent"; Max Liebermann, the revolutionary painter, the most eminent of his craft now living; Maximilian Harden, versatile, brilliant, pungent editor of the *Zukunft,* "the megaphone through which discontented Germany roars every week"; Gerhart Hauptmann, "the creator of an era in German literature," author, playwright, philosopher, and winner of the Nobel prize.

German science is represented in this appreciative volume by a sketch of Dr. Paul Ehrlich, great discoverer in the field of preventive medicine, type of the patient German professorial intellect, the first Jew to "receive the coveted German title of 'Excellenz.'"

Finally, there are the royal co-workers with the Kaiser: his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, sailor Prince, Inspector-General of the German navy, ranking officer, and trainer of the Hohenzollern battle fleet; Friedrich Wilhelm, Crown Prince, idol of the German army, "who is destined to inaugurate an era of national repose as compared to the restless atmosphere which surrounds the present Kaiser." What sort of a Kaiser will Friedrich Wilhelm make? In a moment of reverie during the chase in India—so records Mr. Wile—the Crown Prince peered ahead to the time when he will rule. He records his soliloquy in "My Hunting Diary":

> **I believe in the dictum of my sainted ancestor, Frederick the Great, and agree with him that people should be allowed to pursue happiness and salvation, each in his own sweet way.**

The Fatherland's destinies, concludes the writer of this book, ought to be safe in the keeping of a Supreme War Lord of such ideals. Then there is His Serene Highness, Prince Maximilian Egon zu Fürstenberg, the German-Austrian grand seigneur, and multimillionaire, the power behind the German throne, "the Kaiser's boon companion, the partner of his joys and comrade of his sorrows."

These are the chief names of the personalities who have helped the Kaiser to bring Germany to the front rank in the world's peaceful arts of commerce and trade, and to maintain her lead as the first military power while she challenges Great Britain for the mastery of the ocean.

The Kaiser, Prince Henry, and the Crown Prince have been so much pleased with this book, "The Men Around the Kaiser," that they have accepted copies from the author and sent him personal notes of acknowledgment.



ALTAR SCENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED," BY SIDNEY M. HIRSCH
(Given at Nashville, Tenn., May 5-9; financed by the business men of the city; about 800 people participated)

THE PAGEANT-DRAMA REVIVED

BY SIDNEY M. HIRSCH

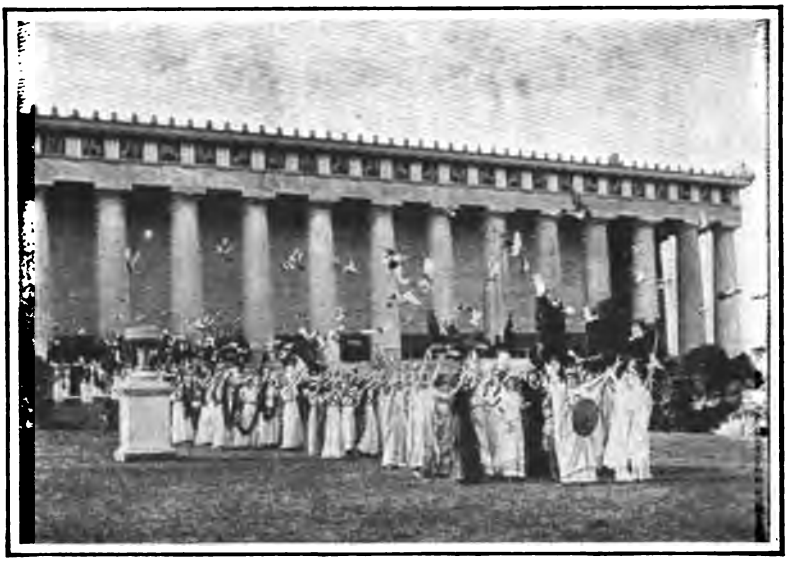
FROM an early antiquity it has been the custom and practice of the priestly and philosophical authorities to employ pageantry and spectacle in presenting and impressing upon the minds of the people religious, traditional or historical truths and occurrences. The term *impressing* is used here in order to emphasize the fact that the sages of an ancient time realized that an object observed by the eye made a more lasting impression than a narration about the same subject. So we find in the religious mysteries of early Egypt pageantry representing the planes of epochs (through the employment of symbols) that mortals must ascend through in becoming a *man;* or as it would be phrased to-day, "the journey of man to superman."

The Eleusinian Mysteries of Greece, or the Mysteries of Mithra, or in the rock-hewn temples of India, all had their philosophical pageant-drama symbolizing this mystical journey of the soul as it, becoming unweighted of impurities, reascends to its pristine source—the Atma or world-soul.

The drama as it flourished in Greece, especially in the golden cycle of Pericles, was a direct outgrowth of these aforementioned priestly pageants.

It is not widely understood that the plays of the Argive master-poets were religious allegories depicting the passion of some God-seeking hero, his trials, ordeals and labors; the Grecian word for actor, being interpreted, is *moral teacher,* and the plays were produced under sacerdotal authority.

In producing their drama-pageants, the authors kept always three audiences in mind —the philosophical and religious, the artist and connoisseur, and lastly the populace. Firstly there must be a philosophical postulate developed logically and synthetically to the ultimate to appeal to the sages and those who frequented the groves and academies of the philosophers; secondly beauty, technique,



THE ORDEAL BY THE "FLIGHT OF DOVES" IN "THE FIRE REGAINED"

and perfection of artistry to satisfy the artist, critic and dilettante, and lastly a romantic, spectacular and sentimental phase—to interest and impress the multitude.

The passion play at Ober-Ammergau is our nearest approach to pageant-drama of the past, but the extraordinary success that has attended the giving of pageants in the last few years in Europe, England and America has given this important form of civic entertainment and instruction a new impetus and prominence. The enormous audiences that have assured the success of these enterprises furnish in themselves an answer to the argument that there is no demand for the classical—or so-called artistic form of dramatic entertainment. In fact, it is a silencing rejoinder to "the tired business-man" plea, for not only does the tired business man go to see outdoor pageantry, but he takes his wife and sends his sons and daughters. For it is readily recognized that it is not logical nor intelligent to presuppose that the business man premeditatedly attends or causes the members of his family to attend forms of entertainment that tend to degrade, but on the contrary it is reasonable to believe (and the success of pageantry has proved



THE MIRACULOUS APPEARANCE OF ATHENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED."

(The building in the background is a reproduction of the Parthenon at Athens)



SCENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED."

(After the shepherd is resurrected from the tomb by Athene and speeds off on his sacred mission of rescuing one of the Hestian maiden priestesses)

the assertion) that he supports banality in theatrical attraction because of his not knowing or having the opportunity of patronizing a higher form.

Pageantry in England, through the efforts of Louis N. Parker, Miss Pauline Sherwood Townsend and others, has been established on a permanent and firm basis. The pageant at Warwick, with several thousand participants, is a spectacle of surpassing beauty and one to be long remembered.

In Germany, a few months ago, a monster pageant was given from the pen of Hauptmann, the Nobel prize-winner, but owing to the hostility of the German Crown Prince to the subject-matter (dealing as it did in an allegorical manner with Napoleon and somewhat to the discredit of the German military idols) the authorities, by the direct command of the Crown Prince, were compelled to discontinue the pageant, notwithstanding that tens of thousands of citizens had attended and enjoyed each performance.

In the critical observation and study of the pageant, it is recognized that simplicity and synthesis make a more direct appeal than the episodical, loosely strung together, no matter how dramatic or picturesque the single moment may be. A simple plot developed along the usual plan of construction, that is to say prologue, development, catastrophe, and dénouement, will be found very efficient, and if a proper sense of dramatic values is employed the impression upon the audiences will be assured.

The elemental things are especially effective—blazing altar-fires or torches, smoke ascending in spiral columns, mysterious mists caused by maidens pouring water from graceful vases upon heated stones,—all these seen at night, especially by an audience living for a time in the atmosphere that has been created, seem as mysterious and mystical as they were to the primitive peoples when they first observed them. And lastly, it gives the civic-center the opportunity for self-expression, without which the soul dies and through which the soul thrives and learns to know itself; for who but he who through initiation into the mysteries of creation through creating, can understand something of the nature of the Divine Creator; and he or she who has participated or observed a pageant-drama with maidens in diaphanous draperies of delicate pinks and blues, sandal-shod, and with loosened hair, dancing on the green, propitiating the gods with sacrifice or sending aloft hundreds of young voices, a pæan of praise to supremest Jove, has received and given an impression that is cultural, delightful and lasting, and a form of entertainment that is ennobling and satisfying.



ON THE ROAD TO THE PARTHENON WITH THE SACRIFICE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED"



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PAGEANT AT NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., JUNE, 1913. "HALF MOON" AT BONNEFOI POINT

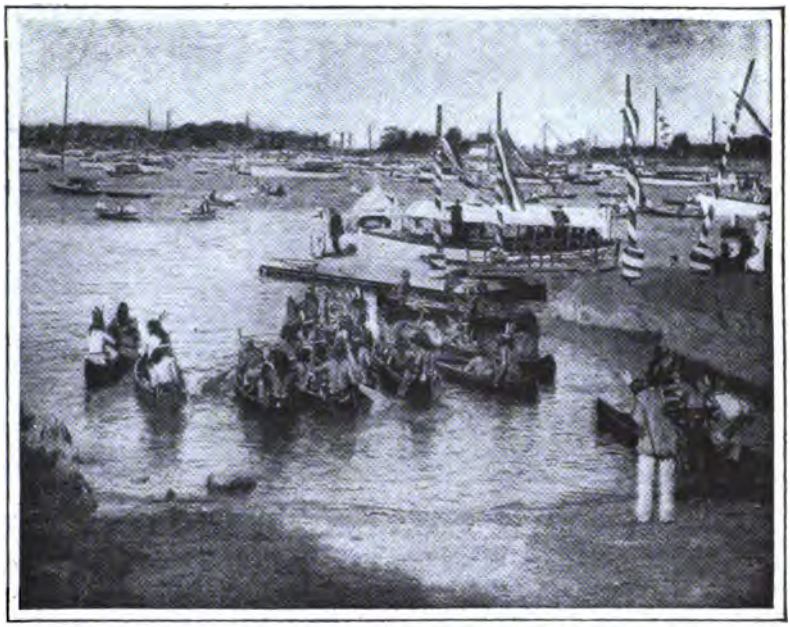
WHAT THE PAGEANT DOES FOR LOCAL HISTORY

BY HERBERT T. WADE

WERE testimony needed to show that in many cities and towns of the United States people look back upon local history and traditions with quite as much interest and fondness as do the inhabitants of the older nations of Europe, it is to be found in the continuous succession of pageants recently held for purpose of local celebration. Such a form of expression of civic pride and interest might be deemed rather more appropriate for a town of as ancient lineage as Coventry, in England, where the legendary exploit of Lady Godiva has been the subject of a street pageant since 1678, or of such continental cities as Siena, Bruges, Nuremberg, and other places, rich in picturesque tradition and display, inherited from the early guilds and other associations. Yet it has been a universal experience that the pageant is of wide general interest, not only when celebrated with special and traditional continuity, as in the case of the cities cited, but when arranged for a special celebration or for purpose of calling attention to the ancient and honorable history of a city.

Accordingly some ten years ago in Great Britain, a twentieth century revival of pageantry took place, and more than local interest was aroused in the remarkable spectacles that brought the past so vividly before the present. Sherborne, in 1905, had a memorable display of this kind, followed by one in 1906 at Warwick, described in the REVIEW of August, 1906. In 1907 similar celebrations at Oxford and Bury St. Edmunds were also notable, while in the next year Winchester, Chelsea and Dover also had noteworthy shows of this kind. In 1909 the English Church at Fulham Palace celebrated a pageant that afforded ample opportunity for the display of the ecclesiastical pomp of a historic past.

These pageants were more than mere costume processions, though, of course, this feature was conspicuous both in its brilliancy and in the faithfulness of historic detail, and where there was a book or written words for the characters, it was prepared with care. The well-known English dramatist, Louis N. Parker, whose work is familiar to American



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"INDIANS" IN THE NEW ROCHELLE PAGEANT

theatergoers, was responsible for the book in a number of the English pageants. All of these celebrations were distinctly local so far as their organization and execution were concerned, and, in fact, this is the keynote of all modern pageantry. The characters, wherever possible, were assumed by the members of the community, and represented a spontaneous outburst of local feeling in which all classes participated, as the pageants were arranged to portray the deeds, manners and amusements of yeoman and artisan no less than of the titled gentry and their historic ancestors.

With the occurrence of anniversary celebrations in the United States and with the aroused interest in local history and increased civic pride, it was not strange that the pageant should prove an attractive vehicle of expression and eagerly to be availed of for such celebrations. Local history organizations had aimed to interest school children in the often illustrious past of the community of which they were a part, in the contributions of men and measures the town or city had made to national or state history, and the historic scenes that had been enacted within its very limits and borders. To read of such men and events was something; to see memorial tablets or statues and to be lectured to was, perhaps, better, but when the very scene was enacted before the eyes of the citizen, the lesson was impressed with as much force as with interest and permanence. Added to this and the picturesque brilliancy of costume and setting, was the fact that the actors were the people of the town or city themselves, often the very descendants of the men and women whose characters they portrayed, and town mayors and sheriffs and teachers would don the costumes and play the parts of their predecessors in honorable office.

The pageant may be staged either on some natural amphitheater or a forest glade, or the effect may be that of a procession with a succession of incidents. The effects are produced by masses of actors rather than by individuals. With the moving tableaux should go a written book, well spoken either by the characters in their respective parts, or by a single allegorical character. The sympathy of the spectator who is, for the most part, an interested observer, must be gained at the outset.

In addition to the history there must be continuity to the action, not the dramatic succession of events in an exaggerated story of the moving-picture film, but the conscious blending of incidents more or less familiar to the spectator. He may have heard vaguely of the colonists who settled his town, the men who went forth from it to battle for liberty, or the genius that made it a manufacturing center by some notable invention or manifestation of commercial enterprise or industry. All of this shown forth by appropriately costumed actors stimulates the civic pride of the citizen and arouses in him the desire to make still more illustrious the good name of his town, of which, perhaps, until now he has had little understanding or appreciation.

Such an illustrated story of development is a favorite form of American pageant, and is found as often, perhaps, as the commemoration of a single event, even though the cause of the celebration is the anniversary of a notable occurrence.

Many such shows have been given in the



THE VISION OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN, AS REPRESENTED AT ST. JOHNSBURY, VT.

United States with greater or less formality and elaboration, but perhaps the most successful are those given in suburban, or, at least, partly rural communities. Several such that have attracted more than local attention form the subjects of the illustrations accompanying this article. Thus the water pageant commemorative of the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the settling of New Rochelle, N. Y., celebrated from June 22 to 28, was a unique feature of this most successful commemoration, which was attended by special delegates from the ancient town of Rochelle in France and the French Government. There the Huguenots sailed into the harbor on the replica of the *Half Moon* which had figured previously in the Hudson-Fulton celebration, and were received by the Indians in their canoes.

Another pageant of interest was that given



PAGEANT AT MERIDEN, N. H.



PAGEANT AT EASTON, PA., JUNE, 1913. "A FIRST SETTLER'S HOME"

last spring at Meriden, N. H., where the local history of the town was celebrated, as was the case in the St. Johnsbury, Vt., pageant of 1912, where there was considerable elaboration of the theme, which was, in short, the development of the town and its rise to industrial importance. Here the pageant began and closed with allegory, the opening being the dawn of civilization and the settling of the primeval forest by an alien race, while the conclusion was the vision of the Knights of St. John and the protecting influence hovering over the town. Of course, in succession came the scenes from the town's history, with due reference, naturally, to the invention of the platform scale by Fairbanks and the founding of a great industry.

In the life history of a New England manufacturing town immigration has, of course, had its effect, and this was noted in



"INDIANS" AT EASTON, PA., JUNE, 1913



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"BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER," IN PAGEANT AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.

the pageant by the presence of Europeans and Canadians in their native costumes and giving their folk-dances. Dancing and music form a usual concomitant of the modern pageant, and the interest recently manifested in folk-dancing naturally finds expression, especially where a foreign race or people has settled or flocked to a community in considerable numbers.

In New England, pageants during the last few years have been remarkably successful, for in addition to these mentioned, similar celebrations have been held at Thetford, Vt., and at Taunton and Arlington, Mass. The New England towns, often apparently quiet and sleepy, furnish ideal scenes for such displays, as the dramatic elements in their history stand out in such striking contrast to their present-day calm and repose. An Indian massacre, or the quiet farmers roused to deeds of daring by Paul Revere's ride, appears of even greater dramatic value when considered in the present-day atmosphere. But it is not only New England, with its historic Indians, colonial and revolutionary days, and its period of industrial growth, that has been so celebrated.

In Easton, Pa., in June, a notable pageant



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BENEDICT ARNOLD, WOUNDED, CARRIED FROM THE FIELD AT SARATOGA

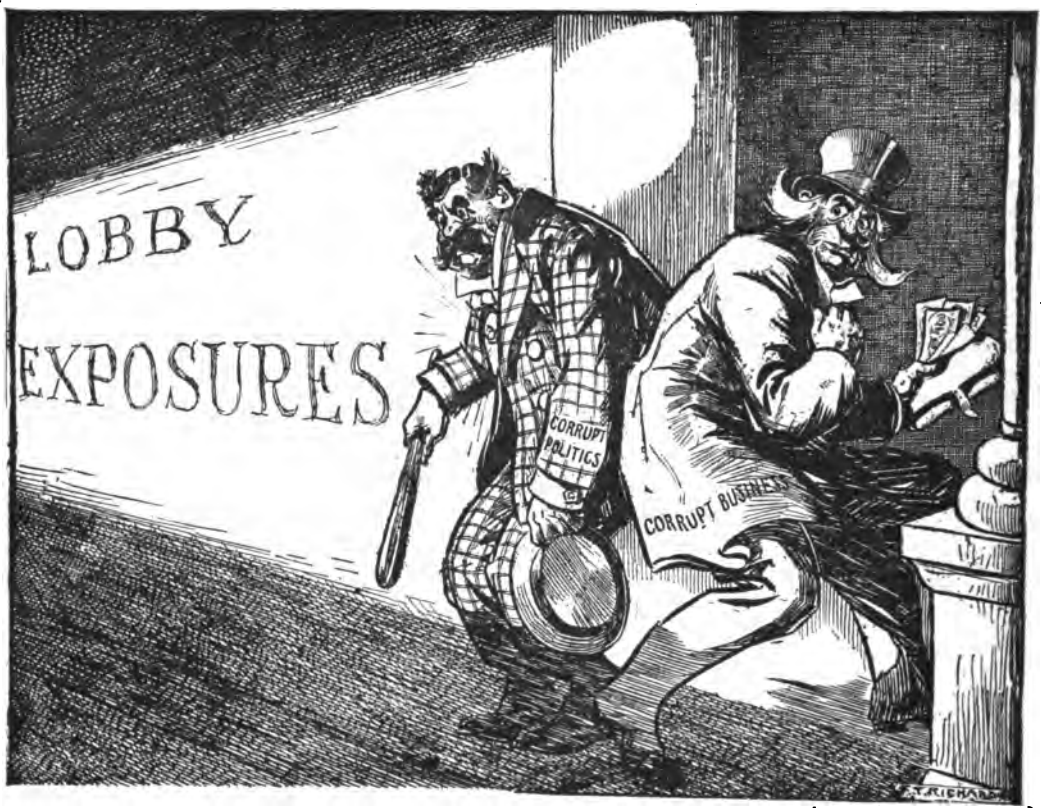
was held, while on the California coast old scenes have been reenacted that have emphasized the striking picturesqueness of the past. Various Indian tribes have given their ancient ceremonies in pageant form, and at Saratoga the notable surrender of Burgoyne was portrayed very impressively during July with all the pomp and circumstance of military splendor. Indeed, one could make an extensive list of the various pageants held within the last decade throughout the United States, even in the crowded city streets temporarily roped off to form open-air stages for their production. In every case there has been distinct individuality of treatment, and in every case the results and lessons have been immediate and noteworthy. In its effect on the newly arrived, the pageant has proved a most valuable lesson in history and civics, while from an artistic point of view the arrangement of colors and costumes in the most successful, staged as they have often been on the greensward with picturesque backgrounds, has carried a lesson in beauty which makes for the uplift of a community.

In fact the pageant may be said to represent a development in expression quite as much as the development of events which it seeks to portray. From the noisy fireworks and the fantastic garbed processions, the county fair or other assemblage arranged for purpose of celebration, even to the commemorative mass meeting surcharged with oratory that few can hear and few can appreciate, to the quiet and artistic presentation of dramatic pictures by the citizens themselves is indeed a note of progress. It has been said that underlying most of our civic ills is ignorance, and if an attractive lesson of the history of a community can be taught, if the story of its past with its struggles and its glories can be imparted, then the citizens of to-day, proud in their knowledge of what their forerunners have done, will endeavor to prove themselves equally alive to present-day problems. Furthermore, it is most gratifying that to-day such expression should take picturesque and artistic form, rather than the mere tawdry display of garish or fanciful costume. To no appeal will a community respond sooner than to one to its artistic sense, however elemental and hidden it may be, and such response has often been obtained by those responsible for civic pageants. It is indeed pleasing to read the continued success of these shows, and to urge that there is no better way of commemorating a historic anniversary than by a pageant arranged by the citizens.



PROMPTER GIVING CUE TO ACTORS IN A PAGEANT

(Several hundred actors sometimes take part in these pageant plays. In the photograph the stage director, or prompter, is seen notifying the waiting players of their cue by a process of "wig-wagging")



From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

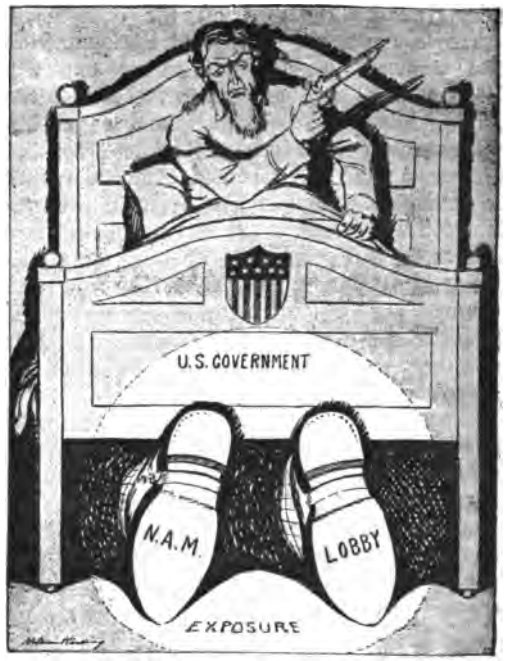
"THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT" UNDER SEARCHLIGHT

BY JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

CONGRESS is conducting a double-barreled investigation of vital moment to the American Republic. Started by the charge of President Wilson that an "insidious and numerous lobby" was operating to prevent the enactment of his tariff views, it has spread until it has bared the "invisible government" which, in fact, has been directing the destinies of the people of the United States. It has revealed powerful aggregations of capital working to one end—the protection and development of special privilege. It has brought to light the feebler efforts of organized labor to better the condition of the working people, and even to secure the upper hand in its war upon capital. It has developed an enormous expenditure of money; the use of secret, unfair, dishonest, and sometimes criminal, methods, including the corruption of public servants—humble negro and white messengers, stationed at the doors of committee rooms and the office of the President, boy pages of the House, and men elected by the people to represent their interest as a whole. It has disclosed the tactics pursued to influence the organization of the House and of its committees in order that one side or the other might be advantaged. It has established that special interests have dictated not only the customs duties imposed upon products in which they were particularly interested, but even the language of the law. It has exposed the means by which legislation desired was passed and objectionable legislation was killed. It has unveiled a power so great that national political parties have yielded to it, and accepted its dictum as their policies.

It is an absorbing tale which thus far is in outline only—for there will be further facts developed which, with those now available, will make a mosaic destined to appall the people. During the thirty years the investigation has covered, they will find they

have been exploited by cunning adventurers, to use no worse term, who have kept their hands upon the throttle of legislation, and who, to gain their ends, have considered no expense too great, no means beneath their service. These men have gone into States and Congressional districts, notably in the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, to elect candidates in sympathy with their views and to defeat men opposed to them. Indeed, the ambition of some men seeming to control the policy of the National Association of Manufacturers, as disclosed by their own letters, has soared to the point of influencing the election of a President of the United States and the appointment of a member of his cabinet. Literally, the great interests have spent money like water and found it profitable; and in order to escape responsibility for their acts they have burned books, sent unsigned instructions, and designated their employees by numbers instead of by their proper names.



LOOK UNDER THE BED!
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

ORGANIZED LABOR INVOLVED

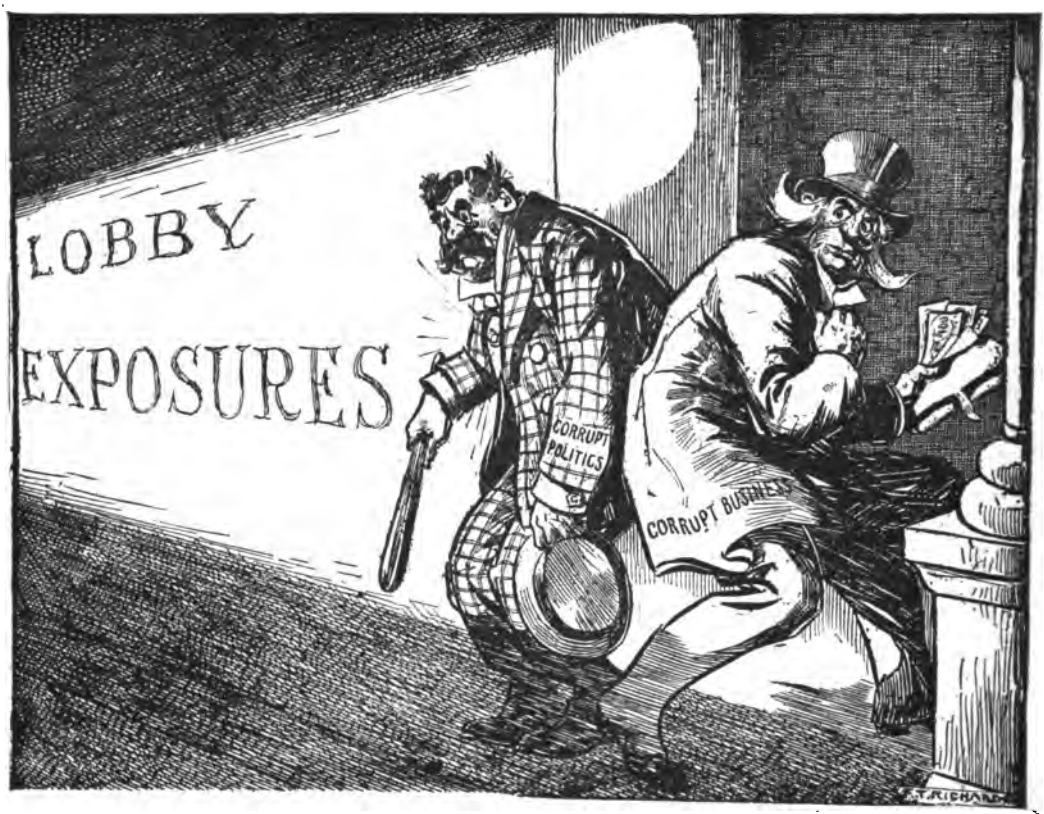
Astonishing as these revelations are, they still fail to tell the whole story of the battle between capital and labor which has been fought largely beneath the surface in Washington and elsewhere. We find the National Association of Manufacturers devoting itself to strike-breaking. The record of evidence is full of treachery on the part of labor men, of betrayal by them of the poor devils who blindly confided their fortunes to their hands. We find these traitors reporting every move contemplated to bring the employers to terms, and adopting devious means to assure victory for their "enemies." We find the ramifications of the association so extensive that it is even said to have employees of the American Federation of Labor upon its pay-roll. And crowning all is the report of an abortive effort to bribe the president of the Federation.

AIDES SUBSIDIZED BY BIG BUSINESS

It is illuminating to describe the methods the testimony shows to have been employed by Big Business to secure or defeat legislation. It has obtained the services of the most skilful men it can get. They may be divided roughly into three classes. The first is composed of able lawyers, prepared by legitimate argument to present the side they are retained to advocate. The second comprises legislative lawyers, receiving enormous salaries, whose business it is to haunt the capitol and bring to bear every art at their command to advance legislation desired by their clients or to obstruct and delay legislation inimical to the interests of those clients. This involves the use of parliamentary or unparliamentary tactics, the extension of social courtesies, and the attempt to place members of the Senate and House and officials of the Administration under personal obligation. The third class is made up of ex-Senators and ex-Congressmen, who exercise large influence with those actually in the Senate and House by reason of the standing they enjoy through the confidence the people of their respective States and districts showed they reposed in them; by reason of their long association with members of the two houses; and by reason of their experience in legislative affairs.

ACTIVITIES OF MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR AGENTS

Besides the several classes of men I have described, the evidence shows the employment of another class, skilful men who performed the functions of detectives. Martin M. Mulhall, long a confidential agent of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose letters forced the investigators to delve into the operations of the association, belongs to this class. It was his duty, as he swore on the witness-stand and as his reports assert, to visit various States and dis-



From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

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tricts, purchasing men on the other side, burrowing into the defense of the opposition and undermining it, aiding and opposing Congressional and gubernatorial candidates, bribing labor representatives, and advancing by secret and infamous methods the aims of the association. His sordid evidence would be of little weight standing by itself; but reinforced by letters from the presidents and officers of the association heartily congratulating him upon the work he had done and commending him as worthy of supreme confidence, it has to be given consideration. But more important are the original letters he has produced and others subpœnaed from the association itself, all tending to prove the intense interest of the association in legislation and in labor matters. None of these letters, and this is significant, has the association repudiated. It stands by them, asserting that they show nothing sinister, but only a legitimate use of methods available to everyone.

"ACCELERATING PUBLIC SENTIMENT"

It is interesting to elaborate a little further the tactics employed by Special Privilege. A favorite policy has been to impress the President and members of the Senate and House with the existence of a determined public sentiment for or against a measure when in fact the public was only slightly, or perhaps not at all, interested. For example, the officials named have been flooded with letters or telegrams emanating from the same source but signed by different names. To create a sentiment, friendly Senators and members were persuaded to deliver speeches, written by the lobbyists, which were published at the Government Printing Office and mailed by the thousands under Government frank. Pamphlets, also written by the lobbyists, likewise were printed, in part at public expense, and mailed without charge. Newspapers were induced to print matter favorable to the interests concerned. Advertisements were published, to which there could be no objection, unless misleading, but they must be taken into account because they constituted an item of campaign expense.

BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR

Sometimes the effrontery of the lobbyists went to the point of inducing voters, whose interests they said would be injuriously or advantageously affected, to threaten their Representatives with defeat if they failed to pursue a certain course of action. This was the experience of Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, who favored a low duty on rice in the pending Tariff bill, and of other Senators. Perhaps the best statement of the pressure applied to a member of Congress was given by Senator Thomas, of Colorado, who dared to support the President in his demand for free sugar. Under cross-examination by Senator Cummins, and drawing a parallel, Mr. Thomas said:

> I think, Senator Cummins, if when your Interstate Commerce Committee reports out an anti-trust bill, these various associations and the corporations begin a similar propaganda, calling attention to the terrible consequence to labor, to producer, and to consumer, to the ruin which must inevitably result from any interference with those huge combinations, and that in consequence thereof a sentiment is created which finds expression in newspaper warnings, which you will receive from every county in your State, in multitudes of letters and telegrams pouring in upon you, outlining similar conditions all over the country, you will see that there is a great deal more than your question implies, and that it would be a movement and a determined movement to prevent you doing what your conscience and your duty tell you as a Senator you ought to do with reference to that great question.

HOW TARIFFS HAVE BEEN MADE

The country has known for years that a prominent Boston wool manufacturer wrote the wool schedule. Senator Lippitt, of Rhode Island, a cotton manufacturer, advised Senator Aldrich, according to his own testimony, when the cotton rates of the existing law were under consideration. Through a system of log-rolling, of promising certain interests they would get what they wanted if they would have their Representatives support what others wanted, the tariff has been built up. During the present revision, the cane-sugar growers of Louisiana, Porto Rico, and Hawaii have combined with the domestic beet-sugar producers in opposition to free sugar. Combating them and supporting the President is the great refinery trust. Letters were produced showing that the Louisiana interests promised the votes of their Senators for a satisfactory duty on citrus fruits if those engaged in producing the latter would deliver the votes of their Senators for a duty on sugar. So the combinations have been made in the past. It has failed this time to some extent, largely because the conscience of the people is awakened and there is a more intelligent interest displayed in public affairs and in the conduct of men in office.

WHAT LOBBYING COSTS

The expense of lobbying operations is heavy. During the last six years, it is al-

leged, $1,500,000 passed through the hands of the National Council for Industrial Defense, an unincorporated association organized largely on paper and dominated, it would appear, by agents of the manufacturers as a means of evading the national statute against campaign contributions by corporations. This sum does not represent all that was disbursed; for a system was devised whereby local manufacturers contributed to local Congressional campaigns. The Sugar Trust is said to have used more than $750,000 in fighting the Cuban reciprocity treaty. During the past twenty years men identified with the beet-sugar interests confessed to the expenditure of $500,000. Since last November these same interests have disbursed over $50,000; and the combined expenditure of all the sugar lobbies in connection with the present tariff revision is certainly $500,000. The funds were raised for the sugar campaign through a system of taxation upon production. In the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Council of Industrial Defense attended to the financial end of the work.

BRIBERY WITHOUT PASSAGE OF MONEY

Where did the money go? Who got it? These pertinent questions are in a way of being answered. One member of Congress is charged with having received money for his services to the National Association of Manufacturers. It has been stated that for years there has been no actual passage of money to members of Congress. To a large extent this is true. But there are many ways by which a member who does the bidding of an interest may be rewarded. Help in his campaign for reëlection, either in the way of cash given him directly, or through his campaign committee, and frequently through the dispatch of agents to his State—as Mulhall went to Indiana, Ohio, Maine, and New Jersey—has proven an effective way of returning favors. It is clear from the evidence that the devil easily may be beaten around the stump, if there is only the will.



WORRIED!
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)

GOOD EFFECTS OF PUBLICITY

Facing the condition which the revelations of the lobby investigation show to exist, the question arises, What shall be done to correct it and really to restore to the people the kind of government to which they are entitled? Publicity has done much. The very fact that such reprehensible methods have been exposed will tend, for a time at least, to prevent men from practising them. It is not likely the decent members of the National Association of Manufacturers—and there are thousands of them—knew anything about the character of Mulhall's work and that of others, as described in the testimony; and the chances are they will take measures to end it and perhaps go so far as to dissolve their organization. Undoubtedly legislation will be pressed to prevent the creation of another such association. Corporations are now prohibited by law from contributing to primary and election campaigns. It is but a step to supplement this law by forbidding a combination of corporations to do as the testimony concerning the National Association of Manufacturers alleges it has done.

In addition, there should be a blanket provision for publicity, which will assure a searchlight upon campaigns, Congressional committee organization, and committee work, and the Congressional caucus. A law now forbids a member of the cabinet to practise before the departments for a certain period after his retirement. A similar law should be enacted with reference to the lobbying of ex-Senators and ex-Congressmen before Congress. These men should be denied the privilege of the floor of the two houses. Finally, there should be a law requiring the registration of lobbyists and limiting their appearance before committees.

The time will never come when legislation will not be granted by favor. Personal friendship is certain to be influential; and personal considerations, in spite of claims to the contrary, sometimes will sway a man's



"SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE FORGOT?"
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

decision. There are members of the Senate, according to their own testimony, who have large investments in lead, zinc, iron and coal mines; in flocks of sheep; in timber, wool, cotton, and other commodities. A tariff revision is naturally of direct concern to them. There are others who own railroad stock and their holdings will be affected by legislation or by the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Still others have newspapers, farms, etc. It has been suggested that these men should refrain from voting upon any measure which personally affects them, and one Senator showed the way in this respect by announcing, when the Aldrich bill was under consideration, that he would not vote to increase the duty upon a product in which he was interested. To adopt this as a rule, however, would militate against the public, for the reason that the elimination of a number of votes might enable the passage of bad legislation or the defeat of good legislation. The tendency of this procedure would be to keep from the Senate men of brains who have made a business success and who are compelled to make proper investments of their savings.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE HAS NO POLITICS

The evidence produced by the lobby investigation is certain to have a tremendous political effect. A Democratic President made the charge upon which a Republican Senator introduced the resolution for the probe. Big Business is shown to have no politics. It has been as willing to debauch a Republican Representative as a Democratic Representative. The Republican party, however, is deeper in the mud than the Democratic party is in the mire. Probably this is due to the fact that the Republican party was so long in power, and one of its representatives in Congress was worth four of the minority. By reason of its long career as a party of the opposition, the Democratic party naturally would be more inclined to listen to the voice of labor.

The Government of the United States, in order to be a government of the people, must be free. Surely, former Senator Beveridge must have been inspired when, proclaiming the birth of the Progressive party, he used this language:

These special interests, which suck the people's substance, are bipartisan. They use both parties. They are the invisible government behind the visible government. Democratic and Republican bosses alike and brother officers of this hidden power. No matter how fiercely they pretend to fight one another before election, they work together after election. And acting so, this political conspiracy is able to delay, mutilate, or defeat sound and needed laws for the people's welfare and the prosperity of honest business, and even to enact bad laws, hurtful to the people's welfare and oppressive to honest business. It is this invisible government which is the real danger to American institutions. Its crude work at Chicago in June which the people were able to see was no more wicked than its skilful work everywhere and always which the people are not able to see.



NIGHTMARE
From the *World* (New York)

THE GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE AND THE LABOR PROBLEM

THE FIELD OF WORK BEFORE THE FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS JUST APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON

BY PAUL U. KELLOGG

BACK and forth the pendulum swings. This summer it is the National Association of Manufacturers which has been charged by one of its former agents with fighting labor underhand—not in the open, but secretly, by hiring turncoats to betray the unions. Two years ago it was a national labor organization which was charged by one of its former agents with fighting capital underhand—not in the open, but stealthily, by hiring dynamiters to blow up buildings and bridges.

So the advantage tilts and swings from one side of the industrial cleavage to the other. If the average citizen were sure that the pendulum really was getting us further along in the day, bringing us to a better understanding for the world's work, he might be content to let it take its course, biding the time. But is it? Or are we wasting precious energies in industrial contention which might be turned to good account if men and managers were not so frequently and needlessly set at loggerheads. Not that their interests will ever be identical. We do not expect those of shipper and railroad to be identical—even under Government ownership; but we have found that it pays to put an end to rebates, discriminations and unreasonable rates. We consciously set about shearing away needless injustices and irritations so that common interests can be affirmed and developed, and so that conflicting interests can come to equilibrium with the least friction.

This, in essence, has been the motive back of the movement for the Industrial Relations Commission which has been appointed by President Wilson, and which is to enter upon a three years' plan of work at a probable outlay of half a million dollars.

As such movements go, legislation creating the commission was secured in record time. But seven months elapsed from the initiation of the project to the signing of the Hughes-Borah bill by President Taft. Seven years were consumed in the campaign for a Federal Children's Bureau.



MR. FRANK P. WALSH, OF KANSAS CITY, CHAIRMAN OF THE RECENTLY APPOINTED FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE DYNAMITE DISCLOSURES AND THEIR RESULTS

The Los Angeles trials of 1911 gave the movement occasion; but its promotors regarded those trials merely as a surface outcropping of fundamental maladjustments in the economic life. When the McNamara confessions struck the public between the

eyes, the natural reaction of vast numbers of people was to call on labor to put its house in order. The corresponding reaction of some of the more militant unionists was to cite counter abuses at the hands of capital—the old cry of "You're another." It is difficult at this date to recall the black temper with which the confessions were received. The public mind closed up like a trap. The cry was for vengeance. The two million men and women of the American labor movement were all but lumped in a single indictment. It took the sort of grit that won't be stampeded not to join in the public hue and cry against those workers who had used dynamite to secure their ends, and to stop and ask, What was happening and might happen to the workers who had not used dynamite and would not? What channels were open to them to better their conditions?

ORIGIN OF THE COMMISSION

That is just what a group of men and women attempted at a meeting in New York held early in December, close on the heels of the confessions. Their plea for a hearing met with disparagement in some quarters. It fell on deaf ears in the offices of certain newspapers and news-gathering agencies which were scouring the country for bulletins about bombs, but were handling little or nothing about the economic quandary that lay back of them. For, if you tie two cats by the tails and throw them across a clothes-line, there is a Kilkenny story in the doings of the cats. It is the clothes-line, to be sure, that is the crux of the matter, but it has no news value. Thus our general. habits of journalism themselves—quite apart from any tendency toward partisanship in the struggle—have hindered rather than helped toward the common enlightenment.

SOCIAL WORKERS WHO HELPED

"What we need is more light and less heat," said an East Side neighborhood worker, who had known intimately the successes and heartaches of a thousand East Side wage-earners' families, and who had stood beside them in sickness and strife. By chance the head worker of Hull House was in New York at the time of the meeting. She it was who presided, with the same moral courage and instinct for voicing inarticulate human needs that she had shown twenty years before when the Pullman strike and the great strike of the American Railway Union under Debs lowered over the West.

Others of the group were a Jewish rabbi who, I am told, declined the offer of one of the wealthiest Fifth Avenue temples before he started the uphill fight of founding a free synagogue; a preacher who has seen multimillionaires leave his congregation, and has kept on preaching; a chemical manufacturer who threw his commanding influence for pure-drug legislation, when it brought down against him the anathema of his own trade; a big real-estate dealer, who had the nerve to enter into a movement for land-tax reform. There was the special Government investigator who probed the stock-yards after the exposures of "The Jungle"; there was the investigator of steel districts, who had brought out with even-handed justice where the Amalgamated Association broke its contracts, and how the Steel Corporation runs its spy system. There were men who had helped work out joint boards in the cloak, suit, and skirt industries in New York, and brought the first oases of order into the anarchy of the garment trades. They were practically all people who were neither employers nor employees, but who knew conditions first-hand, and had had a part in settling industrial disputes. They felt that the times had brought them an obligation to stand out and speak from that coign of vantage.

A letter was drawn up to the President; not of protest, but of constructive proposal. It was taken to Washington at the time the economists, sociologists and political scientists were holding their annual conferences there, and many of the foremost university men in the country signed it en route to the White House.

THE LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN

President Taft strongly recommended such an inquiry in a message in February, 1912. A national committee was organized, headquarters established in New York, and Edward T. Devine, then general secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society and editor of *The Survey*, gave up winter and spring to the heavy task of organizing and directing the legislative campaign. In the summer his place was taken by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University. At the end of August, the bill was signed by President Taft.

Adolph Lewisohn, philanthropist and mining capitalist, gave $5000 at the outset to carry on the agitation. Later contributions were made by Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Julius Rosenwald, of

which coöperated. The Pittsburgh Civic Commission, which had promoted important municipal reforms in the steel district, felt that here was its chance for service in the economic field. It granted leave of absence to its secretary, Allen T. Burns, who spent six months in Washington, canvassing Senators and Congressmen, and forwarding the bill at every stage until it was signed. A series of articles interpreting the proposed legislation, and citing the facts of the great strikes in different industrial centers, were sent broadcast to the newspapers, to the labor press and to the trade journals. Hundreds of letters went out to organizations and individuals in all parts of the country.

CHAMPIONS IN CONGRESS

The campaign was by no means easy sledding at every stage. It called for an even course. The confidence and support of the American Federation of Labor was secured on the one hand and that of the National Manufacturers' Association on the other. Senator Root's endorsement carried weight with vast groups of people; that of Secretary Wilson, then Chairman of the Labor Committee of the House, was of equal weight with other groups. Senator Borah, who had shown iron nerve during the miners' war, in prosecuting the Moyer-Haywood case, sponsored the bill through the Committee on Education and Labor (of which he was chairman) and through the Senate. Senator Hughes, a man who carries a union card himself, and at that session one of the most progressive leaders on the Democratic side of the lower House, championed it there.

DEMANDED BY LABOR AND CAPITAL

At a hearing before a Congressional committee, John Mitchell, former head of the United Mine Workers, held that "all the people of the country—not only the laborers, but industrial concerns, and the railroads"—would be benefited by an investigation which would determine accurately the extent to which it is wise for the Government "to afford the machinery for the maintenance of righteous industrial relations." Said John R. McArthur, head of a New York contracting firm which operates all over the country:

> We are bidding this week on another piece of work with thirty or thirty-five bidders. Am I going to add to my price several thousand dollars just for the mere comfort of workmen and thus read ourselves out of competition? I wish I could, but I can't.



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MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, OF NEW YORK
(Member of the Industrial Relations Commission)

> A man in a competitive business can not make these concessions to his employees if he wants to keep in business unless his competitors do, and they won't all do it if they don't all have to. And therefore none of them can do it and stay in business. I am not advocating legislation to this end. I have a dread of too much legislation. And yet there is the problem. We want light, and therefore we want this commission. If these things, these better conditions, are demanded by the workmen and by a heightened sense of human obligations, a way to secure them can be found. I do not think the employer should or would stand in the way if they—the employers—are all put on an even basis. And after all, who pays for it eventually? The very people that demand it—the public at large.

THE NEW COMMISSION

The bill once passed, the work of the committee of promotion did not end there. It felt an obligation to those who joined with it to see that an effective commission was appointed. It had the independence to block President Taft's appointments, even when they included one of their own number, because it felt that the nominations as a whole did not measure up to the job. "I will not be a party to another capitalistic humbug," wrote one of the leading university men of the West. "It will be the Industrial Commission (with Penrose at the

head) over again." The committee had the independence, also, to cross swords with old-line labor leaders on the ground that no representative of the insurgent movements either within or without the American Federation of Labor was included in the list.

Some of these deficiencies carry over into the commission as named by President Wilson. It includes no woman worker, and the problem of industrial relations for women workers is not merely one of relations with employers, but of relations with the men's unions. And it includes no representative of the militant industrial unionists, who have championed the cause of common labor as against the skilled trades and their joint employers, and whose tactics and organizations are as much opposed by the conservative unions as by the employers themselves. Neither has this commission, which is to study the causes of social unrest, a representative of the Socialists, nor of the militant anti-union leaders among the manufacturers. It is made up rather of those elements which in the past have been able to bargain with each other and work together. Upon these elements is thus thrust the supreme responsibility of projecting a structural fabric of law and fair play which will stand industrial tension in the years ahead.

In personnel, the new commission includes no captain of industry who is clearly the dominant figure in some great trade group, no labor leader of such widely-hailed personality and pervasive influence as Mitchell or Furruseth or Berger; and in the group representing the public, Professor Commons alone, in reach of industrial experience and mastery of some phase of the problem before the commission, would rank with Brandeis, or Mrs. Kelley, or Father Ryan. The opportunity is before the members, however, of making the field of industrial relations their own. For never has there been an exploration of that field, equipped with such potential resources of staff and scientific competence, or clothed with such powers to compel testimony. If through public hearings and bulletins, reports and drafted bills—they carry the public with them stage by stage to a common understanding which can be made the basis for constructive judgments, then their work will be instinct with the new statesmanship.

THE CHAIRMAN

They possess qualities which promise well for the inquiry if adequate team play is developed among the members. First of all, the chairmanship is in the hands of Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, who came into national notice last fall as chairman of the Social Service Committee of the Democratic campaign. He put kindling vigor into that work; but it has been to his work as attorney and one of the chief backers of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare that one turns in judging of the qualities he will bring to this new inquiry. For this Kansas City Board has brought into the concern of the city government many things which older communities leave to private agencies —has coördinated the philanthropic work of the town. In a public exhibition, at public expense, it laid bare the exact facts of the wages paid to the women workers of Kansas City, challenging the city to set a minimum standard of wages which would lift it head and shoulders above the other towns of the Mississippi Valley. A trenchant element, Mr. Walsh, who would give dynamic force to any commission, whether it sat on weather reports or the law's delays, and whose work as arbitrator in labor disputes in Missouri has gained him acquaintance with various industrial problems from the inside.

THE MEMBER FROM WISCONSIN

Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, is a close adviser to La Follette and is generally recognized as the economic statesman of the progressive movement of the Northwest. It was years ago that Professor Commons was regarded as too radical for a chair at Syracuse University, and the world has caught up with his preachments in the interval. He himself has forged ahead, not as a disturber, but as a builder. He has investigated the stockyards and coal mines, was an expert on the industrial commission of 1900, and in 1905 was secretary of the Immigration Department of the National Civic Federation; later a member of its committee on municipal ownership which toured Europe. He was a colleague of the Pittsburgh Survey, and it was his assistant, John Fitch, who brought the conditions of life and labor in the steel industry to the fore. But more important than all these, he has been the strong man on the Wisconsin Industrial Commission which for the first time in any American commonwealth, has applied the technique and general competence of our public service commissions to the industrial field. As an illustration of its methods, it hired the

safety engineer developed by one of the great trusts, as its own expert. More important in developing rules and methods of safety and sanitary engineering, it has enlisted the active semi-official coöperation of the employers, employees, and engineers of each of the distinctive occupational fields in Wisconsin.

A WOMAN ON THE COMMISSION

In appointing Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, President Wilson turned to a second campaign associate, for she was chairman of the Women's Committee of the Democratic party. These relationships should stand the commission in good stead when it comes to carrying the Administration and Congress with them in their recommendations. But it is as chairman of the "committee for welfare work of industrial employees" of the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation that Mrs. Harriman has at once won the respect of trade-union leaders, and the interest and coöperation of the non-union cotton manufacturers of the South in the improvement of plant and community conditions. She is credited with having brought about the White House conference in July which led to the amendment of the Erdman Act, and to the arbitration of the demands of the conductors and trainmen.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S REPRESENTATIVES

In the labor group, Austin B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railway Conductors, has been one of the forces back of the Newlands bill amending the Erdman Act, and establishing its scheme of negotiation and arbitration as a permanent factor in interstate commerce. The great railroad brotherhoods are, of course, made up of the skilled men; so, too, the two other labor representatives, John B. Lennon and James O'Connell, treasurer and vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, represent the craft scheme of organization in the labor world. Neither of the latter was sent by his own union (the tailors and machinists) to the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor. Their friends say that this was because they have stood out against the inroads of socialism; their critics because they represent the older order of leaders who are not in sympathy with industrial organization, and with the causes around which the insurgent minority in the American Federation of Labor crystallizes. In the National Civic Federation Mr. O'Connell is regarded as a level-



PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

(Recognized as one of the leading constructive economists of the country, and named as a member of the new Commission on Industrial Relations)

headed, conservative and successful mediator, and his work during a big strike on the Southern Railway, when the whole South was torn up, is especially cited. In the final settlement he held rigorously to the position that the railroad should not be forced into breaking its contract with non-union men.

In his many years as executive of the International Union of Journeymen Tailors, Mr. Lennon espoused the cause of thousands of women workers. As treasurer of the American Federation of Labor he is considered one of the men instrumental in lifting their membership to over 2,000,000. He is a member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and has for years been a fearless campaigner for the cause of temperance among labor men.

ON BEHALF OF THE EMPLOYERS

S. Thruston Ballard was, for many years, president of the Louisville Manufacturers' Association, and may be said to represent more than any other member the point of view of the non-union employer. As a member of the Louisville Manufacturers' Association he secured the support of that body for child-labor legislation in Kentucky;



AUSTIN B. GARRETSON (President of the Order of Railway Conductors) | JAMES O'CONNELL. (Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor) | JOHN B. LENNON (Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor)

REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZED LABOR ON THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

and when, through complications, its support seemed to waver, he went it alone in support of reform. "A man with broad views, and a deep sense of the obligation that rests upon him as an employer," wrote a Louisville social worker of Mr. Ballard.

In Frederic A. Delano, receiver and former president of the Wabash Railroad, the commission will secure the railway executive who is generally recognized as ranking first in his intellectual grasp of the labor problem. As a young man in the engineering office of the Burlington Railroad, he personally went out and took a striker's place in that great and bitter struggle. Yet his relations with union leaders are to-day cordial, and few men have a more complete understanding of that complicated equilibrium between wages, stockholders' earnings, and passengers' fares, with which workmen, managers, and public commissions are wrestling in the railroad field. He was the choice of the railway presidents, and "as a representative of capital," writes a civic leader in Chicago, "he is fine and fair."

Harris Weinstock, of San Francisco, is a merchant, a partner of David Lubin, the man who has brought the nations of the world together into a new frontage on the problems of agriculture. Mr. Weinstock was a member of the American commission which has just returned from a study of coöperative production in Ireland, the home-loaning system of France, and other social inventions for building up agricultural communities. His interests, however, are equally keen in the industrial field. He is a member of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation. He was appointed in 1908, by Governor Gillette, to investigate and report on labor legislation in Europe and Australia, and was recently selected by the manufacturers of California to go on the Minimum Wage Commission of that State. In 1912, he was appointed a special commissioner by Governor Johnson to investigate the disturbances over the I. W. W. at San Diego. This California method of approaching a labor crisis was in marked contrast to the failure of Iowa to get at the facts in Muscatine, of Massachusetts to get at those of Lawrence, and New Jersey those of Paterson. In his report—a remarkable document—Mr. Weinstock condemned the principles of the I. W. W., but scored with equal severity the tactics of the so-called "Vigilants."

THE FIELD OF WORK

Congress has provided $100,000 for the first year's work of the Federal inquiry, but it was the general understanding while the bill was pending, that the commission should lay out a program on a three years' basis and could plan on expenditures up to $500,000. Thus it can definitely set about one of the largest tasks of our generation in a large way.

No member of the committee which agitated for the legislation was named on the



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

FREDERIC A. DELANO (Former President of the Wabash Railroad) | S. THRUSTON BALLARD (Former President of the Louisville Manufacturers' Association) | HARRIS WEINSTOCK (The San Francisco merchant)

REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS ON THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

commission, and as a volunteer body it is in a good position to follow up the work and coöperate in exploring the field which, in its conception, gave fire to the movement from the start.

What is this field? The committee specifically pointed out that it did not propose a reiteration of what had long been said on conciliation and arbitration; but an investigation from a newer point of view, based on the profound changes in our industrial life in recent years, such as will lead to a new frontage in men's minds. "The Federal Grand Juries may well concern themselves with those who have carried dynamite across state boundaries," ran the letter to the President. "We want light along a more crucial boundary line, the boundary line between industry and democracy." The same thought was put in one of the early pamphlets gotten out by the committee, which stated that we have yet to reckon with the mighty shifting of the economic foothold of the people, not only from agriculture to manufacture, but from self-employing, self-sufficient farm groups to the pay-rolls of the corporations in which industry has taken shape.

The old transportation bargain between the farmer and the carter was on pretty even terms. Higgling went on merrily. But when the carter became a railroad, and the railroad became a transcontinental line, we slowly waked up to the fact that the scrutiny and sanction of public supervision was needed, else the bargain would be a lopsided one. Is that also needed in the industrial field?

For while we talk much of capital and labor—abstract terms; much of employer and employee—two men; in actual life the bargain is rather between workmen individually or workmen organized, *and a corporation.*

RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF UNORGANIZED WORKINGMEN

Take the unorganized man: How, as a matter of fact, is his labor bargain struck? Is it a bargain at all, or does he merely "take or reject"? What forces outside of his skill or output affect that bargain?—such forces as immigration, which has held the pay of common labor below the level of family subsistence; or social pressure over which neither employer nor employee can have control — like our impatient demand for Sunday linen, which keeps laundry women at work Friday at midnight, however much they or their employers may want to close up. Has the unorganized worker any recourse when some change in process brings in a new rate, or is he about where most of us were when the railroads trumped up on commutation tickets in the days before public service commissions? On the other hand, what legitimate powers of discipline has the modern employer, to hold his thou-

sand men into team work, where his predecessors of fifty years ago had to keep only a hundred or ten? What is the status—the rights and liberties—of the individual workman as a company tenant, a member of a benefit society, or an integer in a service-pension or profit-sharing scheme?

The commission will want to delve not only into such practises as they affect individual workmen, but into how our laws bear upon them. What, after all, is the unwritten contract of hire which the courts in their master-and-servant decisions have been building up for a hundred years? How far to social advantage can statute law go in shortening hours, lifting wages, and otherwise interfering with free contracts? What of workmen's compensation laws and the proposals of sickness and old-age insurance, as elements in the fiscal relation between employer and employee?

In other words, how, *without* organization, and depending on our present civil law, does the American workman fare? How his employer?

WHAT DOES ORGANIZATION DO FOR BOTH SIDES?

How, by comparison, point by point, does the organized workman fare? What rights has the unionized man in the non-unionized industries which the public with the full power of the state ought to enforce? The non-union man in the unionized industries? Under what organized forms do we find employers and employees dealing with each other; what their characteristics and tactics in times of industrial war—the entertainment committee, and spy system, intimidation and strike-breaking force? What secrets of industrial peace are known to those more fortunate trades with a decade-long experience of amicable collective bargaining?

How, in turn, is law thrown over the industrial bargain when it is thus practised collectively? Are our deputy sheriffs, city police, constabulary and militia peace officers or in actual practise are they allies to one party or the other? How are our old rights of free speech, free assembly, free domicile, standing up under the industrial stress? As Professor Seager points out with respect to the boycott, the injunction, and the Sherman law, the commission should "show that our present laws are unfair in their applications and recommend modifications, even constitutional modifications if necessary, or let them defend these laws by reasoning so cogent that it will convince thoughtful wage-earners of the error of their views."

In other words, how, *with* organization and depending on our present civil law, does the American workman fare? How his employer?

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Such a canvass of facts and views would bring the commission close to some of the causes of unrest—and, in due course, to suggestions for remedial action through voluntary agreement, through changes in law, or through the employment of the public's concern in industry. In this last field, indeed, lies some of the commission's most definite and broadest work—in overhauling our labor departments, and correlating the work between States; in developing greater publicity as to sources of employment, and terms of work; in standardizing public minimums as to safety, sanitation, hours, wages and other conditions; and in developing machinery for mediation and arbitration in adjusting the bargaining that goes on above those minimums. The amended Erdman Act is, of course, our most notable example in this last direction.

But the promptings to the commission reach deeper. Neither a system of bureaucratic supervision, nor machinery for settling conflicts, altogether carries conviction as a solution of the present situation. We are seeing the beginnings in this country of group-control in industry—of a framework of self-government which corresponds in the economic life somewhat to the structure of towns and communities in the civil life. Thus, in the garment trades in New York grievance and rate-making and sanitary boards act practically as trade legislatures with all the joint power of organized employers and organized employees to carry their rulings into effect. These are voluntary bodies. In the minimum wage boards provided for in Massachusetts, on which employers, employees and the public are to be represented; and in the safety committees organized by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, we have, similarly, the beginnings of public bodies closely related to well-defined fields of industrial production.

Underneath all these problems of economic structure lies one basic problem—the relations which we as a self-governing people bear to corporate forms of work.



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YUAN SHIH-KAI, MASTER OF CHINA

BY CARL CROW

IS Yuan Shih-kai, President of the Republic of China, a man who would be king?

In that brief query is summed up the question which is sending the armies of the South of China against the armies of the North, threatening to wreck the Flowery Republic, so recently established as a result of the most remarkable revolution the world has ever known. Rumors of a possible civil war have been current in China ever since the establishment of the Republic, and the basis for all of them is the fear of Yuan Shih-kai—the fear that he will make his present dictatorship permanent and will found a new dynasty stronger than the old. Almost all who know the man, Chinese and foreigners alike, believe that he who has so easily gained the mastery of a country which has known so many dynasties, could with almost equal ease destroy the republican government of which he is head, put on the old monarchial trappings of the Manchus, and make himself the first of a new dynasty of Chinese emperors.

"He is the Napoleon of China!" cry the

Chinese republicans of the South, amazed that under a republican form of government one man is able to secure and hold such a large measure of power.

"Why should I want to be a Napoleon when I might become another Washington?" replies Yuan.

Is he a Napoleon or a Washington? No one knows, and on the answer to the question depends much of China's future history.

On September 15, 1913, Yuan Shih-kai will celebrate his fifty-fifth birthday, though he does not look so old. He is a short, heavy man, active, but inclined to be corpulent, like most old Chinese. His eyes are small and keen, and, with advancing age, bulge from his head in a way that would be ludicrous in a man of less dignity. His complexion was once clear and swarthy, but is now somewhat sallow and discolored. His enemies say this is because of his dissolute life. His moustache, once black, is now gray and straggling and droops over his firm mouth in the approved Chinese fashion. Since he has cut his queue and adopted foreign clothing it is noticeable that he always stands with his feet wide apart, like the horseman he is, or like Napoleon. In a room full of Chinese, Yuan would not attract attention. He has not the commanding stature which gave prominence to his old patron, Li Hung-chang. He has not the peculiar facial formation with breadth of cheek which characterizes Sun Yat Sen, nor the strong jaw and military bearing of Li Yuan-hung.

If he lacks in distinguished physical appearance, Yuan makes up for it by the pomp with which he surrounds himself. For many years, when he occupied official position under the Manchus, he never went abroad without the company of four guards of unusual height, who were dressed in gorgeous costume. His chair-bearers were always men of striking appearance, and there was nothing in the catalogue of Chinese livery which was overlooked to add distinction to his coming and going. As his rank increased he increased the éclat with which he surrounded himself. Now, as the President of the Flowery Republic, streets are cleared before he ventures out, and he goes accompanied by many galloping horsemen.

WITHOUT A CLASSICAL EDUCATION

A Chinese critic who once denounced Yuan Shih-kai said, "In his youth his favorite pastimes were horse-riding and fencing, and he was not a man of education." That is a serious charge in China, for Yuan Shih-kai has violated the precedents and ideals of centuries by climbing the rungs of official promotion without the knowledge of Chinese classics with which every Chinese official is supposed to be equipped. He cares little for books.

When, at the age of thirty, he was serving his country as "Resident" at the court of Seoul, an American diplomat described him as being "just a brutal, sensual, rollicking Chinaman." The diplomat added: "Nobody understands the meaning of the term arrogance who didn't know Yuan in those years. He was arrogance personified. Having vast powers, he frequently cut off the heads of Chinese gamblers and others, and I was an unwilling witness of some of these street-side pastimes of his. He would not let a physician save the life of one of his soldiers by amputating his arm, saying, 'of what good would a one-armed soldier be?' Yet he kept as a pensioner another soldier whose life was saved but who was useless as a trooper. He was altogether unscrupulous, but absolutely faithful and devoted to his patron and largely to his friends. He would sacrifice an enemy or one who stood in his way, but at the same time sacrifice himself readily for his patron."

MEETING THE BOXERS WITH CONVINCING ARGUMENTS

Yuan has always been a man of action. While he was acting as Governor of Shantung province there came to him a delegation representing the organization later known as the Boxers. They explained their ambitious plans to drive all foreigners out of China, and the virtues of the charms they wore, which would make them invulnerable to bullets. Governor Yuan expressed great interest in their plans, and especially in the efficacy of the charms. He was so curious about these that he asked them to dinner for a further discussion. At the conclusion of this meal Governor Yuan led his well-fed guests into an adjoining courtyard, where a squad of his soldiers was stationed. The Boxers with the magic charms were lined up on one side of the courtyard—the soldiers fired a volley and all the Boxers fell dead. That was Yuan Shih-kai's answer to their silly claims.

AS ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMER

It was while Yuan was Governor of Shantung, and later as Viceroy of Chihli, that he began to attract the attention of foreigners by his practical reform measures. He has never been out of China, except for his ten-year

stay at the retrograde court of Korea, and he knows no foreign language. Yet in the administration of the Viceroyalty of Chihli he beat the foreign-trained reformers at their own game, instituting reforms which still serve as a model to China. He gave Tientsin a good municipal government, and employed an American to develop an excellent school system. More than that, in the eyes of his Manchu lords, he reformed the army, saw that the men were drilled by foreigners, were regularly paid and well fed. Later when he was called to Peking to serve on a government board, his activities knew no departmental bounds, for he dominated everything with which he came in contact. He dictated the foreign policy, and ruled everything with a high hand. Foreign friends of China were not alarmed at this, for after the death of Li Hung-chang, Yuan was the only man around the decaying Manchu court who deserved to be called a statesman.

CHARGES OF ABSOLUTISM

But many Chinese scented danger in his rapid rise to power and formal charges were brought against him that he had "usurped all governmental power and was ruling like an absolute despot against whom nobody could achieve his purpose." About the time these charges were brought Yuan celebrated his birthday, and officials high and low crowded to his villa to offer him congratulations and gifts. When the guests assembled they were surprised to see among the gifts a pair of scrolls with the inscription: "May the Emperor live ten thousand years! May Your Excellency live ten thousand years!" The Chinese character which means "ten thousand years" could, by inviolate custom, be used only for the Emperor of China, and its use as a means of birthday greetings to Yuan was merely a sarcastic hint that he had helped the Empress Dowager, in 1898, to depose the Emperor because of ambitions to succeed him.

YUAN'S RHEUMATIC LEG

Not long after this the Empress Dowager and the Emperor died and the rule of China passed into hands less friendly to Yuan Shih-kai. The new rulers both feared and hated him and lost no time in getting rid of him as a government official. He was a man of too much prominence in China and abroad to be summarily dismissed and a typical Chinese subterfuge was adopted. An Imperial Edict recounted the high offices Yuan had filled, but regretfully stated that as he had developed rheumatism in the leg he would be compelled to vacate all the official posts he then occupied and retire to private life. The fact that he was suffering from rheumatism was as much of a surprise to Yuan as to his friends. There is little doubt but that he would have been executed at this time but for the effect the Manchus feared such an act would have on China's foreign relations.

PREMIER AT PEKING

In disgrace, Yuan retired to his Honan farm and spent his time fishing and looking after the treatment of an invalid brother. It was not until three years later that the Manchu clan, menaced by the rapid spread of the Republican revolt, called on the one strong man of China for help. While the Republican troops were gathering in force at Wuchang, an Imperial Edict ordered Yuan to take up the duties of Viceroy at that place, recently vacated by Jui Cheng, who had fled to the safe quarters of the Shanghai foreign settlement. Three years of fishing had not dulled the edge of Yuan's wit, for he replied that he would be glad to do what he could, but the rheumatism in his leg was still troubling him. The Manchus, who had created this imaginary disease, thought a little more power might cure it, and successive edicts increased the power offered him until in a short time he was able to come to Peking as Premier, surrounded by his own picked troops, appareled and accoutered like an Eastern Sultan.

HIS DEALINGS WITH THE MANCHUS

He had come to Peking to save the tottering Manchu throne, and from the day he arrived he was master of the city. But he soon saw that he was engaged in a hopeless task. The Manchus had no money and the foreign bankers refused to loan them any. The Republicans were gaining victories everywhere and the Republican spirit was spreading to the remotest corners of the vast empire. Even Peking was threatened and machine guns guarded the approaches to the Imperial Palace. Obviously Yuan had allied himself with the losing side, and a less capable man would have gone down in the crash which was inevitable. This was the kind of a situation which called forth Yuan's best efforts.

According to popular belief, very soon after his arrival in Peking he turned his attention to getting rid of the Manchus, while openly professing his endeavors to save the throne for them. Little by little he induced

the Manchus to turn over their power to him, until soon he was not even pretending to act through the little Emperor, but issued orders in his own name. He sent his most trusted friend and adviser, Tang Shao-yi, to Shanghai to confer with the Republicans, and Tang, strangely enough, became converted to Republicanism as soon as he had met the Republican peace commissioner, Dr. Wu Ting-fang. Yuan openly denounced Tang for this change of faith, but loaded him with honors as soon as the Manchus had abdicated. Yuan's old generals, who would have followed him anywhere, made peevish demands on the throne for money. Many credit Yuan with inspiring these demands. When the Monarchial troops could easily have taken Wuchang from the Republicans, Yuan grew suddenly peaceful and agreed to an armistice.

Everything in China, apparently, turned Republican, but the Manchus, shut up behind the pink walls of the Forbidden City, and knowing little of what was going on outside, declined to give up the power they had so long enjoyed. With many of their powerful friends deserting them, they decided to make secure the services of Yuan by offering him the greatest honor the ruling clan could bestow on a Chinese, the title of Marquis. According to the sound reasoning of the Manchus, the acceptance of this title of nobility would make it impossible for Yuan Shih-kai to desert them for the Republican cause.

It was a critical situation for Yuan, but he grasped it and turned it to his own advantage with remarkable skill. He did not accept the title and thereby commit himself irrevocably to the monarchy. Instead, he used this as an opportunity to clinch all the arguments which had hitherto been suggested for the abdication of the throne. On the day following the receipt of the mandate his reply was published in the official *Peking Gazette*.

"As I knelt to receive your mandate," ran the courteous memorial, "I was sorely afraid. I recall that I have received hereditary favor from the Throne, and have been repeatedly accorded marks of its signal approbation." Then he goes on to recount the various offices he has filled during the revolutionary period, and says: "Grieving at my failure to redeem the situation, I have been unable to accomplish the smallest result after the lapse of months. The dynasty is crumbling into dust, and the people's love is in fragments like a potsherd. The body politic is smitten with a murrain, and no cure for its distemper can be found. Like Shih-Ko-fa, the last Ming Commander-in-Chief, I am destitute of a fraction of recorded merit and my guilt knows no desert save death. I beg to recount to your Majesty the perplexities under which I have labored since taking office."

Then followed a most heart-rending account of his failure to accomplish anything.

In replying to the mandate, Yuan was careful to observe all the little niceties of Chinese court etiquette and take on himself all the blame for failure to stop the rapid spread of Republicanism, urging this as a reason why he could not accept the title of nobility. It was as fine a piece of Chinese humor as his reply that he could not take up the post of Viceroy at Wuchang because of the rheumatism in his leg.

HEAD OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The memorial drew no conclusions, but the one conclusion was very apparent, that all hope of saving the dynasty was gone. Immediately following this the Throne received a memorial signed by all but two of the Imperial generals, demanding that the Throne abdicate in favor of a Republic. This memorial was so similar to that written by Yuan as to lead to the conclusion that both were written by the same hand. In a few days Yuan attended a conference at the Palace, and when he left he had in his possession the famous edict of abdication which gave him full powers to organize a provisional Republican government. With that edict in his pocket he was the government.

At this time the Republican troops were massed in force along the Yangtsze river, ready to begin a march on Peking. At Nanking was a well-established Republican government, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President, and a provisional Assembly in which sat representatives of most of the Southern provinces. Yuan kept the pocket of his coat well buttoned over the abdication edict while he negotiated with the Nanking Republicans. Dr. Sun agreed to resign and the Nanking Assembly agreed to elect Yuan President, but they insisted on one condition, that Yuan show his friendly spirit and his acceptance of the Republican principles of the South by coming to Nanking to be inaugurated. To this he finally agreed, though with reluctance, for he knew that Nanking was filled with Cantonese who were waiting for an opportunity to kill him. Only a few weeks before he had narrowly escaped from a bomb which killed one of his guards and a carriage horse.

But he began ostentatiously to prepare for his trip, and the Nanking Republicans appointed a distinguished committee to go to Peking and escort him south. When the committee reached Peking it was loaded with honors. But on the night following its arrival a riot broke out among Yuan's favorite troops. There was a good deal of looting and firing of shops and a lot of shooting in the air, without any very serious results. The rioters paid particular attention to the quarters occupied by the Nanking delegates, and the latter climbed over the rear wall of their compound and sought refuge in the Y. M. C. A. The next day everything was comparatively quiet. Yuan professed great regret at what had happened and said he would take particular pains to see that it didn't happen again. The Nanking delegates agreed with him that, in view of the riot, it was necessary for him to remain in Peking and look after affairs there, so the trip to Nanking was abandoned. Surrounded by his own troops, Yuan was inaugurated in Peking, and the Nanking delegates returned south a chagrined and disappointed band. Needless to say, there have been no more riots in Peking, for, according to popular belief, the one riot was especially staged by Yuan.

THE DIAZ OF CHINA

Since the abdication of the Manchus, more than a year ago, Yuan has been the Government of China. He has talked a great deal about Republican principles, but he has ruled with a power as absolute as that exercised by the dethroned Manchus. No other ruler is more carefully guarded; no other ruler, either monarchial or republican, is surrounded with more of the pomp and circumstance of power than Yuan Shih-kai, the master of China.

A few months ago an American newspaper man, in an interview with him, said: "Some persons say you wish to become another Napoleon."

Yuan laughed and replied: "Yes, I know they say that, but they are wrong. I have taken Washington, not Napoleon, as my model. Who is the most admired figure in history? Is it Napoleon or any King or Emperor? No. It is Washington. What did Napoleon leave? A torn and exhausted country. What did Washington create? A great and free nation."

In spite of this, the Southern provinces believe Yuan is following the example of Napoleon, and hence they have begun civil war against him. There is, in this fight between the South and the North of China, a striking similarity to the great war between the States which was waging here fifty years ago. The Southern provinces hold that they have inalienable rights of their own, which are threatened by the domination of Yuan Shih-kai. These rights, they claim, include the right to secede from the union of provinces which make up the Republic of China. Their statesmen, their politicians, their logicians and their sophists argue that it was the secession of the Southern provinces from the Monarchy of China which made the establishment of the Republic possible; hence, if the Southern provinces are not satisfied with the republic which Yuan Shih-kai has dominated, there is no reason why they should not again secede and set up a republic of their own. Against this argument the North (that is, Yuan Shih-kai) is arguing as our North argued more than fifty years ago. And, as in that time, it appears that schoolbook theories will again fail to settle the question, which can only be determined by the results of the battlefield.

And if Yuan Shih-kai, equipped with the money recently loaned by foreign bankers, should win—what then? Nearly all the leaders who took part in the Republican revolution are arrayed against him, just as they were when he was supporting the Monarchy. His success in the present contest would eliminate them from the affairs of China, and he would be in a position even stronger than that he now occupies.

Yuan recently said, in explaining his Republican convictions: "Now that the people have decided upon a Republic, we should give it a fair trial. It would be foolish to think of reverting to another form of government before doing our utmost to make the Republic a success."

He may decide that the present Southern rebellion is proof that a Republican form of government is not a success for China. In that event there will be little to prevent him from establishing himself as the head of a new dynasty.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE POPULAR MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

MOST important among the contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly* for September is Professor John Bates Clark's discussion of the minimum wage, to which we give space on pages 375-6. This is followed by a characteristic essay, from the pen of Agnes Repplier, on "Our Loss of Nerve," which concludes with an emphatic condemnation of the crude and ill-considered efforts of the Illinois legislative vice-investigating committee to show the connection between the low wages of shop girls and the increasing prevalence of vice. Mr. John L. Hervey relates "The Tribulations of an Amateur Book Buyer." An informing article on "Living India" is contributed by Mr. H. Fielding-Hall. There are two articles on the growth of American cities; Mr. G. S. Dickerman presents the usual view of the impoverishment of the country, due to the general tendency toward city development, while Mr. Mark Jefferson, who is a decided optimist as regards the urban problem, sturdily contends that there has really been no exodus from country to city, and that, generally speaking, the country is gaining inhabitants at a fairly rapid rate. He is able to fortify his argument fairly well with figures from the last census. A country clergyman, the Rev. Joseph Woodbury Strout, writes appealingly and forcefully on the subject of "Financing the Rural Church." The second instalment of letters of William Vaughn Moody, the poet, contains much material of unusual interest.

In *McClure's* for September Ellen Terry describes "The Wonderful Russian Ballet." The remarkable public school system created at Gerry, Indiana, for the benefit of the children of field workers is graphically described by Burton J. Hendrick. War from the viewpoint of modern business is discussed in a well-informed article by Frederick Palmer. "How Your Writing Shows Your Character" is the title of an article by William Leslie French, who illustrates his text with autograph examples from varied sources.

In the August *Century* there is a character sketch of Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean-Christophe," by Alvan S. Sanborn. Robert Hichens, author of "The Garden of Allah," describes "Stamboul, the City of Mosques." Pictures by Jules Guerin accompany the text. Mr. James D. Whelpley discusses Canada's "Trade Dependence and Political Independence," presenting fresh and pertinent statistics. Dr. William Elliot Griffis writes on "American Makers of the New Japan," and there are minor essays on "British Uncommunicativeness," by A. C. Benson; "The First Voyage Over," by Theodore Dreiser, and "Mind Versus Muscle in Golf," by Marshall Whitlach.

Two travel articles form the leading illustrated features of the August *Harper's,* apart from stories—"Carlsbad, the Cosmopolitan," by Harrison Rhodes, and "On the Banks of the Jordan," by Stephen Graham. Apropos of the centennial celebration of the battle of Lake Erie, on the 10th of this month, the historian Lossing's account of that famous naval victory is reprinted in this number of *Harper's.*

In *Munsey's* for August Judson C. Welliver summarizes "The Triumph of the South" as embodied in the return to national power of the Democratic party, which has naturally meant the accession to places of prominence in national affairs of great numbers of Southern statesmen. The great Catskill aqueduct, an engineering triumph second only to the building of the Panama Canal, is described by Edward Hungerford.

An article in the August *Forum* by Frank Chester Pease on "The I. W. W. and Revolution" is summarized on another page of this REVIEW. Other important topics in this number of the *Forum* are: "The Jewish Problem in America," treated by Florence Kiper; "Is Applied Christianity Scientific?" by Richard Dana Skinner; "The Import of the Superficial," by B. Russell Herts, and "The Turkish Drama," by Helen McAfee. Ernest E. Boyd writes on "Bernard Shaw and the French Critics."

The *North American Review* for August has interesting articles by Dr. A. F. Zahm on "A National Aeronautical Laboratory"; by Thomas F. Ryan on "Why I Bought the Equitable"; and by Chester Lloyd Jones on "Bananas and Diplomacy."

WHERE DO THE INDIANS COME FROM?

THE results of a great deal of historical investigation, as well as some more or less unfounded speculation, has appeared in print recently regarding the presumed Old World origin of the American Indian. The Red Man of the American continents has been forcibly related to the Welsh, the Egyptians, the Phœnicians and the lost ten tribes of Israel. A writer in the monthly magazine, *Red Man,* "printed by the Indians of many tribes," at the United States Indian School at Carlisle, Pa., has collected all the historical data on the subject and given it in an article in a recent number of this periodical.

A scientific study of the Indian suggests, says this writer (Franz Boaz), that the American race "must have been separated from the rest of the Old World for a very long period, and that their civilization has grown up in the Western hemisphere." There is no evidence as to the geological time in which this separation occurred, although "it seems fairly certain that the American race is closely related to the races of Northeastern Asia, and that it must have lived in Asia for a very long time." It seems now quite certain that the American Indian "reached our continent at least at the time when, after the retreat of the glaciers connection with Asia was first reëstablished. This must have been many thousand years ago."

"It is not necessary to assume," continues this writer, "that all Americans arrived on our continent at the same time."

In all probability there was a slow filtering through of people from the west; that is to say, from Asia, eastward. It seems also very plausible that the movements of people were not in one direction only, but that a repeopling of Siberia by American tribes occurred in the course of these events.

The people who came to our shores were in all probability hunters and fishermen, who had the art of using fire, and who may have been accompanied by the domesticated dog. The art of domesticating other animals and the cultivation of plants, as well as the use of pottery, were in all probability unknown.

As to the belief that the arts of the American Indian are related to those of the Old World, a belief based largely on the supposed similarity between Old World arts and those the Spaniards found in Mexico, Central America and Peru, Mr. Boaz says:

It is easy to show that the similarities were simply those similarities which are common to all forms of social life that develop in more densely



inhabited areas, while the differences between the two are fundamental.

If the Central Americans had learned their arts from the Egyptians or other Mediterranean people, as has often been claimed, we should suppose that the essential basis of their life would also show a certain relationship. As a matter of fact, we find that the plants on which they lived and the industries which they had developed seem quite independent in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The excavations made in many parts of Europe show that the agriculture of Europe developed at a very early time, before the use of metals was known, and that wheat and barley were the two grains on which man subsisted. At a very early time cattle were domesticated. One feature, particularly, differentiates the development of European and Mediterranean agriculture from that of the rest of the world. In many regions man had learned to cultivate plants, but the cultivation was always carried on by means of his hands. The seeds were placed in holes made with a digging-stick, and the ground was prepared either with a digging-stick alone or sometimes with the help of a simple hoe made of stone, bone, or wood. Nowhere, however, had man learned to employ the services of animals to further extend his agriculture. Only in Europe did the employment of animals and the use of the plow, which was worked with the help of animals, lead to the culture of fields in our sense of the term. In all other parts of the world agriculture remained similar to our cultivation of the garden. This development in Europe was still further helped by the use of the wheel, the invention of which goes back into early antiquity, and which led to the invention of the cart for purposes of transportation.

It is remarkable that none of these inventions was shared in by the Indians of even the most civilized tribes of America. The plants cultivated by them differed from the plants cultivated by the people of the Old World. Neither wheat and barley nor the later plants, such as millet, lentils, peas, were found here; but, instead of that, the agriculture of the Indian centers around the use of Indian corn, or maize, beans, and squashes. Indian corn is a descendant of a wild grass growing in the mountains of Central America and Mexico, and therefore must have been first cultivated in that area. The domestication of animals, their use for agricultural purposes, and the invention of the wheel were not found in America, and set off Indian agriculture sharply from that of the Old World.

If nothing else were known, that would be enough to show clearly that there cannot be any early relationship between American civilization and Old World civilization; but other points can be brought forward which will corroborate our conclusion. The Indians did know the use of precious metals, and the invention of bronze had been made in Central America and among the most advanced people of South America; but the uses to which the metal was put were very limited, and there is nothing that connects the types of bronze implements found in America with the bronze implements of any period of the Old World. So far as the actual utensils are concerned, bronze has always been quite insignificant in America, while for a long time a great variety of utensils were made of bronze in Europe, northern Africa, and Asia.

It has also been claimed that there is a certain similarity in architecture, attention having been called particularly to the pyramids of Central America and those of Egypt. These, however, are quite different in character. The American pyramid is, on the whole, a substructure for a building, generally a temple, while the Egyptian pyramid is a tomb, quite distinct in plan and construction.

It is perhaps one of the most remarkable facts that while in Europe stone architecture did not develop anywhere until after metals had been in full use, while it may even be said that in western and northern Europe stone architecture did not develop until after it had been taught to the people of Europe by the Romans, the Indians developed a high architectural art before any metal tools were used by them.

"We must conclude," says this writer, that "in its origin and growth, American culture has been essentially indigenous and practically uninfluenced by the advances made in the Old World."

HOW ALASKA'S RELIGIOUS NEEDS ARE SUPPLIED

WRITING, recently, in the special "Alaska Number" of the *Spirit of Missions* (New York), Archdeacon Stuck, of the Diocese of Alaska, who, by the way, recently achieved international fame by his ascent of Mt. McKinley, said:

> Whenever a man talks about Alaska he means *his* Alaska, and that is one of the reasons why so many contradictory and wholly irreconcilable things are said about Alaska. When a Nome man talks about Alaska he means Prince William Sound and the Cook Inlet country. When a Juneau man talks about Alaska he means the southeastern coast. So when I talk about Alaska I mean the interior, which is the lion's share, though the other Alaskas would each make a great state.

Perhaps a more definite idea of the vastness of this "Great Country," as the Indians call Alaska, may be realized by placing Ketchikan (the most southeasterly mission of the Diocese of Alaska) upon the city of Savannah, Georgia. Then Point Hope, the most northwesterly mission, would fall on the center of North Dakota; while the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands would reach to the coast of California.

Just across the border, on the Canadian side, is another vast missionary field, known as the Diocese of the Yukon. These two dioceses, American and Anglican, are the largest in the world, and, in many respects, unique.

As illustrating this, we find two men, bishops of the Church, the one an American, the Right Reverend Peter Trimble Rowe, and the other an Anglican, the Right Reverend Isaac O. Stringer, their fields of work separated only by the international boundary line between the United States and the British territories, living and working in loneliness and hardship.

Some idea of the vastness of Bishop Stringer's diocese may be gained from the fact that somewhat over a year ago the Bishop started from Dawson, the seat of the Episcopal residence, on a trip to Fort McPherson, some 300 miles to the north. To get there it was necessary to travel 5,000 miles by way of steamer, rail, stage and canoe.

The long distances, lack of means of transportation and communication, and the severe climate of this vast Arctic region make great demands upon physical courage and endurance. Everywhere, to quote an extract from Bishop Rowe's diary:

Odessa, and Kazan districts can be ready to be moved into the field in from twelve to fourteen days, and the whole western army of Russia could be on the frontiers within a month of the first day of mobilization. Among the general staffs of the countries bordering on Russia it used to be calculated that it would be possible to obtain important successes between the twelfth and thirtieth days of the Russian mobilization, seeing that their armies could be mobilized more rapidly, and that the armies of Vilna, Warsaw, and Kiev could be beaten before those of the other districts could come into line. That probability is now considered to be much diminished, and will very likely disappear in the coming years.

As a matter of fact the Chief of the Russian General Staff has just declared in the Duma that it is the intention of the Minister of War to take steps permitting of the concentration of the whole force of the Russian army on the western frontier with the least possible delay. The German military projects recently noted were the reply of Germany to these formidable armaments of Russia, as are also the projects for the increase of the Austro-Hungarian army.

To check the Greek and Servian policies in Macedonia a permanent committee has been formed in London with the object of having Macedonia created an autonomous state, something after the manner of Albania. The authors of that committee believe that only in this way can a durable peace be assured in the Balkans. It is not very certain from whence sprang this idea, but from the tenor of the manifesto issued by the committee, whose headquarters are in London, it would appear to be intended to create a kind of buffer state which would preserve the balance in the Balkans with Salonica as its capital, and eventually exclude the influences that might lead to the partition of the Balkans advocated in the *Grashdanin*. But in any case it is becoming more clear that the last and final phase of the Balkan question has not yet been reached.

THE MODERNNESS OF BULGARIAN LITERATURE

ONE of the foremost living authorities on Slavonic literature is recognized to be a Swede, Alfred Jensen, who contributes an interesting survey of contemporary Bulgarian poetry to a recent number of *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm). Through his own excellent translations, many of the best specimens of that poetry are now available in Swedish, but, as he points out, in the rest of Europe and here in America there are very few people who even realize the existence of a Bulgarian literature.

The growth of this literature has been almost identical with the growth of national feeling and with the gradual emergence of the people from "beneath the yoke." The first Bulgarian public school was established at Gabrova in 1835; the first collections of Bulgarian folk-songs were published at Pesth in 1842, and during the next few years three Bulgarian newspapers were established—in Smyrna, Leipzig and Constantinople. The country itself was "under the yoke," and it was only with the first glimmer of liberty that a written literature in the modern sense began to develop.

While the liberators of the Serbs were nothing but warriors, says Mr. Jensen, the Bulgarian "haiduks" were poets as well—they aroused their countrymen by their songs as well as by their actions. Thus the first poets of the new Bulgaria were editors, school-teachers, statesmen, freebooters, and the literary history of the nation becomes almost inseparable from its political history. From this combination the earliest poetry of Bulgaria derived a certain spirit and tone of journalistic dilettantism, but it gained also naturalness and spontaneity. Contemporaneous and parallel Serbian and Croatian writers show much greater command of form, and more erudition, while, on the other hand, the Bulgarians display a striking originality that suggests much more of genuine personality.

The greatest of those pioneers was Petka Slavejkov, poet, statesman and martyr. Much as he had to suffer at the hands of the Turks during his earlier years, he suffered as much from his own countrymen after they had gained a first measure of liberty. In all he was arrested thirty-seven times for his efforts to instil a true democratic spirit into the institutions of the young nation. And when he died in 1895 his reason had for some time been clouded. His principal object as a writer was to counteract and exterminate the Greek influence which had until then held the national spirit in fetters. To accomplish this he wrote songs in the vernacular



RT. REV. ISAAC I. STRINGER, (CANADIAN) BISHOP OF THE YUKON, IN THE CENTER, AT THE FUNERAL OF A CHRISTIAN INDIAN

1000 miles east of the Mackenzie River, who had never seen the face of a white man. In July, 1912, under the direction of Bishop Stringer, a missionary, with twelve Christian Eskimos, chosen from two hundred volunteers, set out in a sailboat for a two-year trip, to try to reach and evangelize these people.

Referring to the Peel Indians, Bishop Stringer, in one of his addresses to the Synod of his diocese, said:

> The Indians were anxious and ready to learn, and not only accepted Christianity, but lived on the principles and precepts of Christ. It is a strange commentary on our Christian civilization to say that the weaker nation, under the influence of the stronger, has sometimes degenerated on the advent of white men in large numbers. When the evil influence of the white man has not to any extent been felt, as for instance among the Peel River Indians, we find a people living at least as consistent a Christian life as is generally seen in an ordinary white community.

Seventy-five per cent. of this tribe can read, and several of their number have taken orders in the Church of England. This would seem to give the lie to the oft-repeated assertion that "the only good Indian is a dead one."

While missionaries, sent out by the Church Missionary Society of England, were at work in the Yukon thirty-five years before the discovery of the Klondyke mines (in 1896) brought that region to the world's attention, the American Church did not put missionaries in the Alaskan field till 1886.

The work among the white inhabitants of Alaska, of whom there are 35,000, is practical and effective. There are well-equipped hospitals at Ketchikan, Valdes, Fairbanks, and Iditeros, and several dispensaries which minister to the needs of the body, patients sometimes being brought by sled a distance of two hundred or more miles, with oftimes not a human habitation along the way. The intellectual need is supplied in large measure by the George C. Thomas Memorial Library, at Fairbanks, which, besides being the only place, except saloons and poolrooms, where men may congregate, sends out reading matter of all kinds over a large territory to the prospectors and miners. A more recent development of the work was the establishment, in 1908, of the "Red Dragon" Club in Cordova, a rather unusual combination of reading-room, club-room and church. Here, during the week, reading and writing materials, a piano and pool-table keep the miners and railroad men (Cordova being the terminal of the line to the interior constructed by the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate) from less wholesome amusements, while on Sunday it serves as a church.

Concerning the results of the quarter century's work in the Yukon Valley, a veteran missionary, the Reverend John W. Chapman, writing in the same issue of the *Spirit of Missions,* declares:

> In some ways intercourse with the whites has done our people good. They are better laborers, understand better the character of a contract, are cleaner and less superstitious — especially the younger generation—and are enabled to live in far greater comfort than formerly. But when so much is said, it remains true that the native standard of morals is a low one, and that in the native system of religion there was nothing which held out the slightest hope that it would ever become any better than it was. Every gain in this respect is due to the influence of Christianity, and the gains are not a few.

But it is for the native's welfare that the Bishop is especially concerned. For the Indians exclusively two hospitals have been established, two industrial and eight day schools are maintained, and two sawmills are operated. The Bishop favors a reservation system, his aim being to have the principles of sanitation taught, thereby permanently improving the sanitary conditions, in order to check the mortality among the natives from tuberculosis, which has become a scourge among them. In their efforts to live

more like the white man, the Indians are losing much of their own proper racial heritage, to their great detriment. Out of 400 Indians at Sitka 40 died last year of tuberculosis, and at another station 50 per cent. of the people had died during the preceding year of the same dread disease.

Last year Bishop Rowe went to Washington and placed before Congress the serious condition of the people and the need of remedial laws. As a result of his pleadings, an act of "Home Rule" for Alaska was passed, and an appropriation was asked for to meet the needs of the situation.

Speaking in the House of Representatives upon the bill to provide for a legislative assembly for the Territory of Alaska, the Hon. William W. Wedemeyer, Member of Congress from Michigan, said:

> No man understands Alaska and its problems better than Bishop Rowe, who, for sixteen years or more, has ministered to the people of that remote territory. There is not time here to speak of his good work. . . . It is only the truth to say, however, that the progress that has been made in Alaska would have been utterly impossible without the unselfish efforts of missionaries . . . who have toiled unremittingly and under the hardest possible conditions.

AN ARGENTINE OPINION OF THE UNITED STATES

AN open letter from Señor Manuel Ugarte, the celebrated Argentinian essayist and political writer, to President Wilson, published in the current number of *Cuba Contemporánea,* is designed to call the attention, not only of the President, but of the American people as well, to the growing attitude of distrust toward our fellow-countrymen in some parts of Latin America, and to indicate the proximate causes of this regrettable state of things. Of this he writes:



MANUEL UGARTE, THE ARGENTINIAN ESSAYIST AND NOVELIST
(Who has been saying some vigorous things about North American influence in South America)

> For many years the United States, while realizing within its own limits the highest expression of the ideal of liberty attained in our era, has undertaken to defend, in Latin America, a spirit diametrically opposed to its own principles and laws. Individuals and financial corporations of this nation, with but few exceptions, seem to have entered certain countries, especially those of Central America and those bordering on the Caribbean Sea, with the aim to prevent civil law and to violate international law. Indeed, they have gone so far, at times, as to forget the most elementary rules of conduct. Certain republics have thus become fields for the display of evil instincts whose manifestation in the United States was checked by legal penalties and by public opinion. To break the plighted word, to make light of contracts, to menace and to trample on the rights of individuals, to bring in contraband goods, to bribe officials, to excite discord—all these have been, according to circumstances, quite usual proceedings on the part of those who, because of the greatness of their nation, ought to cherish a high conception of individual responsibility.
>
> The local governments, often intimidated, have not generally dared to prosecute the delinquents, either because they felt the menace of the overwhelming power of Anglo-Saxon America, or else because they themselves were bound by engagements they did not care to confess. However, as a result of these proceedings the United States has gradually become the most unpopular of nations among us. A latent hostility animates the masses of the people, and, in some countries, such as Colombia, Ecuador, etc., the American citizen is often induced to practise the humiliating deception of passing himself off as an Englishman, in order to escape the ill will of those with whom he has to deal.

Señor Ugarte insists that this is not due to a lack of hospitality among Latin-Americans, for, in the case of Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Belgians, etc., no such

feeling is manifested, and he believes that if the American people as a whole can be brought to appreciate the real causes of the growing ill-feeling, they will be even harder judges of the offenders than the Latin-Americans themselves. But at present a chief cause of complaint is the absence of a spirit of impartiality among American officials. Of this Señor Ugarte says:

What both surprises and disquiets us in Latin America is the too visible support given by the official representatives of the United States to those who are often not of American birth, or who have become naturalized merely to secure American protection. It is enough that any one of them should claim that his interests have been prejudiced, for the consuls and the ministers to sustain him, and even for the calling in of warships and soldiers, without any preliminary investigation as to the basis of the complaint, or any inquiry as to the arguments favoring one or the other of the parties. I know that all great nations regard it as a duty to protect their citizens in foreign lands, but above this duty should reign a sense of equity which prohibits injustice, and a national pride that would refuse to make the nation an accomplice in the faults of its sons.

The system now pursued may favor the development of business, the prosperity of certain groups of financiers, or even, perhaps, the prestige of the protecting nation; but the good repute of the United States has suffered as much from it as has the independence of the Latin-American republics, for in making a national question of the errors committed by individuals, in fomenting evil passions, in abusing its greatness, the United States has lost in our esteem, and has appeared to be rather a source of corruption than an aid for us in our efforts for progress.

The letter concludes with an eloquent appeal for a better understanding and for the removal of the obstacles to the development and progress of the Latin-American states that have been interposed by the rapacity of those whose sole aim is to enrich themselves regardless of consequences. While the program of conciliation proposed by Señor Ugarte, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, Filipino independence, a strict *laissez-faire* policy in Mexico, etc., is much too radical and is hardly likely to find favor either with our Government or with public opinion, some of his assertions are unfortunately true and his appeal is calculated to do good, if in reading it we make due allowance for his not unnatural partisanship.

THE BALKAN COMPLICATIONS AND RUSSIA'S WAR PREPARATIONS

WHILE in Berlin what was spoken of as the self-emancipation of the Balkan States from the tutelage of the Great Powers was regarded with a certain degree of complacency, in Russia it has caused something approaching consternation. The way in which Athens and Belgrade completely ignored the offer of the Russian Government to mediate between them and Sofia seriously disconcerted both the foreign office at St. Petersburg and the press. Some of the papers openly expressed their hostility. The *Novoe Vremya* (the reactionary organ of St. Petersburg) said:

Russia is not only a great power, but the greatest empire in the world. Is it possible that the voice of Russia should be disregarded at Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens? The Russian Empire is powerful enough to demand the immediate cessation of the savage and fratricidal Balkan War. It depends on the energy of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to save the Balkan States. Russia must not neglect her allies in the Balkans because her duty is not yet decided on.

The well-known Professor Kowalewski has published an article in the *Ryetch* in which he violently attacks Rumania for invading Bulgaria. In concluding it he says:

It is time that Russia should lift her voice against new invasions. In these days there are ways of settling international conflicts without having recourse to the sword. Partisans of peace and humanity will do well to declare at once in favor of the intervention assumed by the most powerful Slavonic empire.

The *Birchevia Vyedomosti* says:

Servia and Greece should hasten to follow the example of Bulgaria and accept the intervention of Russia. This intervention, assumed by her in accord with France, should meet with a sympathetic welcome at Belgrade and at Athens, otherwise the consequences will be fatal.

Prince Meshtchersky, in his paper, the *Grashdanin,* expresses a remarkable opinion. He says:

The best thing would be if the powers interested should partition the Balkans among them. Up to the present the Balkan War has had one appreciable result—it has ended the Slav question in Russia.

At Athens the reoccupation of Adrianople by the Turks seems to be regarded with equanimity if not satisfaction. M. Levides, the first delegate of the Greek Mission to Constantinople and Director General of the

but because the true spirit of religion dominated the man and his work, Toynbee Hall was at one and the same time the center for the propagation of broad church principles, of Nonconformist missions, of ethical conceptions, of Orthodox Judaism, and the hospitable birthplace of Reform Judaism in England, where it for a long time was the scene of the activities of the East End efforts of the Jewish Religious Union.

The same writer, Rabbi Sternheim, writes more elaborately in the *American Citizen* and in this article thus describes the basic settlement ideal, by no means a general concept as applied to American settlements:

It is an effort to mitigate the sin of social schism which is the curse of our great cities—the residential separation of the classes.

Properly does the *Times* say of Samuel A. Barnett:

In helping to bring about improvements on reasoned lines, he was one of the foremost exponents that our times have known.

HÖFFDING, DENMARK'S FOREMOST THINKER

THE recently celebrated seventieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Harald Höffding, for many years professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, has caused the Scandinavian magazines to give a great deal of attention to his splendid life-work, and one of them, *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), devotes the better part of an entire issue to this subject. No sensational accident, like a Nobel prize, has as yet called the attention of the world at large to the part played by this unassuming thinker in the formation of our own day's mental make-up. And yet he has for years been more widely known, not only in academic circles, but among thinking men and women of all classes and all nations, than was either Bergson or Eucken before their recent abrupt emergence into the lime-light.

George Brandes tells in *Tilskueren* how, whenever on a visit to Paris, he used to be questioned about the work and personality of a certain "Effdenghe," alleged to be "a very big Dane," and how it took him a long time to figure out that this mythical figure was no one but Professor Höffding. "We cannot wonder that Höffding is known to and appreciated by the Germans," adds the great critic, "but that he has been so completely successful in France also must be held a valid proof of his universality." A pupil of Höffding's tells in the same issue how all her overtures were rebuffed by a Polish girl student at Berlin until the latter learned of her nationality and cried out: "Oh, then you must know Höffding? There is no living man I would rather know than him!" And in Toynbee Hall and similar London institutions the same writer always found Höffding's "Ethics" near the top of the list of books wanted as gifts. Here in America Höffding's "Psychology" and his wonderful "History of Modern Philosophy" have long been used in most of the universities.

Professor Höffding himself gives, in *Tilskueren,* a brief autobiographical "Retrospect," in which he reviews not only his own development but that of contemporary thought. He was born into the Comtist current of the early nineteenth century. To the last he has felt, and feels, related to that current. But from the first he has also stood critical toward it, and particularly toward its materialistic exaggerations.

"It seems to me," he says—and his mind turns toward just those questions which the true Comtist wants to brush aside once for all as hopeless: immortality, the nature and purpose of life, etc.—

that there exists a series of problems which every new generation, if it be intellectually awake, must attack on the basis of its own conditionings and experiences. Truth is an exalted ideal, in relation to which one generation after the other will find ever new work to do. The time of systems has gone by. Of course, there must be "system" in our thinking. For the word system means at bottom "what fits together," and that is something our thoughts must do after all. But such a fitting-together on a basis settled for all time is now out of the question. "While we are building our systems," said a great Danish philosopher long ago, "experience is moving steadily ahead—and there is no guarantee whatever that our new observations will fit in with the system we thought so well established."

"While at work on my psychology," writes Professor Höffding further,

I became more and more convinced that the relationship between thought and observation is not a rational one: that, in a word, our thought can never exhaust the possibility of observation. But to me this stands only for another expression of the fact that truth is an ideal which we can only approach. This should not take away the ardor

nett's name has been as well known as her husband's through her devotion to the same causes and her effective participation in his social work. A few years after the Barnetts settled at St. Jude's the movement begun about 1865 by Edward Denison and carried on by a number of scattered workers from the universities, who had been set in motion by Jowett, began to take a more systematic shape. Barnett came frequently to Oxford to urge the young men on the point of leaving to give some regular portion of their time to a businesslike study of the condition of the poor, especially in the East End of London. His sincerity and his cool, practical way of looking at things impressed many of the more serious undergraduates, and none more than a young commoner of Balliol, known to be about the ablest man of his year, but so delicate in health that he was unable to read for honors. This was Arnold Toynbee, a man of ideas, and full of that "burning love of his fellow men" which Maine attributes to Rousseau.

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THE MODERNNESS OF BULGARIAN LITERATURE

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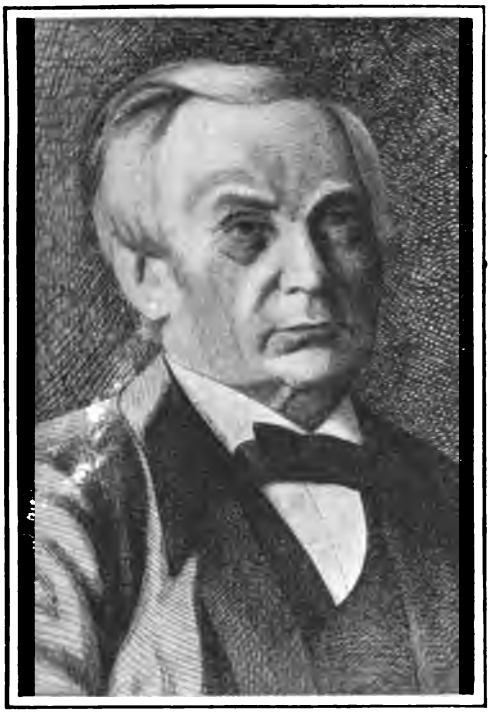
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PROF. HARALD HÖFFDING, THE CELEBRATED DANISH PHILOSOPHER

of work. On the contrary, this ardor should be lessened by the possibility of reaching the goal once for all—for then one would have to ask: What is there left to do?

Ferdinand Tönnies, one of Germany's greatest living sociologists, says of Höffding in the same magazine, that "he is one of the leading thinkers of our own age; as academic teacher, a burning light within the Scandinavian countries; and as a philosophical writer, an influence that has made itself felt all over the world." To Höffding, as Tönnies sees him, the highest thought of social ethics is that of a "human empire—a social organism composed of richly and harmoniously developed personalities." And more and more the character of social theory has become accentuated in his "Ethics" as he has carried on the never-ending work of revision. To him the ethics of the individual must be subordinated to that of the social body. And yet he strives to assert the just demands of individualism—of the principle which insists on a free personality as opposed to the one that insists on the supreme authority of the race.

"In Höffding's personality," Professor Tönnies says finally, "sincerity and honesty are on a level with keen thinking and solid knowledge. And because the style mirrors the man, all the writings of Höffding are characterized by a combination of qualities commonly supposed to be mutually exclusive: lucidity and profundity. And one feels that he is a thinker who 'lives' his own philosophy."

HELIOPOLIS, "A SUBURBAN MIRACLE"

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CANON AND MRS. BARNETT
From the painting presented to Toynbee Hall by the residents on the settlement's twenty-fifth anniversary

THE FOUNDER OF TOYNBEE HALL

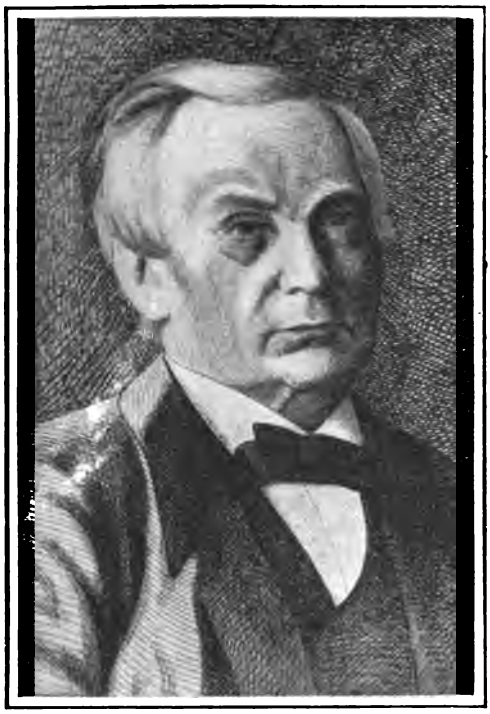
ENGLAND is distinctly the poorer by the death, which occurred on June 17th, of the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster Abbey, and late Canon of Bristol. The English Church loses a distinguished servant, but England loses far more in the death of one of its most noted sociologists.

Distinguished as was Canon Barnett's contribution to the annals of church history, he will always be immortal as the founder and for many years warden of Toynbee Hall, the famous social settlement, called by Mr. Robert A. Woods, of Boston, "The Archtype of the Settlement."

Remarkable have been the tributes to this "Enthuser of Men," as *Public Opinion* aptly terms him, in every section of the English press, of the most divergent types, and in our own press, too, for Samuel Barnett's work is well known in America, and no American sociologist but has been inspired by his life-work.

The *Times* (London) thus tells in biographical form the story of Canon Barnett and his association with Toynbee Hall:

Samuel Augustus Barnett was born in Bristol in 1844, received his first education privately, then entered Wadham College, Oxford. Mr. Barnett was in 1872 appointed Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, a post which he was to hold twenty-two years. The next year he married Miss Henrietta Rowland, who had worked with the late Miss Octavia Hill, and of this union, singularly perfect in every way, it is enough to say that Mrs. Bar-



PROF. HARALD HÖFFDING, THE CELEBRATED DANISH PHILOSOPHER

of work. On the contrary, this ardor should be lessened by the possibility of reaching the goal once for all—for then one would have to ask: What is there left to do?

Ferdinand Tönnies, one of Germany's greatest living sociologists, says of Höffding in the same magazine, that "he is one of the leading thinkers of our own age; as academic teacher, a burning light within the Scandinavian countries; and as a philosophical writer, an influence that has made itself felt all over the world." To Höffding, as Tönnies sees him, the highest thought of social ethics is that of a "human empire—a social organism composed of richly and harmoniously developed personalities." And more and more the character of social theory has become accentuated in his "Ethics" as he has carried on the never-ending work of revision. To him the ethics of the individual must be subordinated to that of the social body. And yet he strives to assert the just demands of individualism—of the principle which insists on a free personality as opposed to the one that insists on the supreme authority of the race.

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but because the true spirit of religion dominated the man and his work, Toynbee Hall was at one and the same time the center for the propagation of broad church principles, of Nonconformist missions, of ethical conceptions, of Orthodox Judaism, and the hospitable birthplace of Reform Judaism in England, where it for a long time was the scene of the activities of the East End efforts of the Jewish Religious Union.

The same writer, Rabbi Sternheim, writes more elaborately in the *American Citizen* and in this article thus describes the basic settlement ideal, by no means a general concept as applied to American settlements:

It is an effort to mitigate the sin of social schism which is the curse of our great cities—the residential separation of the classes.

Properly does the *Times* say of Samuel A. Barnett:

In helping to bring about improvements on reasoned lines, he was one of the foremost exponents that our times have known.

HÖFFDING, DENMARK'S FOREMOST THINKER

THE recently celebrated seventieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Harald Höffding, for many years professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, has caused the Scandinavian magazines to give a great deal of attention to his splendid life-work, and one of them, *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), devotes the better part of an entire issue to this subject. No sensational accident, like a Nobel prize, has as yet called the attention of the world at large to the part played by this unassuming thinker in the formation of our own day's mental make-up. And yet he has for years been more widely known, not only in academic circles, but among thinking men and women of all classes and all nations, than was either Bergson or Eucken before their recent abrupt emergence into the lime-light.

George Brandes tells in *Tilskueren* how, whenever on a visit to Paris, he used to be questioned about the work and personality of a certain "Effdenghe," alleged to be "a very big Dane," and how it took him a long time to figure out that this mythical figure was no one but Professor Höffding. "We cannot wonder that Höffding is known to and appreciated by the Germans," adds the great critic, "but that he has been so completely successful in France also must be held a valid proof of his universality." A pupil of Höffding's tells in the same issue how all her overtures were rebuffed by a Polish girl student at Berlin until the latter learned of her nationality and cried out: "Oh, then you must know Höffding? There is no living man I would rather know than him!" And in Toynbee Hall and similar London institutions the same writer always found Höffding's "Ethics" near the top of the list of books wanted as gifts. Here in America Höffding's "Psychology" and his wonderful "History of Modern Philosophy" have long been used in most of the universities.

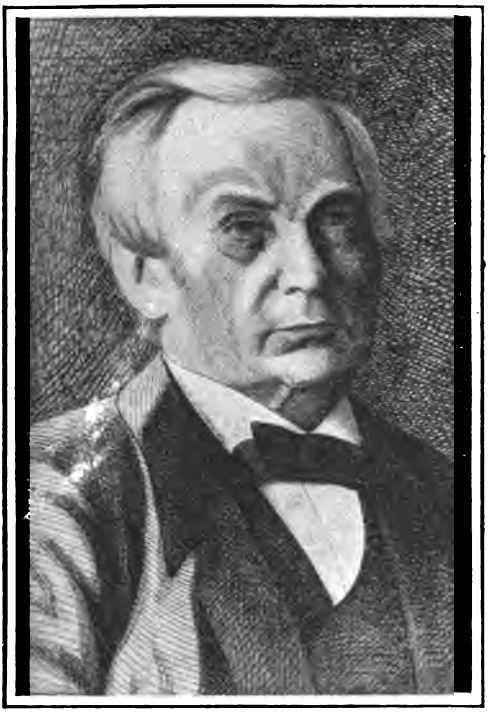
Professor Höffding himself gives, in *Tilskueren,* a brief autobiographical "Retrospect," in which he reviews not only his own development but that of contemporary thought. He was born into the Comtist current of the early nineteenth century. To the last he has felt, and feels, related to that current. But from the first he has also stood critical toward it, and particularly toward its materialistic exaggerations.

"It seems to me," he says—and his mind turns toward just those questions which the true Comtist wants to brush aside once for all as hopeless: immortality, the nature and purpose of life, etc.—

that there exists a series of problems which every new generation, if it be intellectually awake, must attack on the basis of its own conditionings and experiences. Truth is an exalted ideal, in relation to which one generation after the other will find ever new work to do. The time of systems has gone by. Of course, there must be "system" in our thinking. For the word system means at bottom "what fits together," and that is something our thoughts must do after all. But such a fitting-together on a basis settled for all time is now out of the question. "While we are building our systems," said a great Danish philosopher long ago, "experience is moving steadily ahead—and there is no guarantee whatever that our new observations will fit in with the system we thought so well established."

"While at work on my psychology," writes Professor Höffding further,

I became more and more convinced that the relationship between thought and observation is not a rational one: that, in a word, our thought can never exhaust the possibility of observation. But to me this stands only for another expression of the fact that truth is an ideal which we can only approach. This should not take away the ardor



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"MAIN STREET" OF HELIOPOLIS—LESS THAN FORTY-FIVE MINUTES FROM CAIRO'S BROADWAY

urban development of foreign cities, appearing in *Suburban Life* (New York) for August. In accounting for the phenomenal growth of the place (it seems that, in spite of the great building activity, backed up by ample capital, it has been difficult to keep the supply of villas and flats up to the demand), Mr. Clark says:

> Everything in Heliopolis was planned and executed with an eye to the future, with an eye to permanence, and to artistic beauty and sanitation, money being apparently a point of small importance. Although the whole suburb is practically under the complete authority of a private company, its government, if one may call it such, is honest and efficient and almost altruistic—qualities which provoke a sorrowful comparison when we think of certain municipal councils and their ways. No city in Egypt, not even Cairo, has any drainage system, yet the private company of Heliopolis has installed one quite as modern and as sanitary as any in America. It seems almost paradoxical to associate with dirty, picturesque Egypt the thought of broad avenues actually as clean and well kept as the streets of Germany's capital, yet the paradox has become an actual fact in Heliopolis.
>
> It would sound too improbable, and savor almost of bribery, to pretend to claim that the company is actuated largely by altruistic motives in all its actions. Doubtless the phenomenal success of Heliopolis depends largely upon the sagacity and foresight of the founders, who acted on the principle that a suburb, spacious and clean and healthy, near a city where these qualities were unknown, would prove an irresistible attraction and, in the end, a paying business proposition. They have used every inducement possible to draw from the city not only the rich, but those of more moderate means and even the better class of laboring men. For the well-to-do, palatial villas prove irresistible bait. To those in modest circumstances attractive cottages are offered, and to the workmen cheap but not ugly houses and flats. All these are offered at prices which are as tempting as the buildings themselves.
>
> The architecture of the entire suburb is unique and appropriate, Arabesque colonnades and arches, and Moorish windows being the predominating features. All the houses are built of stone, for the company does not intend to have its work destroyed by fire.

Few modern suburbs anywhere in the world have the historic and scenic associations which cluster around Heliopolis. To the west extends the Nile valley, and toward the southwest the twin spires of the citadel of Cairo may be discerned in the distance, and still farther away the dim outlines of the pyramids of Ghizeh. The region boasts of a venerable sycamore tree marking the spot where the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus rested on their flight into Egypt. There s a well named for Moses, and the exact spot is shown on the Nile where Pharaoh's daughter pulled him out of the bulrushes! Far more authentic, however, are the tombs of the Caliphs and Mamelukes, and many other monuments of Egypt's past.

In conclusion, Mr. Clark well says that the Heliopolis of to-day is "a marvelous exponent of what human ingenuity and energy, backed by a plenteous exchequer, can

accomplish. Nine years ago there was nothing but a barren, sandy waste where there is now the civilization of the city, tempered by the quiet restfulness of the suburb, and guarded by those whose first aim it is to make and keep their new creation a model of beauty in all that the word implies."

THE ROMANCE OF THE TARTAR WYCLIF

AN astonishing story of what one man did on the steppes of Siberia, of the stupendous religious labors of a Russian missionary, is told vividly by a Russian writer, Alexei Yakovlev, in *The East and the West.*

According to this writer, Nicolai Ivanovitch Ilminsky (1822-1891) was one of the most remarkable sons of Russia in the nineteenth century.

The son of a priest, he was born in Penza, and educated in the ecclesiastical academy of Kazan; he studied Tartar, Arabic, and other Eastern languages, and traveled for about twenty-two years in Arabia, Asia Minor, and Egypt. He was Professor of Eastern Languages at the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy and at Kazan University. As early as 1847 he started his life-work, the Christian mission among the different tribes who inhabit the east of European Russia and Siberia; this work, begun on the most modest scale, proves to be from year to year one of the most creative and inspiring achievements of Russian life.

The Russian Church was at that time (1865) becoming alarmed at the proselyting inroads of the Mohammedans among the peasants of east Russia. Ilminsky's talents and devotion were very welcome. Says Mr. Yakovlev:

Nicolai Ivanovitch was a rare specimen of the human race. Gifted with wonderful philological capacities, which allowed him with amazing quickness and facility to master foreign languages, he was a very fine scholar, standing on the very pinnacle of the European philological science. The Arabs in Arabia, where he lived in a tent and led with them a nomadic life, could not discern from his elocution and his management of the Arabian that he was a foreigner. The Tartars of Kazan would not believe he was a Russian, and not a born Tartar who had renounced his origin.

Ilminsky, however, was more than learned. He was mild, affable, truly good, untiring in his missionary zeal. Moreover, he had exceptionally good health, and a cheerful disposition. With the help of a native Tartar, a baptized water-carrier named Vassili Timofee, Ilminsky proceeded to translate the Scriptures into the Tartar tongue.

In 1863 he began the literary propaganda of his new ideas in Russian ecclesiastical reviews. The point was hit. Since this year, now just half a century ago, the cause started by Ilminsky was a victorious triumph of human mind over the enormous difficulties of this delicate affair, in itself rendered still more delicate by the conditions of Russian life. Guarded, protected, and led by Ilminsky till his death (December 27, 1891), supported by scores, hundreds, thousands, and now scores of thousands, of his followers, his cause is growing and spreading out with an untiring success in conquering for Christendom and Russian culture millions of men and women of different tribes, and in amalgamating them with the Russian people.

When the work was completed, in the summer of 1864, Timofee went to the villages of the baptized Tartars.

He preached to them the Gospel and read to them the newly prepared translations of the Old Testament, and behold! people who ten years before avoided all religious conversations and turned aside with the utmost mistrust at every attempt to approach them, now gathered in crowds to listen to the reading in their vernacular language, and were moved and wept while listening to and understanding the sublime truths of Christian lore.

Timofee banded them in choirs to sing Christian hymns, and this improvised singing made a wonderful impression on them. The movement took on like fire in drought.

"It is wonderful to observe these children," says one of the observers of the school, "gathered from different lonely and remote villages, dressed like beggars, with poor overcoats with holes in them and miserable shoes of soaked last; how they praise the majesty of God in their dialect. In the village, some boy pupil of the school is sitting upon a log and reading to the crowd the Holy Scripture. The dancing ceases, the singers become silent—all are still. The slow reading goes on. Pressing themselves together, afraid to lose one word, with tears in their eyes and heaving breasts, the Tartars listen to the Word of God in their own language.

"The women do not wish to go home, though torn away by their little children. The reading or narration continues for two, or even three, hours. After it is finished the deep silence is broken. Observations are heard: 'How wonderful, how charming it is to listen to one's own language; and in the church we understand nothing.' 'How thankful we are that you have it written for us in our own dialect. . . .' 'These boys will know everything concerning the faith; through them it will be known to others, because they read and speak our own dialect. Such learning is good.'"

The most difficult of all victories was his—the victory over the human heart and mind. The method was established theoretically and practically; it proved to be fully sufficient. The Kazan School for the baptized Tartars served as a laboratory of the ideas and proceedings, as an experiment and a successful encouragement. The method spread far and wide. The Kazan Seminary for the preparation of schoolmasters for all the tribes of the east of Russia was established according to the same principles. Its first director till his death was Ilminsky.

The movement spread out from Kazan along the Volga, passed the Ural, and found followers all over Siberia. It would be difficult in this sketch to enumerate the services rendered, the battles won, the thousands of schools established, and thousands of books edited in the languages of different tribes up to now. During the life of Ilminsky it was his loving and devoted hand which ruled the whole affair; it was he who served as a connecting link between workers of different blood, social and geographical position. Invisible threads were drawn from the remotest village to his working-room; he upheld incessant correspondence with thousands of his direct pupils and of his pupils' pupils with an untiring zeal and utmost delicacy.

Through the modest office of Ilminsky passed thousands of visitors from the remotest corners of Cheremiss and Chucash Woods; of the Kirghise and Bashkir Steppes; from Altai and the Transbaikalian; simple men, too, in sheepskin and shoes of soaked last, who were drawn to the mild old man in their search for light and instruction. It often happened that they spent whole nights, sleeping on the floor of his cabinet, having no other accommodation than the room of their worshipped apostle.

And in many a humble priest's or schoolmaster's house one may find a lithograph representing the beautiful features of the grand old man, an emblem of his soul and name, being a bond between millions of his followers, as his heart and mind were a connecting link of the cause during his life.

COÖPERATION IN ITALY

THE rapid increase in the cost of living, more than offsetting the increase in wages and small salaries, notable as this has been, is felt as keenly in Italy as in other countries of the Old or New World. That this state of things is aggravated by the lack of direct contact between producer and consumer has long been realized in Italy, and many plans have been suggested to remedy this condition, coöperative associations of one kind or another having been established in many places with a varying degree of success.

A plan which seems to have much in its favor has been worked out by Signor E. Branzoli-Zappi in the *Revista Internazionale*. This contemplates the founding of cooperative associations of producers, who are to provide the requisite capital, which need not be large, each receiving so many shares in proportion to the amount of his individual contribution. Of former experiences in this direction and of his own proposed solution of the problem the writer speaks in detail. We summarize his conclusions.

The coöperative associations for the sale of products which have so far been established in Italy have all had a different scope and a different organization. For the greater part they were of special character, that is, devoted to the sale of a single product, or products of a single class. So far, there has been no coöperative association for the sale of agricultural products as a whole, directly to the consumer, but the combination of a number of good and responsible cultivators would solve the problem greatly to the consumer's advantage.

Each of the associated producers would send his products to the coöperative dépôt; these are stored and the owner receives a certificate of deposit of the merchandise with which he is credited at the market price of the place whence the consignment has been made. To this price, the share of the producer, are to be added the costs of transportation, octroi, etc., and a certain fixed percentage for general expenses, interest, etc., the resulting sum becoming the selling price to the consumer. When the merchandise has been sold, always for cash, the coöperative association forwards the amount agreed upon to the producer. At the end of the year the net profits, after deducting a reserve fund, are distributed partly as interest on the shares of the company and partly to the producers in the form of a percentage on the price already paid them for their products. Thus the associated producers have not only sold their produce at the average wholesale price of their region, a price they might not otherwise have been able to secure, but they have had no trouble with middlemen and no anxiety or fears as to receipts. Moreover, they would have a modest interest from the shares they have purchased to constitute a necessary working capital for the undertaking, and, besides, a percentage on the original price received, representing a further small profit on the sale. The consumers, on their part, have obtained goods directly from a reputable producer, whose name guarantees the quality, and have nevertheless paid a somewhat lower price for the commodity.

While the writer does not fully explain the source of the surplus profit on which he figures, we may assume that it would come from a saving on the allowance for expenses,

which would, of course, have to be liberally estimated to provide an adequate margin of safety. The economic advantages of the plan are set forth as follows:

As we see, this project, seemingly so simple, assumes a considerable social and economic importance.

In our day the increase of population and the increased consumption due to the improved hygienic and material condition of the people have caused a tremendous advance in the price of the means of subsistence, even in the case of those of prime necessity. To-day not a single article of this kind is to be had at what we may call popular prices. Even the cheapest products, those consumed in the largest quantities, such as potatoes, vetches, oil, green vegetables and fruits, have become so dear in the larger cities that we can scarcely understand how a workingman's family consisting, say, of eight or ten persons, can be provided with the requisite food.

To put within the reach of these poor families, whose situation is so painful, products of good quality, pure, wholesome and fresh, and save them even a few cents on the purchase, is a most useful task, as well from the view-point of national economy as from that of the public health, a most praiseworthy task, even though it may at the same time redound slightly to the advantage of the producers.

The management would be very simple, the commodities and the cash on hand represent at any given time the assets of the association, and the necessary control can easily be exercised when desired. What are the dangers? That the merchandise can be stolen, or can deteriorate in quality before being disposed of. But the first danger can be obviated with proper care by trustworthy watchers, and the second by a proper regulation of shipments, especially in the case of perishable wares.

THE I. W. W. AND REVOLUTION

A REMARKABLY frank and fearless article on the aim and function of the I. W. W. is contributed to the *Forum* by Frank Chester Pease, a member and organizer of the movement since its inception.

Referring to the I. W. W. convention of 1905, Mr. Pease declares that "for the first time a definite, conscious class movement of the proletariat toward revolution was launched upon the American continent." At that convention, he continues,

colonization schemes, propaganda by deed (that is, in the worn-out political assassination sense), "proletarian militarism" (!), communistic and coöperative associations, consumers' leagues, grangers' unions, craft unions, large union funds, "identity-of-interests" discipline, contracts, old-age pensions, stock-sharing, civic federations, and, not the least, political suffrage and "political action," were, once and for all, weighed and found wanting.

Henceforth, says the writer, in his vigorous style,

we Industrial Unionists are in a position to create a conscious revolutionary structure free from the contaminating influence of that scourge of the ages—the philanthropoid. We can now steer clear of those transient disciplines, instigated by the ruling class, known as "reforms"—that is, for just so long as we adhere to proletarian fundamentals, which are: abolition of the wage system, abolition of private ownership in social properties, abolition of an unearned increment—abolition, in short, of any and all social instrumentalities whereby the workers are made dependent on a ruling and possessing class. Departure from our strict class division, jockeying with passing innovations, such as alliance with or incorporation of institutions not founded in the spirit or for the purpose we have outlined, means historic repetition—means failure.

As to what the I. W. W. is, this writer says: "It is an effort, not a social philosophy."

It is a secular movement of men, and not the rallying-ground of aspirants for a New Jerusalem. It is not a "cure-all." It is a new psychology, a new value-creating economic mechanism. It seeks economic control, for that is power. We have discovered that men are significant in proportion to the power they embody. Its militancy is more implacable, more potential, more aggressive than the ephemeral "programmes" with which idealists have tortured the proletariat hitherto. It is a recurrence of what Bergson calls "The Vital Impetus." It is the elemental instinct of life—especially proletarian life—namely, the automatisms of a mechanical age.

The last invention of the race is the machine process. As long as this machine process is in the exclusive control of the ruling class, through the medium of ownership, the terms of its manipulation will necessitate militancy and organization on the industrial field exclusively. This is the function of the I. W. W.

One looks elsewhere for a clear-cut revolutionary movement which has done with compromise and experiment, but one looks in vain. In accord with the forms of economic development, we are after precisely what the Industrial State now possesses—industrial power. This is what revolution means to us. In such a revolution we see the possibilities of abolishing, once and for all, that historic institution, a ruling class. This is the function of the I. W. W.

No, "friends of revolution," we are not interested in a polyglot individualism, with its cults, isms, reforms, and "social uplifts." We are not interested in that agitation which shrieks for the "economic emancipation of woman," yet bids her scorn the union of her class. We are not interested in the individualizing of sweet souls in a death-grapple with their own inflated egotism—

the culturalists. Erotic drama is no concern of ours; nor are woman suffrage, muckraking, "progressive" or "revolutionary" politics matters of import. We are interested in the propagation of revolutionary economics, in the organization of the proletariat on strictly class lines for the *actual* control of industry, and the abolition of the wage system. This is our conception of revolution, nothing less.

If ours be pronounced a narrow, sinister creed, so be it. But it could not be more narrow nor more sinister than that of the industrial State whose god is profits, whose shibboleth is "scientific management," and whose juggernaut of exploitation crushes all it touches. The industrial State has produced a phenomenon more sinister than anything since gladiatorial Rome. This is that soulless, mindless manikin—the economic man. His presence is an omen of darker social night than the imagination could depict; unless, through revolutionary mastery of his economic destiny, he shall attain self-mastery, and thereby throw off the deadly automatic discipline which the industrial State has imposed.

To accomplish this is the task of the revolution. It is the task which the I. W. W. has set itself. And so, ours is not a narrow or a sinister creed, but quite the opposite. In our autonomous form we are achieving the art of self-direction, than which there is no greater. In the practice of our code that "an injury to one is an injury to all," we derive the inspiration which springs from solidarity. In our struggles with the enemy we are recovering that long-lost instrument—power. Could anything bespeak more for the future of revolution?

A PROPOSED CURE FOR EPILEPSY

ONE by one the dragons of disease that beset afflicted humanity are being conquered by the gallant attacks of those modern St. Georges, the scientific investigators. Now the claim is put forward that at least there is a prospect not merely of relief, but of cure for that most formidable foe, epilepsy. The treatment and the theory of the cause of the malady on which it is based are set forth by Dr. Carl Ludwig Schleich in *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart, Heft 13, monthly).

Dr. Schleich believes this treatment will be found not only fitted to prevent the recurrence of epileptic attacks, but that it may give relief in some forms of insanity, and in cases of so-called double personality. His theory is certainly interesting, and deserves to be made widely known, to the end that it may be thoroughly tested by competent physicians.

He writes:

> In the brain the blood, the lymphatic fluids, and the nervous elements work in unison. The nerve ganglions transmit the stimuli for motion and sensation, to which consciousness also belongs; the secretions yield the pulsing isolators, the inhibition apparatus for these electric currents. Yes, upon the uninterrupted sway of these inhibiting secretions depends the regular course of the intellectually actuated inner and outer life. Increased or decreased blood pressure, bloodlessness, alterations of the blood serum by admixtures of poisons and of abnormal products of metabolism cause the delicate machinery of the brain to be deranged in countless ways.
>
> Swooning, frenzy, sleeping, dreaming, hallucination, peace, bliss—all are bound up with the harmonious or inharmonious interplay of the ganglion current and the secretion regulators. Imagine, now, this ebbing and flowing secretion mass of the brain, whose function is now to allow the flow of nervous energy and now to check it, much in the manner of the lock-gates of a canal, suddenly put out of commission. In a word—*coagulated.* What will follow? All portions of the brain governed by the secretions involved will be cut off and thrown out of function; the current of all external stimuli, from a ray of light to a breath of wind, is unable to pass this point, and being dammed up here, it runs over, so to speak, and floods the paths not so cut off.
>
> The consequence is a tremendous overflowing of the intact portions of the brain with waves of nervous stimulus: these cause convulsions in the centers of motion; in the intellect they occasion hallucination.

Dr. Schleich instances a German burgomaster who suddenly disappeared from home and was found months afterward, a private enlisted in the French army in Algiers. Similar cases of loss of identity and a double personality will occur to every reader of the daily papers. Dr. Schleich finds that these mysterious cases can be explained in the same manner as epileptic attacks.

He proceeds:

> Epilepsy, therefore, has its ground in brain interferences of such nature that the unaffected area of the motive centers is thrown into violent activity, because at the moment of the gelatinization of the lymph all the stimuli which would otherwise be balanced, or *"compensated,"* break over into the domain of the centers governing muscular action. . . .

Madness of some sort he considers similarly a sort of "epilepsy of the intellect," whose violent, convulsive, or disordered action is analogous to that of the muscles under excessive and uncompensated stimuli. "The consequence," he says, "is confusion, hallucination, fixed ideas, exaltation, frenzy, or melancholy."

But he bids us note that the so-called fixed idea has its seat in the part of the brain which remains sound; the location of the disease,

i. e., of the coagulation of the insulators, must be elsewhere.

Returning to the case of the vanished burgomaster, he declares him to have been subject to periodic attacks of coagulation of the brain lymph, which acts as a regulator of the nerve current.

"Such coagulation can occur suddenly, within a few seconds, as shown by experiment."

Having thus stated the cause, the writer proceeds to a discussion of the remedy. This is based on observation of another malady, that of *hemophilia,* whose victims are known as "bleeders," because, owing to the failure of their blood to clot, as does normal blood when exposed to air, it is difficult to check the flow even from a trifling cut.

In hemophiles, whose blood is lacking in the power to coagulate, no one has ever observed a case of epilepsy or what has been termed the "twilight state of mind." Moreover, I have never heard of mania, paralysis, or dementia among such "bleeders." People whose secretions cannot coagulate are incapable of such mental affections. This is not a mere surmise, but an absolute fact.

. . . . . .

Omitting a further discussion of double personality, we come to the proposed cure, which is said to have yielded admirable results.

A preparation called *krotalin* is known, a snake venom, which, even in the minutest doses, makes the blood incapable of coagulation. Turner in England, Spangler in America, Fackenheim in Cassel, have discovered it at about the same time, and—this is the most promising feature—used it as a remedy for epilepsy with the most admirable results. Numerous persons treated with it ceased entirely to be subject to epileptic attacks, because their blood had lost the power of clotting.

Thus experience brilliantly confirms the theory of the cause of epileptic attacks as a periodic coagulation of cerebral secretions.

Does not this open before us a prospect of new methods of conquest of all that is known as periodic madness?

HAY FEVER A FORM OF ANAPHYLAXIA

THE distressing symptoms of inflammation and redness of the nose, attended by an annoying discharge, and often accompanied by inflammation of the conjunctiva and even by fever and difficulty in breathing, which attack many persons in summer or early fall, and which are borne more or less resignedly as an attack of "hay fever," really indicate a serious susceptibility to a specific poison. This poison is contained in the grains of pollen from the various members of the grass family.

Such pollen-particles are borne far and wide on the breeze during the blossoming season and light upon the moist mucous membrane of eyes and nose. The violent irritation which they cause here is due to their content of minute quantities of an albuminous substance which acts as a poison to some individuals, though most persons readily resist it.

This special susceptibility to certain albumens has recently been recognized as a very serious matter and scientists have given it a distinctive title—anaphylaxia. It is because of this idiosyncrasy that some persons are poisoned by certain foods, such as strawberries, raspberries, currants, pineapples, or by oysters, crabs, Limburger cheese, etc.

Such cases, with special reference to hay fever, are discussed by Dr. L. Reinhardt in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart).

The very best remedy for avoidance of hay fever, as many sufferers recognize, is to fly before the grasses begin to bloom to some spot where such blossoming is unknown or scarce, such as Heligoland, the Upper Engadine, or localities in the United States which our readers will recall to mind.

Such desertion of homes, families, and business, however, is generally impracticable. Yet it is of grave importance to avoid an attack, not merely because of the attendant suffering and inconvenience, but because these poisons have the singular property of causing attacks which constantly *increase* in violence, instead of tending gradually to create a state of immunity, as is done by those of a different type.

Dr. Reinhardt consequently advises a medical immunization before the flowering time of the grasses commences.

He writes:

At present this is best secured by spraying with the solution of timothy-grass (*Phleum pratense*), first prepared by the two English physicians Noon and Freeman. A much simpler method, however, is merely to inhale *graminol* or some similar polyvalent hay fever "dry serum." This method is not so certain as the former, but has the advantage that it can be applied without a physician's aid.

Besides this active immunization, it is advisable for the patient to spend as much of his time as possible during the pollen-bearing season within a closed room.

For those whose business forces them to go abroad, however, he recommends the use of a nasal filter of cotton batting to arrest the pollen grains, or the greasing of the nostrils with some antiseptic salve, as one containing boric acid (Bormelin). The eyes can be protected by close-fitting automobile goggles.

If in spite of these precautions the nasal mucous membrane shows irritation, it is better to employ, instead of *"bormelin,"* a boric salve containing adrenalin and cocaine, for whose use, however, a physician's prescription is necessary.

Mr. Otto Schultz, of Hanover, the president of the Heligoland Hay Fever League, has recently invented a special respirator consisting of a silver-gilt frame to be placed in the nostrils and holding a thin layer of cotton wadding saturated with menthol or some similar medicament. However, the mere insertion of loose wadding in the nostrils forms a very effective filter. Such a filter is also recommended for the similar ailments known as "horse-colds" and "railroad asthma," which are occasioned by minute particles of the horses's skin or of human skin. Tiny as these are, they are sufficient to allow an alien albumen to penetrate the mucous membrane and thus carry its potent poison into the circulation of the blood. Such "colds" are attended by fever or headache, and, as in hay fever, the repetition of the attacks tends to increased susceptibility instead of to immunity.

This super-sensibility to foreign albumens, or *anaphylaxia,* is a very serious and, indeed, dangerous trait, which may have very grave or even fatal consequences for its victims in some circumstances. Thus there may be an anaphylaxia towards cow's milk, which may produce the most serious symptoms of poisoning in infants to whom it is given. If the attempt is repeated after some time, these symptoms become increasingly more acute, until death may follow the third or fourth attempt to force the food on the child.

Even so, there is an anaphylaxia towards egg-albumen, which most persons find quite unobjectionable. If the merest trace of white of egg be put on the tongue of such a person, the tongue reddens and swells; even the throat may become inflamed, and there may be difficulty of swallowing and vomiting.

In this connection the author cites an instructive case at law. A Munich firm placed a substance called *Puro* on the market, advertising it as a meat-albumen. Later they found it convenient to supplement their product by egg-albumen. Some of this was used by a person anaphylactic towards egg-albumen. This led to an investigation and a suit for damages against the firm for food adulteration, the outcome of which was an award of heavy damages.

VOLCANOES AND CLIMATE

PROBABLY there are few subjects on which scientific men are fonder of whetting their wits than the mystery of the Glacial Period—or rather Glacial Periods, for the geological record pretty clearly indicates that there were several of them. It is a dull year with the geologists, astrophysicists, and meteorologists that does not bring forth at least one new hypothesis to account for the astonishing vicissitudes of temperature that our earth appears to have undergone in the course of prehistoric æons. Not to enumerate all the more or less plausible guesses on this subject, mention may be made of Croll's eccentricity hypothesis (still strongly intrenched in the schoolbooks); the carbon dioxide hypothesis of Tyndall, Arrhenius, and others; the solar variation hypothesis, and the terrestrial elevation hypothesis.

Analogous to the great ice ages, each of which extended over hundreds of thousands of years, are the minor world-wide depressions of temperature of brief duration, many of which have occurred within historic times. Perhaps these two classes of phenomena differ only in degree, not in character, and an explanation may be found that will fit them both. Such is the opinion of Prof. W. J. Humphreys, of the United States Weather Bureau, whose preliminary communication on this subject was one of the most impressive events of the last meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and who has just presented his novel theory in its entirety in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute.*

Benjamin Franklin, who was a precursor in so many scientific fields, indulged in some ingenious speculations concerning the possible results of a remarkable fog—the most famous in history—that prevailed almost continuously over Europe and North America during the summer of 1783. This fog was plausibly attributed to a great volcanic eruption in Iceland, and had a feeble parallel in the persistent haze of the summer of 1912, due to volcanic dust from the eruption of Katmai. Many other great eruptions have

similarly obscured the air for longer or shorter periods. Franklin's sagacious observations are worth quoting:

During several of the summer months of the year 1783, when the effects of the sun's rays to heat the earth in these northern regions should have been the greatest, there existed a constant fog over all Europe, and great part of North America. This fog was of a permanent nature; it was dry, and the rays of the sun seemed to have little effect toward dissipating it, as they easily do a moist fog, arising from water. They were indeed rendered so faint in passing through it that, when collected in the focus of a burning-glass, they would scarce kindle brown paper. Of course, their summer effect in heating the earth was exceedingly diminished.

Hence the surface was early frozen.

Hence the first snows remained on it unmelted, and received continual additions.

Hence perhaps the winter of 1783-4 was more severe than any that happened for many years.

It seems worth the inquiry whether other hard winters recorded in history were preceded by similar permanent and widely extended summer fogs. Because, if found to be so, men might from such fogs conjecture the probability of a succeeding hard winter, and of the damage to be expected by the breaking up of frozen rivers in the spring, and take such measures as are possible and practicable to secure themselves and effects from the mischiefs that attend the last.

Franklin also recognized the possible volcanic origin of the fog, and thus was the first person, so far as we know, to advance a plausible hypothesis connecting volcanoes with climate. Nothing was known, however, in Franklin's day about ice ages. It remained for the naturalists, P. and F. Sarasin, in the year 1901, to add to the fifty-seven varieties of glacial hypotheses one which ascribed ice ages to the effects of volcanic dust in the atmosphere.

Now we come to the *crux* of the problem. To the everyday man it seems simple and obvious that a widespread veil of fine dust in the upper air—such as we know has persisted for months and years after certain great volcanic eruptions—would screen the earth beneath it from the rays of the sun, and thereby lower the temperature. To the physicist this is not so obvious. An impervious screen would prevent the escape of radiant heat from the earth, as well as its ingress from without. However, there is the question of the absorption and subsequent radiation of heat by the dust, and Professor Humphreys has shown (we shall take his word for the mathematical reasoning involved) that in virtue of this process alone a layer of dust in the upper atmosphere would actually make the earth somewhat warmer. (Science bristles with these paradoxes.)

It is no discredit to the cousins Sarasin that they were unable to offer a valid explanation of the climatic effects that they correctly ascribed to volcanic dust; for such an explanation—now for the first time presented by Professor Humphreys—depends upon certain principles of very recent discovery. Divested as far as possible of technicalities, it is as follows:

The earth receives energy from the sun in the shape of ether waves of various lengths, but predominantly short. Short waves do not become sensible as heat until they are converted into longer waves, and this happens through their absorption by the earth. The energy received by the earth is radiated back into space in waves of greater length, on an average, than those of the incoming radiations. Now, according to a principle discovered by Lord Rayleigh, fine particles of matter, such as grains of volcanic dust, are able to reflect or turn back the short waves coming from the sun, but not the long waves coming from the earth; the latter are scattered by the dust, but not reflected. In other words, a veil of fine dust is, according to Professor Humphreys' calculations, about thirty-fold more effective in shutting solar radiation out than it is in keeping terrestrial radiation in. This process is just the reverse of the familiar effect of the greenhouse, where the glass lets in the short solar radiations but does not let out the long earth radiations.

There is a great deal more to Professor Humphreys' explanation — which takes account of the rhythmical fluctuations in terrestrial temperature that appear to be associated with the sunspot period, the effects of increased dustiness in the atmosphere of the sun, the blanketing effect of ozone in the upper air, the reasons why volcanic dust remains suspended for so long a time above the earth, and so on. In the preceding paragraph, however, we have, in all probability, the master-key to the riddle of "the Great Ice Age" and its predecessors, as well as numerous minor depressions in the earth's temperature that were formerly inexplicable.

Professor Humphreys clinches his argument by enumerating all the great volcanic eruptions that have been recorded since 1750, and showing that each of them registered itself in the temperatures of the earth and (in recent years) in the accurately measured intensity of solar radiation.

Of course, it will naturally occur to one to ask about special cases, such as the cold years of 1783-4-5, and, in particular, 1816, the famous

"year without a summer," "poverty year," or "eighteen hundred and froze to death." The first of these, 1783-5, followed the great explosion of Asama in 1783, while the second, the "year without a summer," that was cold the world over, followed the eruption of Tomboro, which was so violent that 56,000 people were killed and "for three days there was darkness at a distance of 300 miles."

As to the prolonged epidemics of intense vulcanism that caused the ice ages we know very little, but that they have occurred from time to time in the remote past is evidenced by the geological record, quite independently of Professor Humphreys' hypothesis.

THE MINIMUM WAGE AND EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT

THE initial article in the September *Atlantic* is contributed by Professor John Bates Clark, of Columbia University, and deals with the minimum wage as a pending measure of economic reform in this country. Professor Clark goes farther than most American writers on this subject in that he assumes the unemployment of working people as a direct result of the enactment of minimum-wage laws, and further assumes the necessity of the State's stepping in and by emergency relief measures providing work for all persons thus thrown out of employment.

In the opening paragraph Professor Clark declares himself in sympathy, to a degree, with the appeal that is made to public feeling on behalf of the minimum wage. If, in every large city, he says, thousands of persons must continue to work hard and to get less than a living, the fact is an indictment of civilization. He accepts the dictum of Rodbertus that labor is "an economic merit," and "if a competitive system of industry necessarily starves many of its workers it is time to give to Socialism or some other plan of living a candid hearing." But Professor Clark contends that if the starving is due, not to the basic quality of the existing industrial order, but to a fault which can be remedied, the responsibility for it rests not on the system, as such, but on all of us in so far as we can control public action and remove the fault.

As to the expedient of legally fixing rates below which wages may not go, he holds that whoever intends to support such a law needs first to assure himself that the thing can be done and that, too, without causing more hardship than it remedies; "but it is more emphatically true that whoever will reject such a law will exhaust the power of study and research before concluding that it cannot be done without causing a balance of harm."

Pending the results of the practical test of this policy now in progress in Australia, New Zealand, England, and the United States, we are assured in advance of a few things as necessarily true. One of these is that raising the prices of goods will, in the absence of counteracting influences, reduce sales. Another is that raising the rate of wages will, of itself, and in the absence of any new demand for labor, lessen the number of workers employed. Some of the minimum rates actually proposed would undoubtedly throw great numbers of persons into idleness.

Professor Clark contends, therefore, that the legitimacy of a minimum-wage policy depends on the rate of pay that the law requires. He admits that a certain low minimum rate may be clearly and wholly legitimate, and, moreover, that prescribing even this rate may have a very important effect in ruling out some of the hardest practices that now prevail. "In the absence of a strong trade union an employer may take advantage of the necessities of an individual employee and secure his or her labor at a rate that is distinctively below what it is worth as measured by the productive test. This fact affords the clearest justification of the principle of the trade union. Hunger discipline disqualifies the worker for making a successful bargain, and if the employer were everywhere at liberty to take men for what they may offer to work for him, he might get them for very little. If, when they became better fed, they should demand more, he might conceivably turn them off and replace them by others whom the discipline of starvation had made amenable to such treatment." Trade unions go far toward removing this evil, and in the absence of such unions the law might do it. If it placed the rate of wages at the level fixed by the productive power of the individual workers, it might not cause many to be discharged and it might raise the rate of pay for a larger number. It would thus change for the better what passes for the market rate of wages, provided that this market rate had been reduced by starving the candidates for employment, and yet it might not change the

legitimate market rate as determined by the productive power of the laborer himself.

If, however, the law goes much farther and fixes a minimum rate which is distinctively more than many workers are worth, it is self-evident that some will be discharged, and that they cannot be reëmployed in the ordinary way unless they manage to acquire a greater productive power. Professor Clark postulates, first, that any legitimate rate above the value of labor to its employer will cause idleness; second, that the amount of idleness will be greater the higher the rate established; and, third, that any idleness created in this way and not relieved by natural causes will give to the workers an unanswerable claim on the State for emergency employment.

This brings us to Professor Clark's discussion of the claim on the State arising from unemployment. Mere need and helplessness, he maintains, give citizens a certain valid claim on the State, even though it has done nothing to cause their troubles. Privation that is traceable to social defects makes a more cogent claim. This, in fact, is the basis of the demand for minimum-wage laws, since the ill-paid workers are regarded as victims of social arrangements. Curing the evil, however, by laws that throw any class into idleness is causing suffering by a direct and purposeful act, and this suffering is more intense, though probably less widespread, than that which it causes.

If five dollars a week means privation for thousands, nothing per week would mean quick starvation for hundreds, and this might result from too radical a change of the minimum wage. If five dollars a week forces persons into vice, no wages at all would do it more surely and quickly; and here is a further claim upon the State which no one can for a moment question. Emergency relief needs to accompany the minimum-wage law, and effective measures for it must be ready to act the moment the law is passed. It will not do to discharge the workers and then debate the question as to how best to give them work. Moreover, such employment as we furnish should be such as self-respecting persons may properly accept.

It is conceivable that a minimum-wage law may do nothing more than correct the harsh action of competition and establish a rate corresponding with the existing productive power of labor. In that case no more persons may be thrown into idleness than the present agencies for relief can be made to care for. But, if a law should go far enough to make the required wage rate materially higher, a new and elaborate system of relief would be demanded. Are we ready to establish it? Professor Clark asks. If not, we are not justified in enacting a law that will require it.

The situation, then, is briefly this: Minimum-wage laws are urgently demanded. If they greatly raise the present minimum, they will throw workers out of employment and make it far more difficult than it now is for them to find new places under private employers. Without efficient relief in readiness, the measure would amount to starving some of the workers in order to avoid half-starving the remainder. The relief system will need to be more extensive than any which has ever been afforded, and will need either to avoid or to overcome the opposition which has defeated efforts of this kind during business depressions.

Such a system of emergency employment must provide a living that is at least as good as that afforded by the worst wages now offered. At the same time, it must not offer attractions enough to allure the worker away from private employment. Finally, it must make products that would not be sold in the market in a way that will afford a basis for the accusation that wards of the State are competing with independent labor and reducing its pay.

Society certainly must secure more and more efficient production, and laborers particularly must have it. The sole hope for future comfort and modest luxury for the working class is dependence on the law of survival of productive methods and efficient managers. This tendency, whose remote effects give promise of translating all labor to a higher level of comfort, affords, by its nearer effects, the best promise of rescuing the workers who lose their places in consequence of the minimum wage law. The action of it, however, is at best gradual, and we are forced again to appeal to the State and ask it to furnish emergency employment. The State must do this on a scale that will suffice to provide for the number of laborers whom its wage law will displace. If its policy is very conservative—if it only legalizes a rate that a normal market would itself yield—the relief measures may not need to be planned on any radically new lines. If the law itself prescribes no minimum, but creates a commission with power to prescribe it for each particular occupation, there is ground for thinking that this commission may proceed in such a conservative way that its action will displace relatively few persons. If so, the system may do an unexpected amount of good and avoid a grave danger.

To displace many laborers and count on taking them into public employment would be hazardous, but displacing them with no such provision would be an inhumanity outclassing that which critics find in the present condition. As between such a Devil and a moderately deep sea of experiments in relief, the latter is preferable, but a wise conservatism will keep clear of perilous depths.

BOOKS ABOUT WORLD TOPICS

AN extraordinary book is Wilhelm Lamszus' "The Human Slaughter-House."[1] This is the story of a German civilian who, at the call to mobilization, leaves his desk, his wife, and his children and marches out to war. With keen, merciless strokes the author strips all the deceptive glamor from war. He points out how mechanical invention has changed the "field of honor" into "the human slaughter-house." There is no longer "the brave setting of flashing eyes and glittering steel and the stirring clash of men at arms," but only "long-drawn-out fronts of flesh and blood opposed to automatic machinery and the triumphs of the mechanical laboratory." Dynamite dropped from aeroplanes flying by night, regiments wiped out by the pushing of an electric button—these are some of the triumphs of what Lamszus describes as "the war that is sure to come." The book has made a vivid impression on the mind of leaders in Germany and elsewhere on the continent. Within a few days of its publication, the author awoke to find himself famous, or infamous, according to the point of view, in his own country, and celebrated abroad. No less than eighteen European languages have conveyed the sentiments of his book to millions of readers. Lamszus was master in one of the great public schools. When his book appeared he was at once "relieved" of his duties. The primary duty of the schoolmaster in Germany, who is a State official, being to educate not only citizens, but future conscripts, it is, of course, nigh unto high treason for such a schoolmaster to write a book with a tendency "to strip the pomp and circumstance of war of its traditional glamor—war which is an integral factor in the German educational system." The sale of the book was prohibited in the town of its publication, the free city of Hamburg, a proceeding which had the effect of stimulating its sale elsewhere. Over 100,000 copies of the book were sold in Germany within a few months of its appearance. Lamszus is a patriot, he is a robust character, a trained gymnast, a member of the medical profession, and author of a book on the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, in which he glorifies war—for its real human national end. The English translation has been made by Oakley Williams, and there is an introduction by the English poet Alfred Noyes. In the "front matter," also, there is given a translation of a letter from Dr. A. Westphal, secretary of the "Commission for Education and Instruction" of the Universal Peace Congress, held at Geneva last year, thanking Herr Lamzsus for having furnished the cause of universal peace with a weapon of considerable importance.

The Real Meaning of War

That there is an art as well as a science of history, and that this art consists in representing in any given field actions in their proper perspective—these are the bases of William Morton Fullerton's study of "international politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilissé," which he has entitled "Problems of Power."[2] Mr. Fullerton who was formerly traveling foreign correspondent of the London *Times,* and who is the author of a number of books on international relations, surveys the interrelations between the great powers of the world and analyzes the international situation from the standpoint of conscious national aims and political cross currents. Money, he starts out by saying, is the key to all history. "The plutocratic oligarchy of banker and business man" and the mysterious evasive force known as public opinion —"these two occult powers are now determining the destinies of the world." The book is divided into four parts. The first considers "world history from Sedan to the *coup* at Agadir"; the second, the domestic crises of the European states and the foreign policy of the powers; the third, economic factors affecting the political attitude of modern states; and the fourth, the present outlook.

Modern World History

Dr. M. V. B. Knox's story of "The Religious Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race"[3] is not a church history. It aims to trace the progress of the religious factor in the advance of the English-speaking peoples. The author, who is an educator as well as a clergyman, has not permitted ecclesiastical authorities to influence him unduly; that is, to the exclusion of secular historians and old chronicles, all having been made to contribute to the results of his research.

Religion in Anglo-Saxon History

A really new contribution to the science of history is Frederick A. Woods' study of "The Influence of Monarchs."[4] Dr. Woods who is lecturer in biology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and author of a former work entitled "Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty," takes the attitude that "only very rarely has a nation progressed in its political and economic aspects, save under the leadership of a strong sovereign." In proof of his contention he presents a comparison of the personalities of the European monarchs from the tenth century through the time of the French Revolution, "with the successive alterations in the material conditions of the different countries." In the appendix there is a brief tabulated recapitulation of the facts given in the volume.

Europe's Rulers

Assuming that the British Empire is destined to continue to live, and also that it is very rapidly outgrowing its old form, the "Britannic" question (as formulated by Richard Jebb in his latest book[5]) is a problem of how to effect a closer and permanent union between the self-governing states. Mr. Jebb considers the so-called colonial question of Britain as affecting the home country as well as Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland. He believes that the moral ef-

Britain's Colonial System

[1] The Human Slaughter-House. By Wilhelm Lamszus. Translated by Oakley Williams. Stokes. 115 pp. 50 cents.

[2] Problems of Power. By William Morton Fullerton. Scribners. 323 pp. $2.25.

[3] The Religious Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race. By M. V. B. Knox. Sherman, French. 536 pp. $2.

[4] The Influence of Monarchs. By Frederick A. Woods. Macmillan. 422 pp. $2.

[5] The Britannic Question. By Richard Jebb. Longmans, Green. 262 pp. 35 cents.

fect of the Borden naval aid bill in Canada was to precipitate imperial federation. He prefers to use the word Britannic rather than British, because he says the latter is restricted in its application to things related to the United Kingdom, whereas Britannic is imperial in its reach. Mr. Jebb believes that some sort of federation of all the administrative units of the British Empire is absolutely necessary unless "the Empire is to forego its glorious opportunity and future."

Irish Home Rule

A new book on the Irish Home Rule question, entitled "The Truth About Home Rule," has been written by Pembroke Wicks, a young London barrister.[1] Mr. Wicks regards the present Home Rule bill as injurious to the welfare of Ireland and dangerous to the peace of the British Empire. He rather naïvely remarks, in the author's note, that the book has been written primarily for circulation in the United States of America. There is a pessimistic preface by Sir Edward Carson, leader in the House of Commons of the Irish opposition to Home Rule. Mr. Wicks' final judgment is that if the present Home Rule bill passes "two things are certain: there will be civil war in Ulster, and an end to public confidence, security, and credit throughout the rest of Ireland."

China and Tibet

Three recent books on China and its dependencies which are worthy of note include "The Emergency in China," by Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott, of St. John's University, Shanghai (Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada); "The Big Game of Central and Western China" (illustrated), by Harold Frank Wallace (Duffield); and the third volume (illustrated) of Dr. Sven Hedin's "Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet" (Macmillan).

Mexico Up to Date

A new book on "Mexico, the Land of Unrest,"[2] by Henry Baerlein, formerly special correspondent of the London *Times* in Mexico City, and the author of a number of other books on historical and travel subjects, is particularly valuable as an account of what produced the outbreak of 1910, together with the complete story of the "revolutions" since that time. Mr. Baerlein says the Mexicans are children—"that explains the whole situation." He endeavors to show us, dispassionately, "the extraordinary charm and horror of the country, a land where tragedy is the companion of burlesque." The volume is copiously illustrated.

Addresses by Ambassador Bryce

A series of "University and Historical Addresses," by former Ambassador James Bryce, have come out in book form.[3] They include twenty of the more important addresses delivered by Mr. Bryce during the six years in which he represented Great Britain at Washington. They are in Mr. Bryce's well-known, clear, suggestive style.

Modern Missions

For those who are interested in missions, there will be considerable of value in Dr. James S. Dennis' latest book, "The Modern Call of Missions: Studies in Some of the Larger Aspects of a Great Enterprise."[4] Dr. Dennis lived for many years in the Near East, and he writes illuminatingly of the missionary problems of that region.

THE LORE OF THE FARM

Farming as a Business

POSSIBLY more books on farming are now coming from the press than ever before in our history. At any rate, it is clear that the leading publishing houses are giving more prominence to such books in their monthly lists than ever before. We are speaking now, not particularly of the technical works on agriculture, but of the books designed for general circulation and intended to be read by all classes of the community, non-farmers as well as farmers. Within recent months there have appeared several books dealing more especially with the business side of farm management. One of these, "The Farmer of To-Morrow," by Frederick Irving Anderson,[5] gives a lucid exposition of farm bookkeeping, and while basing its arguments altogether on the most familiar facts in American agriculture, makes a startling showing of the actual economic significance of present farming conditions in this country. Among the topics treated in this interesting volume are "The Farmer of Yesterday," "The Dry Lands and the Forests," "The Division of Soils and the Specialization of Crops," The Bookkeeping Theory of Soil Fertility," "The Soil as an Immutable Asset," and "Soil Sanitation." The writer shows his acquaintance with divergent theories put forth by the soil experts and uses good judgment in gathering from the output of each scheme the salient and essential truths.

In "The Call of the Land," Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews brings together a number of writings and addresses on popular topics of special interest to farmers.[6] One of these, "The Passing of the Federal Pasture," was originally written for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for January, 1903.

Farm Animals and Products

Passing to the problems of animal husbandry, we are reminded by the late Professor John A. Craig's "Sheep-Farming in North America"[7] of the many phases through which this important industry has passed in the last half-century. Many books upon sheep have emphasized wool production, but in the present work the sheep is considered as having an important place in attempts at stock-farming, and it is thus addressed to the general farmer rather than to the wool-grower. Professor Craig had the chair of animal husbandry

[1] The Truth About Home Rule. By Pembroke Wicks. Small, Maynard. 313 pp., ill. $1.25.
[2] Mexico, the Land of Unrest. By Henry Baerlein. Lippincott. 461 pp., ill. $3.75.
[3] University and Historical Addresses. By James Bryce. Macmillan. 433 pp. $2.25.
[4] The Modern Call of Missions. By James S. Dennis. Revell. 341 pp. $1.50.
[5] The Farmer of To-Morrow. By Frederick Irving Anderson. Macmillan. 308 pp. $1.50.
[6] The Call of the Land. By E. Benjamin Andrews. New York: Orange Judd Co. 385 pp., ill. $1.50.
[7] Sheep-Farming in North America. By John A. Craig. Macmillan. 302 pp., ill. $1.50.

at the University of Wisconsin and in the Iowa State College, and was director of the Agricultural Experiment Stations in the States of Texas and Oklahoma.

In the series of "Lippincott's Farm Manuals," "Productive Swine Husbandry" is the subject of a volume prepared by Professor George E. Day, of the Ontario Agricultural College.[1] It has been the author's twofold purpose in this volume to prepare a work which will serve as a text-book for agricultural students, and to place at the disposal of the busy farmer a reference book which will give, in concise form, the findings of the best experiment stations in regard to the problems of the successful handling of swine. The illustrations of the volume are to be especially commended.

A new edition of Professor Henry H. Wing's "Milk and Its Products" ("The Rural Science Series") contains chapters on dairy cattle and the production of milk, on certified milk, and on ice-cream manufacture.[2] Furthermore, such changes have been made as were necessary to bring the body of this standard work up to date.

The Ancient Roman Farmer

A book of curious interest to the present-day farmer is "Roman Farm Management," comprising the treatises of Cato and Varro, translated with notes by a Virginia farmer.[3] Reading some passages of these famous treatises, one can hardly believe that they were written for "other times and other manners" than our own. Indeed, we suspect that the average American farmer would find in these classics not a little of the farm lore which has come down to him as a heritage from past generations, but which he has not been accustomed to associate with the ancients.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Marx and Modern Socialism

A PECULIARLY keen analysis of Marxian Socialism is put forth by Dr. Simkhovitch, of Columbia University, in a volume significantly entitled "Marxism Versus Socialism,"[4] the point of the title being that Marx's whole system of Socialism is based on his interpretation of economic tendencies, which are admittedly wholly different to-day from what Marx expected them to be. Dr. Simkhovitch argues, therefore, that from the standpoint of Marx's own economic theory, Socialism is to-day impossible.

The Modern Jew

"The Jews of To-Day" is the title of a sociological study of the Hebrew race the world over, by Dr. Arthur Ruppin.[5] This is a scholarly discussion of the distinctive nationality, culture, intellectual and artistic achievements, and ethical and religious standards of the Jews. The translation, by Margery Bentwich, is from the German, in which the work has for some time been a recognized authority. An introduction is furnished by Dr. Joseph Jacobs.

A Spanish Rationalist

Very little, apparently, is known of the real aims and work of the alleged Spanish anarchist, Francisco Ferrer, who was executed at Barcelona in 1909. It is a study of his own life which is contained in the book "The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School," written by Ferrer a little before his death, and now translated by Joseph McCabe.[6] Ferrer's school system was rationalistic, anti-militaristic and socialistic, and it soon incurred the bitter animosity of the conservatives and clericals of Spain. Just what Ferrer's ideas were are shown in this book, which is written with unusual clarity of style.

The Worker's Safety

At this time, when there is unusual interest in the question of workmen's compensation and the prevention of industrial accidents, the American reading public is indebted to Dr. William H. Tolman, of the American Museum of Safety, and to Leonard B. Kendall, for the first comprehensive work on "Safety" that has appeared in the English language.[7] This book describes methods for preventing occupational and other accidents and disease. It is a handbook of practical information designed for the use of everyone, whether employer or employee, who is interested in industry. To quote a sentence from the preface: "It shows how big business can be good business, in surrounding the workers with the adequate safeguards to protect them at work and in promoting the essentials of shop hygiene." The authors contend that 50 per cent. of industrial accidents are preventable, and, in support of the contention, give various examples from actual prevention work in the shops and plants of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Midvale Steel Works, and the United States Steel Corporation, where the reduction of serious shop accidents last year was 63 per cent., 61 per cent., and 45 per cent., respectively.

The Health of School Children

A most useful contribution to the current widespread discussion of the health of children has been made by Frances Williston Burks and Jesse D. Burks, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, in a volume entitled "Health and the School: A Round Table."[8] This book takes the form of a series of conferences in which parents, teachers, the physician, the trained social worker, and the successful business man take part, and in which various investigations and reforms are described, each one of which, the authors assert, has actually taken place in some town, while every statistical item reported has been secured through actual investigation in vari-

[1] Productive Swine Husbandry. By George E. Day. Lippincott. 330 pp., ill. $1.50.
[2] Milk and Its Products. By Henry H. Wing. Macmillan. 433 pp., ill. $1.50.
[3] Roman Farm Management: Treatises of Cato and Varro Translated by A Virginia Farmer. Macmillan. 365 pp. $2.
[4] Marxism Versus Socialism. By Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. Holt. 298 pp. $1.50.
[5] The Jews of To-Day. By Arthur Ruppin. Holt. 310 pp. $1.75.
[6] The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School. By Francisco Ferrer. Translated by Joseph McCabe. Putnam. 147 pp. $1.
[7] Safety Methods for Preventing Occupational and Other Accidents and Disease. By William H. Tolman and Leonard B. Kendall. Harpers. 422 pp., ill. $3.
[8] Health and the School: A Round Table. By Frances Williston Burks and Jesse D. Burks. Appleton. 393 pp. $1.50.

ous cities and States. The method adopted by this book may very well serve as a suggestion for procedure to groups of interested citizens who may be inspired to begin active campaigns for the improved health of school children in their respective communities.

Some of the practical hygienic requirements of school life, with suggestions as to how such requirements may be put in practice, are set forth in a volume, "School Hygiene," by Dr. Fletcher B. Dresslar, of the United States Bureau of Education.[1] The reader soon discovers that Dr. Dresslar has prepared his book less with reference to ideals of school hygiene and sanitation than to the actual limitations under which teachers and school officers are compelled to act, especially in rural districts. Although marked progress has been made within recent years, our school buildings the country over are still deplorably defective in many of the rudimentary points of sanitary construction. Teachers may get from Dr. Dresslar's book many helpful suggestions.

The School Curriculum

A well-considered discussion of the reasons for including various specific subjects in courses of study in elementary schools is offered in a little book entitled "What Children Study and Why," by Charles B. Gilbert, formerly superintendent of schools of St. Paul, Minn., Newark, N. J., and Rochester, N. Y.[2] In discussion of relative educational values in the school curriculum, much will be gained if the various subjects are so analyzed as to show in what way the study of them is of benefit to the children. This, at least, is accomplished by Mr. Gilbert in his book. He opens up the whole matter to teachers in a clear and forceful way and offers practical suggestions for remedying certain obvious defects in educational practice.

Basis of the Montessori Method

Dr. Maria Montessori, the Italian educator, originator of the method of instructing small children which is called by her name, about which there has been so much discussion during the past few years, has attempted to define the new science of "Pedagogical Anthropology." Under this impressive title she has written a book which shows the deepest scientific research and culture.[3] This volume, which consists of a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Montessori in the University of Rome during the past four years, has been translated by Dr. Frederic Taber Cooper. They show the foundations of the Montessori idea. Anthropology, says Dr. Montessori, "hitherto has been based on the study of man, with a view to his origin. Pedagogical anthropology studies humankind with a view to future development." The book is illustrated with diagrams and types of face and form. In one of the chapters on craniology, Dr. Montessori, in answering the question, "Who is socially superior?" gives it as her belief that "the reign of woman is approaching when the enigma of her anthropological superiority will be deciphered. Woman was always the custodian of human sentiment, morality and honor, and in these respects man has always yielded her the palm."

London's Browning Settlement

The wonderful story of the Robert Browning Settlement, in Walworth, borough of Southwark, London, which is now in its nineteenth year under the able guidance of the Rev. F. Herbert Stead, is told in a small illustrated volume entitled "Eighteen Years in the Central City Swarm."[4] The district in which the Robert Browning Settlement does its work is the most densely populated parliamentary division in London. The manifold activities of the settlement, increasing from year to year, are graphically described in this modest record. Mr. Stead, who holds the official title of warden of the settlement, is a brother of the late W. T. Stead, of the London *Review of Reviews*.

Business, Big and Little

After many years of heated discussion of the trust question, we are only now beginning to get from economic authorities scientific analyses of these phenomena in modern industrial life. Such a work is "Business Organization and Combination," by Professor Lewis H. Haney, of the University of Texas.[5] While the author has designed his book for use in American colleges and universities, he has at the same time kept in mind the needs of the business man and the general reader. To make his treatment of greater service to all classes of readers, the author has incorporated in his work a large mass of up-to-date illustrative data in the form of concrete descriptions of existing business organizations. The life-history of a corporation is set forth in a series of chapters which describe, in some detail, the main events: promotion, underwriting, reorganization, and the like. In the latter part of the work there is an attempt at a comprehensive and scientific solution of the question of public policy in dealing with corporations. The chief suggestion offered is in the direction of a new form of organization—a limited liability association to occupy the gap between the partnership and the corporation.

Dr. Norris A. Brisco's volume, "Economics of Business,"[6] deals specifically with the various modern types of business organizations, principles of management, problems of cost accounting, labor efficiency, advertising, buying and selling. The author has made use of data supplied by successful business men who have recounted their own experiences and has pointed out the methods by which the principles of successful business management may be applied in specific cases.

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[1] School Hygiene. By Fletcher B. Dresslar. Macmillan. 369 pp., ill. $1.25.
[2] What Children Study and Why. By Charles B. Gilbert. Silver, Burdett & Co. 331 pp. $1.50.
[3] Pedagogical Anthropology. By Maria Montessori. Stokes. 508 pp., ill. $3.50.
[4] Eighteen Years in the Central City Swarm. By Rev. F. Herbert Stead. London: W. A. Hammond. 208 pp., ill. 50 cents.
[5] Business Organization and Combination. By Lewis H. Haney. Macmillan. 483 pp. $2.
[6] Economics of Business. By Norris A. Brisco. Macmillan. 390 pp. $1.50.

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY

A NEW and noteworthy book of essays, "Voices of To-Morrow," by Edwin Björkman,[1] includes philosophical, literary studies of August Strindberg, Björnstjerne Björnson, Selma Lagerlöf, Francis Grierson, Edith Wharton, Maurice Maeterlinck, Henri Bergson, George Gissing, Joseph Conrad, and Robert Herrick. Throughout these essays, Mr. Björkman, in direct, illuminating style, points out a constantly recurring note; all of these great souls who have peered into the future show a tendency to find truth on both sides of disputed questions. This "tendency to fuse ideas and currents hitherto held irreconcilably opposed" Mr. Björkman finds to be the principal mark of the period on which the world has just entered.

Great Truth Seekers

An impressive, thought-provoking work on the possible formulation of a future religious idea for mankind is entitled "The World Soul," by H. Fielding-Hall.[2] Science, the author reminds us, has been seeking a world soul. He finds it in the world and in matter, not behind them. There are some startling disagreements with the fundamental, conventional ideas of Christianity. Nevertheless, the author and publisher combine in maintaining that "this book will be welcomed by those who have not found satisfaction in the theologies and philosophies of the day."

Science *vs.* Theology

"The Psychology of Laughter," by Professor Boris Sidis, of Harvard,[3] has not only value but charm. If, as seems probable, it has been more or less prompted by Professor Bergson's "Laughter" it has succeeded where most such sequels fail—that is in surpassing the work meant to be surpassed. Valid and valuable as were the theories worked out by the French philosopher, they fell short of the final explanation of all phenomena connected with laughter. This explanation Professor Sidis has found in his principle that "laughter arises from the consciousness of our superiority," and in the complementary principle that "at the basis of all the ludicrous we find present relations of inferiority." To him "laughter comes not out of economy but out of abundance." It means a release of surplus energy. Turning from life to literature, he maintains the equality of comedy with tragedy both esthetically and ethically. "Like tragedy," he says, "comedy sounds the depth of the human reserve energy of which man in his every-day life remains entirely unaware."

Psychology of Laughter

A new biographical study of Oscar Wilde, by Arthur Ransome,[4] is written with the steadiness and justice not only of the well-trained mind of a journalist, but also with the penetration of a well-balanced critic. Despite the failures and shortcomings of his life, Wilde, says Mr. Ransome, "touched nothing that he did not decorate."

An Estimate of Oscar Wilde

In a beautifully illustrated volume entitled "Seeing Nature First,"[5] Clarence M. Weed, the author of several popular nature books, groups in the order of the procession of the seasons various sketches of things that are to be seen in our woods and fields, and which, it is to be feared, are as little known and understood by most of us as the larger scenic wonders of America are known and understood by those Americans who go abroad every year for the sake of "the scenery."

Nature's Beauties Close at Hand

Interest in Jacob Leisler as an historical character of early New York was recently revived through the pageant presented at New Rochelle in commemoration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of that community, to which Leisler had made a gift of lands. A statue of Leisler, by Solon H. Borglum, has been placed in the grounds of the Huguenot Association at that place. In this connection a play, by William O. Bates, which depicts the more picturesque episodes in Leisler's career, is of timely interest.[6] In an introductory note Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, a careful student of the period, endorses the historical accuracy of Mr. Bates' work and expresses the hope that his drama will make the story of this interesting American more familiar to the Americans of to-day.

An Early New Yorker

"Who's Who in Japan for 1913," the second edition of the work,[7] shows improvement over the first, which was noticed in these pages last year. The editor, S. Kurita, announces that it is the policy of this and of future editions to include the names of as many as possible distinguished foreigners resident in Japan. In future editions, also, eminent Koreans will be considered. "Who's Who in Japan" is a valuable addition to the reference libraries.

Who's Who in Japan

It is not customary to include in this department of the REVIEW notices of technical publications; it seems proper, however, to make an exception in the case of a new work in the field of engineering practice devoting, as its title indicates, to "Regulation, Valuation and Depreciation of Public Utilities."[8] This compact treatise of 300 pages, by Samuel S. Wyer, M.E., of Columbus, Ohio, contains a remarkable fund of information on a subject that is rapidly coming into prominence both within and without the engineering profession, especially in connection with the various inquiries and investigations going on at present in American cities and rural communities, all of which require precisely the kind of expert knowledge which has heretofore been a rare commodity in this country and to which Mr. Wyer's book may serve as a practical guide.

Public Utilities

[1] Voices of To-Morrow. By Edwin Bjorkman. Kennerley. 328 pp. $1.50.
[2] The World Soul. By H. Fielding-Hall. Holt. 312 pp. $2.75.
[3] The Psychology of Laughter. By Boris Sidis. Appleton. 330 pp. $1.50.
[4] Oscar Wilde. By Arthur Ransome. Mitchell Kennerley. 234 pp. 50 cents.
[5] Seeing Nature First. By Clarence M. Weed. Lippincott. 509 pp., ill. $1.50.
[6] Jacob Leisler: A Play of Old New York. By William O. Bates. Mitchell Kennerley. 248 pp. $1.50.
[7] Who's Who in Japan for 1913. Edited by Shunjiro Kurita. Tokyo, Japan: Who's Who in Japan Office. 134 pp., ill. $3.00.
[8] Regulation, Valuation and Depreciation of Public Utilities. By Samuel S. Wyer. Columbus, Ohio: The Sears & Simpson Company: 313 pp., ill. $5.00.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

ALTHOUGH every one familiar with even the rudiments of general finance is well aware that United States Government bonds are wholly unrelated to the subject of private investment, nevertheless the interest and curiosity which private investors take in these securities are at all times remarkable. Financial editors of newspapers and magazines often receive letters from persons in remote localities wanting to know if Government obligations are not the safest bonds obtainable. Often the recipients are astonished at the frank tone of these letters. "I am willing to content myself with only 2 or 3 per cent.," they say in substance, "if only I can be sure of absolute safety."

"Will you please tell me if United States Government bonds are considered safe," writes a woman from Colorado; "what interest they pay; whether I could sell them at a bank at any time, and where I can get them."

There come periods when nearly all forms of investment fall under a cloud. A long series of failures and bankruptcies caused by over-expansion and a lack of working capital undermine faith in nearly all securities, just as at times banks come under suspicion, and hoarding of money results. The mental attitude of investors is shown by such remarks as: "How can I tell what is safe?" "Perhaps I would be better off if I spent my savings for an automobile, and then I would at least get some return for my money." At such times men and women begin to ask about Government bonds, only to be told that it would be foolish to buy securities returning so little in the way of income.

The United States of America has outstanding about $1,142,000,000 of bonds and only some $212,000,000 of these are owned by investors. Large numbers of those classed as investors are really banks and institutions, so it cannot be said that the individual has much stake in his country's funded debt. The force of this statement is made even stronger when we realize that many individuals who own United States bonds lend them to banks and thus receive interest in addition to what the Government pays. A careful analysis of several great estates, the detailed holdings of which have recently become public through the death of several of America's richest men, does not disclose, except in the single case of Joseph Pulitzer, any holdings of Government bonds. The reason for this state of things is clear and explicit, but the fact remains that small investors time and again ask about United States bonds before reluctantly turning elsewhere to others.

Government bonds are secured by nothing but a people's honor, but in the case of nations like England, France, Germany, and the United States that is a very great deal. There is something impressive and solid about an entire country's obligation to pay. Confidence of investors in this particular nation's honor is strongly fortified by a more prosaic but certainly important safeguard, namely, that the country is more than able to meet its obligations because of its unimpaired resources, financial, agricultural, and industrial. The United States also has a peculiar distinction in that it pays off its debts when they come due, unlike several other great nations. Economists debate the question whether it was wise for the United States to pay off its huge Civil War debt so soon, instead of leaving part of the burden to future generations. Recovery from depression would have been more rapid had not this huge debt been paid, but on the other hand the country's credit was greatly enhanced by its prompt action. Then, too, nearly everyone knows that a Government bond is about the only kind of security upon which a bank will lend up to practically its full value. In time of panic no other security will so nearly hold its own. In 1893 and 1907 the average extreme fluctuation of Governments was 5 and 5.7 points, while for the better class of railroad and municipal bonds the variation was from twice to four times as great.

Of $1,142,449,470 United States bonds, $642,327,050 bear only 2 per cent. interest. These have sold as high as 109½, and until recently never fell below 100. On a strict investment basis they are worth around 70, roughly speaking. The high prices which have prevailed for all United States bonds have, of course, been due to the fact that the great bulk of these issues have been owned

or borrowed by national banks to use as legal security for note issues or for deposits of Government money. For many weeks headlines on the financial page, and even on the front pages, of newspapers, told of little else than the decline in Government issues. This decline finds its explanation in certain provisions of the Owen-Glass Currency bill, designed to reduce the use of these bonds for currency purposes. Perhaps by the time this article is printed dispute over this subject will have been adjusted. The questions involved are related to banking, broad public policy and politics. They have little directly to do with private investment, although the status of one of the largest and most important security issues in the world is the subject of acrimonious debate on the part of high Government officials and bankers. Perhaps daring operators of the plunging type are inclined to sell Governments short, but the Stock Exchange frowns upon such practices. Generally speaking, no ordinary investor, in his senses, would buy Governments with their status so unsettled, although if it were not for this disturbance many other securities are now so lacking in confidence that it is just the time when Government bonds should most attract the timid. For such are content with the smallest return provided the principal is secure beyond all question.

Fortunate, both from a banking and investment point of view, will be the day when United States bonds are stripped of all artificial support. For when they once sink in price to yield, say, between 3½ and 4.10 per cent. (no human being can now figure their exact selling price), then there will be an investment in which the public will have absolute confidence at all times and which will be available to all persons in small denominations. Only a war of great magnitude could seriously depress its value.

TEMPORARY INVESTMENT

The Government bond situation is unquestionably interesting at this juncture, but most people with money do not own these bonds, cannot afford to buy them, and ought not to buy them. The opinion expressed in this column a month ago that the highest class of railroad mortgage bonds had reached bargain prices does not require any amendment, except that there has been a very slight upward movement in the last few weeks. Since the August issue appeared numbers of banking firms have called graphic attention to the same condition of affairs.

But there are always persons who prefer to wait. There are always those who believe that even the best of stocks will go lower. To such and to those who for business or personal reasons do not want to tie up their funds for long there are exceptional opportunities presented in the one-year note issues of the Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad companies. These notes are to be had to yield slightly above 6 per cent. In one case the notes are followed by $248,000,000 of stock paying 7 per cent., and in the other by $272,672,405 of stock paying 6 per cent. That other opportunities of a similar nature may soon be afforded is not improbable. Anyone who questions the safety of these investments had better place his savings in an old stocking and stop reading the financial news columns.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 475. A TIME TO SATISFY DISCRIMINATING INVESTMENT TASTE

I have eight or ten thousand dollars I think I would like to put into good bonds. I would like to have my money pay me 5 per cent., if I can feel secure about the principal. Can you suggest the kind of bonds for me. I know a good many men who sell bonds, but they all have special issues. What do you think of American Can 5 per cent. bonds?

The American Can 5's are debentures of good quality, as industrial issues of that type go, but we do not believe they can be considered strictly conservative investments. A part of the funds of a business man might go into them to help raise the average of the net income on the entire investment. Present opportunities in the markets are such as to make it possible to satisfy the most discriminating investment taste and at the same time afford an income averaging around 5 per cent. Railroad bonds—standard listed issues of the highest order—can be had to net all the way from 4½ to 5 per cent. Take, for example, the recent issue of Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul 4½'s—bonds that are legal investments for savings banks and trustees in New York State; they are obtainable at a little under par, to net a fraction over 4½ per cent. A sound investment issue of the short-term variety, namely, the Pennsylvania 3½'s of 1915, are selling on a basis of better than 4¾ per cent. And bonds like the Rock Island Railway refunding 4's—another legal issue in New York State—are on a better than a 5 per cent. basis. With a surplus of the size you mention, we do not presume you will want to confine yourself to railroad or industrial securities. A division of the money among them and high-grade public utility bonds would give you a first-class arrangement. The best of the latter type are handled as the specialties of certain of the big,

responsible investment banking houses. We note that you have been inclined to be skeptical about buying bonds from anyone who had special issues to sell, but when you come to investigate, you will find that that is the only way you can get a desirable selection of public utility issues. Very, very few such bonds find their way onto the exchanges or into the general markets. And there are a good many banking firms in dealing with which we do not believe you would be justified in feeling any doubt as to the fairness of the treatment accorded you.

No. 476. A SUGGESTION ABOUT WESTERN INVESTMENTS

Can you advise me as to the best investment for $2000 to give me the most semi-annual income. I want it to be sure, so I can feel at ease, but if the income is sufficient I do not care how the principal is tied up. Would an annuity be satisfactory? I am planning to go to California to live and want all the income I can get to help me take life easier. As I am inexperienced I need advice.

We do not know of any surer way to provide a steady income than to take out an annuity in some strong life insurance company, but we are wondering if you are aware that such investment is more adapted to the requirements of people who have no one dependent upon them, or no one for whose future it seems necessary or desirable to make provision. You understand, of course, that upon the death of the annuitant the principal of the investment disappears entirely. As an alternative to that method of investment, we might suggest some plan like the division of your money between a first-class mortgage in one of the Western or Pacific Coast States and a high-grade public-service corporation bond secured on property situated within the State of California. On the mortgage investment you should be able, without a great deal of difficulty, to obtain as much as 6 per cent. income, and you might, by careful selection, get as much as seven with a high degree of safety. On the public utility bond investment, the income would run from 5 to 5¼ or 5½ per cent., and if you selected some such security as we have suggested you would be exempt from the payment of the personal property tax on your investment in the State. If these suggestions appeal to you, it would be advisable for you to get in direct touch with some of the responsible mortgage dealers and investment banking houses making a specialty of public-service corporation securities.

No. 477. AMERICAN PIANO PREFERRED

I have owned a few shares of American Piano stock for about three years, and have not failed to receive promptly the stipulated dividends. The annual statements indicate a solvent condition for the company, but the stock is now offered at a low figure. I am tempted to buy five or six shares more, but realize that there must be some reason for the low price. Will you please enlighten me on this and inform me whether the chances are in favor or against the stock ultimately going to par. Should I buy, it would be for income purposes. Nevertheless, I should prefer to leave the money in the savings bank rather than risk the principal for an increase in interest.

The weakness in the market for these shares that has been more or less marked during the last few months is to a considerable extent attributable to the generally unsatisfactory market conditions prevailing, not only for stocks of all kinds, but even for seasoned bonds. But it is also, to some extent, a reflection of a less satisfactory showing of earnings made by the issuing company. This was especially marked in 1911, for which year the results indicated a margin of safety for the preferred dividends which was by no means characteristic of a strictly investment stock. During the following year the showing was better, but left a good deal of room for improvement. No later figures are available on which to judge the company's present position, and we should consider it prudent to wait until it is known how business has run during the last year of operation before making further commitments in the stock. One point to consider in connection with a proposition of this nature is that the product of manufacture is more in the nature of a luxury, and on that account scarcely to be expected to have the stable market that would be characteristic of a commodity entering into the daily use of the general consuming public.

No. 478. A CRITICISM OF ONE WOMAN'S INVESTMENT SELECTIONS

Will you please tell me whether United States Steel common would be a safe investment for a few hundred dollars; or Chesapeake & Ohio. They are both low in price. Is Southern Railway preferred a good stock for a woman to invest in?

In answering questions about investment matters, and particularly in cases where stocks of this kind are involved, we like to know a great deal more about the prospective purchaser's circumstances than you tell us in your brief communication. As a general proposition, however, we should not consider these stocks as proper securities for a woman to put money into. Among the three issues mentioned, the choice seems to us to lie between Southern Railway preferred and United States Steel common. But even these are stocks which fluctuate pretty widely in market value, and which have characteristics making them more suited to people who have fairly large resources, and who are in position to keep in more or less close touch all the time with developments in the affairs of the issuing companies and with general conditions affecting security prices.

No. 479. MARKETABILITY OF SMALL-DENOMINATION BONDS

I should like to have you tell me how readily small bonds may be sold. What little money I have to make a start with is now in a savings bank, and, of course, is readily available. I do not want to invest my money in anything where it would not be available, without loss in, say, a month or two. In other words, are these small bonds readily salable, and would I be able in a short time to sell $1000 or $2000 worth without sacrifice?

Small bonds may be very much more readily sold now than formerly, but it looks as though there would have to be a still more comprehensive development of the small-investment account before they will enjoy as satisfactory a market as those which are issued in standard denominations of $1000. But practically everything would depend upon the kind of bonds you bought. For instance, if you were to put your money into $500 bonds like the Pennsylvania convertible 3½'s of 1915, the chances are that you would be able to sell at a satisfactory price at short notice on any business day of the year; whereas, if you put your money into some small and relatively little known public service corporation issue, you might not be able to find a satisfactory market for days, or perhaps weeks, at a time. This situation prevails, of course, in the market for $1000 bonds, but it is not as noticeable there as in the market for small-denomination issues.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, WITH BLACKFEET INDIAN CHIEFS AT GLACIER PARK, MONTANA

Secretary Lane and the Blackfeet Chiefs are standing in the great hall of the Glacier Park Hotel, with its tall columns of massive redwood visible in the background. The Secretary is arranging with the Indian chiefs for the opening to the public of the trails on the Blackfeet Reservation, which is adjacent to Glacier National Park and which has hitherto been held for the exclusive use of the Indians.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Passage of the Tariff Bill

With the passage on September 9th in the Senate of the Tariff bill, which had been reported on July 18th by Senator Simmons, as chairman of the Finance Committee, the great work was virtually completed for which the new Sixty-third Congress was convened in extra session by President Wilson on April 7th. It is true that the Senate bill differed from the Underwood House bill in perhaps six hundred items of minor importance, and in not less than threescore matters of more decisive concern. Yet these differences, considered as a whole, did not affect the purpose and character of the Underwood bill, nor did they alter its larger outlines. The bill had been passed through the House without minute analysis or full debate. The Senate Finance Committee had devoted many weeks to its critical study, and the Senate as a whole had debated it for more than seven weeks. As we remarked last month, the rates fixed in the Senate bill were regarded as averaging about 4 per cent. lower than those of the House bill, and about 28 per cent. lower than those of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. In times past, the Senate has usually advocated higher rates than the House, and has shown a stronger protectionist leaning, from the standpoint of theory as well as from that of various favored industries. This year, however, the Senate's zeal for tariff revision and reduction has been in full harmony with that of the House, and has merely gone a little further in making additions to the free list and in the lowering of rates.



THE END OF A LONG PULL
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

A Discussion of the New Measure

Reference was made in our August number to an analysis published in this REVIEW four years ago of what was then the new Payne-Aldrich act, and to our plans for presenting to our readers, at the earliest possible moment, an article by the same writer, explaining the Underwood-Simmons tariff and showing from the standpoint of a tariff expert the nature and measure of the work accomplished by the Democrats in their remaking of our national revenue system. The author of our article four years ago was Mr. N. I. Stone, whose name was withheld at that time because of his official connections at Washington. We have decided to present Mr. Stone's discussion of the new tariff in two parts, the first of which will be found in this number, beginning on page 433, while the second will appear in our issue for November. This first article deals with the new tariff in its broad outlines and in its relation to American tariff history and

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SENATOR NEWLANDS, OF NEVADA, WHOSE VOTE FOR THE TARIFF BILL INSURED THE MEASURE'S SUCCESS

policy. The article next month will be more detailed and concrete, and will set forth the bearing of the tariff upon a large number of particular matters. Mr. Stone's article four years ago undertook to show that the tariff rates in the Payne-Aldrich bill were a little higher than those in the Dingley measure, which it had superseded. Its statements were never successfully controverted, and its wide discussion had some influence in bringing about that sharp political reaction which followed Mr. Taft's Winona speech, produced numerous local Democratic victories, elected the Democratic Congress in 1910, and brought the support of public opinion to the Underwood tariff bills of 1911, which Mr. Taft vetoed.

A Fairly Close Division of the Senate

The vote on September 9th found 44 Senators on the affirmative side and 37 on the negative. Until within a few days of the vote there had been some nervousness among the Democratic leaders, because of the uncertain position of several Senators. When the final test came, only two Democrats voted against the bill—these being Senators Ransdell and Thornton, of Louisiana, who would have supported the measure but for the item of free sugar, which is regarded in Louisiana as sounding the death-knell of one of that State's most important and typical industries. One Republican—Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin—and one former Republican, now a "Bull Moose" Progressive, Senator Poindexter, of Washington—voted with the Democrats in favor of the bill. Mr. LaFollette's vote was a surprise, and Mr. Poindexter's had by no means been a foregone conclusion. There was some reason for the earlier anxiety of the Democratic leaders. Senator Newlands, of Nevada, had been absent for several weeks, and it was known that he was out of sympathy with some of the most important features of the bill. If Senator Newlands had not returned and voted for the measure, and if Messrs. LaFollette and Poindexter had voted (as they might well have done) with the progressive Republican Senators, the vote would have been a tie. For in that case Senators Burton and Gronna would have taken the trouble to be present and to vote against the bill. In case of a tie Vice-President Marshall, as presiding officer, would have had a casting vote and the bill would have been passed. But if, on the other hand, Senator Newlands had decided to vote against the bill (LaFollette and Poindexter acting with the Republicans), the Vice-President's vote could not have saved the situation. Senators Burton and Gronna, knowing that the bill would pass, had released their Democratic "pairs" in order that they might have the satisfaction of recording their votes in favor of a great party measure. Thus the victory in reality was won by a closer margin than the vote would make it appear; furthermore, the elements of uncertainty up to the very last had justified the anxiety of the leaders and the unremitting and concentrated attention of President Wilson.

President Wilson's Statement

On the day of the passage of the bill by the Senate, President Wilson issued a public statement which very clearly identified the administration with the measure, and which asserted in notes of challenging satisfaction the success of the Democratic party in maintaining its harmony and carrying out its pledges under difficult circumstances. Mr. Wilson's statement deserves a place in our current record of public affairs, and is as follows:

A fight for the people and for free business which has lasted a long generation through has at last been won, handsomely and completely. A leadership and a steadfastness in counsel has been shown in both houses of which the Demo-

cratic party has reason to be very proud. There has been no weakness or confusion or drawing back, but a statesmanlike directness and command of circumstances.

I am happy to have been connected with the Government of the nation at a time when such things could happen and to have worked in association with men who could do them. There is every reason to believe that currency reform will be carried through with equal energy, directness, and loyalty to the general interest.

When that is done this first session of the Sixty-third Congress will have passed into history with an unrivalled distinction. I want to express my special admiration for the devoted, intelligent, and untiring work of Mr. Underwood and Mr. Simmons, and the committees associated with them.

Details Not Vital to Result

The President made it plain that he attached no importance to the remaining work of adjusting the numerous differences of detail between the House and Senate bills. All of the fundamental points upon which he had insisted were embodied in both bills. He had not wavered in his support of free wool, and had successfully supported the free sugar program. The Senate had added a good many important commodities to the list of those things that may hereafter be imported without paying any duty at all. Senator Bristow and others, in the last days of the debate, had made a resolute fight for the retention of a moderate duty upon sugar, both for its revenue value and also to save the cane industry in Louisiana and the beet industry in the West. Senator LaFollette had fought with great persistence for the retention of some duty upon wool, and had offered substitutes for the schedule dealing with cotton manufactures, as well as for that dealing with the different kinds of woolen goods. The Senate debate had proceeded in very good temper, and Mr. Simmons, of North Carolina, was the recipient of compliments from the Republican side for the way in which, as chairman of the Finance Committee, he had given the opposition its full opportunity.



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SENATOR SIMMONS, OF NORTH CAROLINA
(Chairman of the Finance Committee in charge of the Tariff bill)

The Bill in Conference

Two days after the bill had passed the Senate the joint conference committee was at work to harmonize the two bills. Each house named seven conferees, of which four were Democrats. The Senate members were Messrs. Simmons of North Carolina; Williams, of Mississippi; Johnson, of Maine; Shively, of Indiana; Penrose, of Pennsylvania; Lodge, of Massachusetts, and LaFollette, of Wisconsin. Those from the House were Messrs. Underwood (Alabama), Kitchin (North Carolina), Rainey (Illinois), Dixon (Indiana), Payne (New York), Fordney (Michigan), and Murdock (Kansas). The eight Democrats adopted the plan of harmonizing their own differences first, and admitting the Republican members afterwards as a mere matter of courtesy. As these pages were closed for the press, the work of the committee was proceeding so favorably that there was reason to believe that the bill might be sent to President Wilson for his signature several days before October 1st.

Probable Effect upon Parties

The Democrats have held together unexpectedly well, and the party has been left in a strong fighting position by the passage of a general tariff revision bill that especially considers the consumer, within the first seven months of the term of a new administration. Business will have a chance to become ad-

justed to the new schedules before the election of another Congress, which will not occur for thirteen months. The Administration exhibits broad qualities, a high level of intelligence and public spirit, and a genuineness in its positions and dealings that the country recognizes with increasing confidence and gratitude in view of what had gone before. Since tariff-making has always been closely related to political change, the question naturally arises whether or not this radical new measure, which affects so many industries in their comfortable sense of guaranteed security, will cause a reaction sharp enough to give the next Congress to the Republicans. Logic and experience might furnish an answer in the affirmative. But actual political conditions all seem to point the other way. In 1908, the Republican party made promises to the country, was taken at its word, broke its pledges most shamelessly, and was repudiated in the elections of 1910 and 1912. The Democratic party, now coming into power, has surprised both its friends and its enemies by the firmness with which it has faced its pledges and kept its word.

The Prevailing Cheerfulness

No man of knowledge and good sense will say that the new tariff has been worked out in a spirit of reckless revolt against long-established policies, or with blind disregard of the country's present and future industrial prosperity. It would be ridiculous to assert, in view of the obvious state of the public mind, that the country regards this Democratic tariff with deep alarm, or believes that it is going to close factories on a large scale, or usher in a period of hard times and unemployment. Doubtless the woolen industry, and some others, will have to be reorganized on a basis of clean-cut efficiency. But all intelligent business men have been able to discern the trend of things since November, 1910; and no American industry deserves much sympathy which has permitted itself to go on staking its entire existence upon the permanent success of extreme high-tariff politics. Furthermore, the Republicans are not in a strong position, because they are left without any tariff policy of their own. Since it was clear that the Democrats were going to put a new tariff law on the statute books, it was quite permissible for any Senator or Congressman not connected with that party to emphasize his own individual position by voting against the measure. But it will be noted that the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee had no substitute bill to offer for the Underwood measure, and that the Senate Republicans did not try to find any constructive basis of agreement among themselves. It would be highly absurd to imagine that Senators Cummins and Bristow have the same kind of tariff views that are entertained by Senators Penrose, Smoot, and Warren. The progressive Republicans, except LaFollette, voted against the bill. Yet their tariff position is much nearer to that of the Democratic majority than to that of the so-called "regular" or "standpat" Republicans. In short, the Democratic leaders present a much clearer and more consistent attitude toward the public than do the Republican leaders. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that the Wilson administration will find itself well enough supported at the polls next year to win a majority in the Sixty-fourth Congress and thus to keep the Democratic party in full power through the second half of Mr. Wilson's four years' term.

Parties and the Income Tax

Even so profound an innovation as the graduated income tax cannot well be made a matter of direct party controversy for reasons that will be apparent upon a moment's reflection. For example, the present income tax is the immediate result of the work of a Republican leader. Senator Cummins, four years ago, proposed an income tax as a part of the Payne-Aldrich measure. Senator Bailey and the Democrats joined forces with Senator Cummins and his progressive group, and there at once followed two notable achievements. First, the 1 per cent. income tax on corporations was made a part of the Aldrich measure; and, second, the Constitutional amendment providing for a Federal income tax was agreed to and sent to the States for their acceptance. The ratification of the amendment by the requisite number of States, together with the tax on corporations as an entering wedge, made possible the income tax now adopted as a part of the great administration measure. The Republican party, whether in its platforms or through its leaders in Congress, has not taken positions which would permit it to oppose the income tax. In former periods the Republican party has been much more unified and consistent in its tariff and revenue policies than the Democratic party. But at present it is the Democrats who are comparatively unified, while the Republicans are adrift and waiting somewhat anxiously to have the Progressives come

back to the fold and help them to find some principles and to regain the public's confidence in their good intentions.

Need of a Tariff Commission

While the general verdict seems to be that the Democrats have done very well under existing conditions, it would be quite preposterous to conclude that they have given us a final or an ideal piece of revenue legislation. They have merely brought us to a basis from which we ought to proceed with great deliberation to work out a fairly intelligent and scientific plan of national taxation. Although the new measure carries no provision for a tariff commission, there were test votes which showed that it would not be difficult to pass such a project through the Senate. A tariff commission ought to be created at the earliest possible moment to assist Congress in its future work. Many questions of detail will come up again in the light of early experience.

The Currency Bill Holding the Stage

The Currency bill, although it had full right of way in the House after the Tariff bill had been sent to the Senate, on May 9, met with unexpected delays, all of which were beneficial to the country because they gave opportunity for an unusually thorough study of the pending measure by bankers and experts, as well as by members of Congress and Treasury officials. Even after the bill had been put into shape with the approval of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, and introduced by the Committee on Currency and Banking, it had a long ordeal at the hands of the Democratic caucus. Instead of being considered by the caucus for four or five days, as had been planned, it did not emerge until seventeen days after its submission. It passed the caucus, however, by the triumphant vote of 160 to 9. The general debate upon the bill began on September 9, and was concluded on Saturday, the 13th. A few days later the bill was put upon its final passage and sent to the Senate. Meanwhile, the Senate Currency Committee had held protracted hearings, and had allowed bankers' committees and competent experts to give full expression to their views. There was much diversity of individual opinion among Democratic Senators, and there was much half-suppressed grumbling because of President Wilson's insistence that currency reform ought to be secured in the present session.



NO VETO TO STOP HIM THIS TIME
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

A Matter of Great Urgency

Undoubtedly the opinion of the country was strongly with the President. The need of currency reform and of new banking laws has been obvious for many years. The Republicans had full opportunity to deal with the question, but failed. After the money panic of 1907, which so clearly illustrated the urgent importance of proper banking laws and of elastic currency, the Republicans tried to unite upon a suitable measure, but were hopelessly at variance among themselves. As an admitted makeshift, they adopted what was known as the Aldrich-Vreeland bill to give some kind of relief in times of extreme emergency. This provided for the forming of associations of banks, which might be supplied temporarily with emergency currency by the Government, under prescribed methods. But the Aldrich-Vreeland act will expire within a few months. The business security of the country requires that this great question should be dealt with, and although it is very hard for the lawmakers at Washington to remain in continuous session, having had no vacation, it would seem to be their patriotic duty to pass a workable banking and currency law before adjournment. The one thing necessary is to have Democratic leaders waive individual views to the extent of reaching an agreement based upon the pending bill with certain modifications. So great is the need of legislation on this question that it is likely enough that several Republican Senators would find favor



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PRESIDENT WILSON, READING BEFORE CONGRESS HIS MESSAGE ON THE MEXICAN SITUATION

with their constituents if they should vote for the Administration measure. Eager as are the Senators to finish the session, they are not likely to reach a final vote on the Currency bill without a number of weeks of discussion, first in the Democratic caucus and then upon the floor of the chamber. If the bill should become a law before the middle of November, the country would feel a sense of welcome surprise. Yet the bill requires minute scrutiny, and its protracted study is praiseworthy if there be open-mindedness and final agreement.

Mr. Wilson's Mexican Policy

The Mexican situation has continued to occupy the constant attention of our Government, and it has obliged President Wilson and the administration to adopt and to explain a policy the success of which would redound greatly to our national credit and honor. A part of Mr. Wilson's policy received the unopposed support of Congress when, on September 12, in response to a request from Secretary Bryan, the House voted an emergency appropriation of $100,000 to enable the administration to continue its work of assisting American citizens to withdraw from Mexico. The bill was passed promptly in the Senate on the following Monday. President Wilson had made his third notable appearance before Congress, on August 27, when he appeared at the Speaker's desk and read a message explaining the Mexican situation and his own policy. He informed Congress that the provisional government under General Huerta was in control of a diminishing rather than an increasing portion of Mexican territory. He held that our policy should look primarily to the welfare of a neighboring country with which our relations have been for a long time those of chief friend and adviser. He could discover no prospects of the establishment of peace and order by the present régime in the city of Mexico. His message set forth in full the instructions that the Hon. John Lind had borne as his special representative. He explained that Mr. Lind's mission had seemed to fail; but he predicted that Mexico would yet be glad to avail herself of our friendly offices. Mr. Wilson's message was in admirable spirit, and its counsel of patience, together with its advice regarding the withdrawal of American citizens from Mexico, was convincing to the best judgment of Congress and the country. We shall in later paragraphs note more in detail the recent

course of events in Mexico. Meanwhile, friends of peace throughout the world should commend President Wilson for measures which are intended to diminish in every possible way the chance of occurrences that might seem to compel the necessity of armed intervention. No good end could be gained by our sending American soldiers into the neighboring Republic; and if our citizens are withdrawn from scenes of civil strife and anarchy, there would be lacking the only really serious reason which might arise for an armed expedition.



THE LATE WILLIAM J. GAYNOR, MAYOR OF NEW YORK

New York and the Nation

The political affairs of the city and State of New York have a national interest for more than one reason. New York, indeed, is the leading metropolis of the country, and New York State is the richest and most populous of the American commonwealths. But, quite apart from such consideration, the political fortunes of New York have a direct relationship to the public welfare of the American people as a whole. Great interests and forces are always at work in the politics of New York, which from time to time are found trying to turn the scale in national affairs. Thus Tammany Hall is not merely an organization for the benefit of its members in New York City, but it is an *agency,* which is always ready to serve those who can give it sufficiently profitable employment. It serves at one time the great public-service corporations in their municipal and State relations. It is the friend of the combination of politicians and contractors, whenever great public works are to be carried out. It is at the service of the large financial interests in Wall Street, when situations arise that render its services valuable. In times of national party rivalry it seizes control of the Democracy of the Empire State and becomes responsive to those forces of "invisible government" that try to control Democratic national conventions, even as they also try, through other agencies, to control Republican conventions.

Tammany as a Party Menace

Everyone knows the position that Tammany assumed in the Baltimore convention of 1912. President Wilson and his friends certainly have not forgotten it. At the present moment, when the Democratic party of the nation seems to be fairly efficient, and to be using its lease of power to good advantage, its chief enemy is not the Republican party, but is within its own camp. Tammany Hall, with its control of the Democratic machinery in the State of New York, is by all odds the most formidable enemy of an honest and intelligent national Democracy. It is reasonable enough, therefore, that the present situation in the city and State of New York should interest the entire country. In a great municipal election, Tammany is trying to regain control of the affairs of the city of New York. In a striking contest at Albany, Tam-



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THE RENOMINATION OF MAYOR GAYNOR ON THE STEPS OF CITY HALL, SEPTEMBER 3.

(Mayor Gaynor is standing at the left, his secretary, Mr. Robert Adamson, reading the Mayor's speech at the right. Seated at the table, with hats off (from left to right), are Mr. Henry Clews, Mr. R. Ross Appleton, and Mr. Herman Ridder)

many's Legislature is trying to get rid of a public-spirited and aggressive Governor by process of impeachment.



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THE GAYNOR LEAGUE ADOPTED THE SHOVEL AS ITS EMBLEM, HAVING REFERENCE TO THE MAYOR'S SUCCESSFUL SUBWAY POLICY

(This scene shows an anti-Murphy placard, with a pile of shovels, in City Hall Park at the moment of Mr. Gaynor's re-nomination, September 3)

Mayor Gaynor and the Situation

Four years ago, Tammany went outside of its own ranks and nominated for Mayor a progressive and self-reliant Democrat of Brooklyn, Judge William J. Gaynor. The anti-Tammany citizens' movement was successful as respects the rest of the ticket, but Mr. Gaynor was elected Mayor. As recounted in these pages last month, the anti-Tammany forces are again brought together in an effort to give the city good government for another four years. What this all means is well shown in an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Henry Bruère, one of the directors of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Mayor Gaynor, who had accomplished many excellent things as Mayor, and who had also made some very serious mistakes, was willing to serve for a second term. But, to his disappointment, he was not acceptable to the leaders of the citizens' fusion movement, nor on the other hand was he acceptable to Charles F. Murphy and the business forces that are this year employing the services of Tammany Hall. Mayor Gaynor's headship of the Tammany ticket four years ago involved him in bitter

campaign controversies that affected his administration. All of his natural sympathies were against the motives and methods of the Murphy machine; yet he had started out with prejudice against the "reformers."

His Death and Its Effects

He had been unfortunate in his management of the police department, and had seemed to minimize those serious evils that Mr. Whitman as District Attorney was from time to time bringing to light. Thus the fusionists could not this year nominate Mr. Gaynor; while, as Mr. Bruère explains in his article, the Tammany men were shrewd enough to get away from the police issue by pretending to approve heartily of the Republican District Attorney, Mr. Whitman, and by making his renomination for his present post unanimous. Mayor Gaynor could no longer be of service to Tammany, and so he was dropped. But Mr. Gaynor had many friends, and he was entirely ready to accept from them an independent nomination. Gaynor leagues were formed throughout the city, and the Mayor was renominated on the steps of the City Hall on September 3. On the following day he surprised the city by sailing for Europe. It was explained, however, that he had merely gone for a few days of rest at sea and would be back within two weeks. He died on Wednesday, the 10th, two days before his ship, the *Baltic,* was due at Liverpool. Quite apart from the genuine and widespread sorrow caused by the Mayor's death, there was a feeling that the political situation had been affected in a sensational manner. Mr. Gaynor had intended to return promptly in order to spend the weeks of the campaign in assailing and exposing Tammany Hall. The situation reminded one of the tragic death of Henry George, while an anti-Tammany candidate for Mayor, in 1897. He desired the defeat of Tammany rather than his own election, and considered that his candidacy would tend to assure the election of Mr. Seth Low. It is impossible to say whether Mr. Gaynor's candidacy this year, if he had lived, would have divided the fusion forces and helped Tammany, or would have aided in a Tammany defeat.



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A TYPICAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE LATE MAYOR



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MR. JACOB H. SCHIFF
(Speaking on the steps of the City Hall, as one of the nominators of Mayor Gaynor)

Gaynor's Personality and Career

Mayor Gaynor was a man of such unusual qualities of mind and character that he had become a distinguished personage, holding a place in the interest of all sorts and conditions of men that go to the making up a metropolis like New York. He seemed to



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HON. EDWARD E. M'CALL
(Tammany and Democratic nominee for Mayor of New York)

great masses of people to be the very embodiment of the city's organized life and government. He was a man of capacious intellect, with aggressive courage, striking views upon all kinds of affairs, a querulous sort of wit, and an almost unequaled talent for the public debate and controversy that must attend the processes of democratic government. As a country boy from the upper part of New York State, he obtained a good education and became early identified with Brooklyn and the western end of Long Island. He was the leading figure in some notable fights for reform, including the destruction of the old Brooklyn Democratic machine. For a number of years he was an able judge on the New York bench, with a refreshing though unjudicial habit of expressing his opinions upon current matters. He was so marked a figure that he had often been proposed for high political offices. Within less than a year after his election as Mayor he was shot at close quarters by a man of unbalanced mind who had lost a small position in one of the city departments. The bullet was never removed from Mr. Gaynor's throat, and it had continued from time to time to cause him great suffering. Much of his apparent irritability at times was due to this misfortune, which he bore with Spartan fortitude.

His Recent Activities

He was still convalescent from this gunshot wound when, in the fall of 1910, the State of New York was electing a Governor. He would have been nominated by the Democrats, in place of Mr. Dix, and would have been urged as New York's candidate for the Presidency in 1912, if his physicians had not decided that the state of his health forbade any such risks. The breaking down which led to heart failure and death last month was undoubtedly a direct result of the wound of three years ago. Mayor Gaynor did not work closely with any movements or organizations in city affairs. He came by degrees to accept at many points the invaluable aid of the Bureau of Municipal Research. But his relations with it were totally different from those of John Purroy Mitchel, who was President of the Board of Aldermen, George McAneny, who was President of the Borough of Manhattan, Mr. Prendergast, who was the city's chief financial officer, and some other officials, who gladly availed themselves of the assistance of such agencies as the Bureau, or the committees of the City Club, in their endeavors to secure the best possible results.

Tammany's Municipal Ticket

Meanwhile, Charles F. Murphy and the inner group of Tammany had decided upon the ticket that would be nominated in the name of the Democratic party as against the Fusionists. Tammany's candidate for Mayor was former-Judge Edward E. McCall, who had several months ago left the bench to become chairman of the Public Service Commission, and who in that capacity had joined in approving of the contracts for building and operating the new subways. It was evident that Mr. McCall had many elements of availability as a candidate. For Comptroller, Mr. Herman A. Metz was selected. This also was a skilful move, Mr. Metz having been Comptroller during Mayor McClellan's period and having been deservedly credited with important reforms in his office. Mr. Metz is serving in Congress at present, as also is Mr. Goulden, who is named on the Tammany

ticket for President of the Board of Aldermen. It was regarded as a clever move on Tammany's part to take the police issue to a large extent out of the campaign by endorsing the action of the Fusionists in renominating Mr. Whitman for District Attorney. This was done upon the urgent request of Judge McCall, who was prepared to show that while on the bench he had always supported the notable work of the District Attorney in his endeavor to break up the partnership between the police department and the gamblers and other violators of law.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF NEW YORK, RENOMINATED BY ALL LEADING PARTIES

The Offices, and What They Mean

Since Mr. Whitman's choice for District Attorney was approved by all parties, the fight became narrowed down more especially to an endeavor to control the mayoralty, with its great appointing power and control over the departments, as described in Mr. Bruère's article (see page 465), and to the further fight to control the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This small Board has great power under the New York charter, and it is made up of the Mayor, the Comptroller, the President of the Board of Aldermen, and the presidents of the five boroughs into which the great city is divided. There are sixteen votes in the Board, of which the Mayor is allowed to cast three, the Comptroller three, the President of the Board of Aldermen three, the President of the Borough of Manhattan two, the President of the Borough of Brooklyn two, and the presidents of the Boroughs of Queens, Richmond, and the Bronx one each. This board decides upon the vast budget of New York City, authorizes all important public improvements, and is, in short, the power that controls the purse-strings; while the Mayor controls the ordinary administration of the great departments.



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HON. EDWARD E. M'CALL
(As photographed on the golf course last month)

Mr. Mitchel as a Candidate

Mr. John Purroy Mitchel, as President of the Board of Aldermen (until a few weeks ago, when he accepted President Wilson's appointment as Collector of the Port of New York), was a very able and energetic member of the Board of Estimate. He is still a very young man, but under Mayor McClellan he had been a Commissioner of Accounts and had shown himself a fearless enemy of graft and corrupt administration. He has grown into the command of an almost unequaled knowledge of the complicated affairs of New York City; and he has demon-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

HON. GEORGE M'ANENY, PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

(Who has been nominated for President of the Board of Aldermen, and who declined the urgent invitation of the Gaynor Leagues to take the late Mayor's place at the head of an independent ticket)

strated an unswerving devotion to high public ideals. Very many good citizens would have preferred Mr. McAneny for the Fusion candidate, and many others would have preferred Mr. Whitman. But both of these gentlemen accepted Mr. Mitchel's choice by the Fusion Committee of 107, and agreed in good spirit to take the less conspicuous places on the ticket that were assigned to them. If Mr. John Purroy Mitchel had not resigned as President of the Board of Aldermen to become Collector of the Port, the death of Mr. Gaynor would have made him Mayor for the remainder of the term—that is to say, until the 1st of January. Such a successorship would have been suitable, in view of the fact that Mr. Mitchel has now been deliberately chosen by the citizens of New York as the man best fitted to run for the office.

How Ardolph Kline Became Mayor

The present Mayor of New York, however, is not Mr. Mitchel but Mr. Ardolph L. Kline. The President of the Board of Aldermen is elected upon the general ticket, and is presumably a man of mark and note. But the other members of the Board are chosen from aldermanic wards, and for the most part they are exceedingly obscure persons. The Board had elected Mr. Ardolph L. Kline as its vice-chairman. Mr. Mitchel's retirement caused Mr. Kline's promotion to be chairman of the Board. A busy and preoccupied city discovered, for the first time after Mayor Gaynor's death, that the chairman of the Board of Aldermen is in line of succession, and that this chairmanship was held by a certain Mr. Ardolph L. Kline, whose name was wholly unfamiliar. Mr. Kline, in short, was as obscure and little known as Mr. Gaynor was preëminent and conspicuous. One of the chief dangers in our old-fashioned kind of municipal government has lurked in the intricate machinery that a busy citizenship could never keep track of. One of the chief reasons for the reaction to the commission form, or the city manager plan, is illustrated by the unexpected rise of Mr. Kline to one of the most powerful and eminent positions in the world. Fortunately, it turns out that Mr. Kline's modest record of previous service in the Board of Aldermen is not unfavorable. As a member of the Republican party he had, a few years ago, been an assistant appraiser in the Custom House. He will doubtless show sense and fidelity as mayor.



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HON. ARDOLPH L. KLINE

(Recently chairman of the Board of Aldermen, who became Mayor to fill out the remaining three and a half months of Mr. Gaynor's term)

Governor Sulzer and His Assailants

The trial of Governor Sulzer, of New York, on impeachment charges was set for September 18, with the understanding that it would not be fairly entered upon until the closing days of the month. As we explained in our issue for September, the impeachment was purely a move in a desperate fight between the Governor and the head of Tammany Hall, Mr. Charles F. Murphy, who was influential enough with the Tammany-controlled legislature to bring about a proceeding against the Governor that had been intended by the Constitution to be reserved for cases of grave malfeasance in office. Far from being a recreant official, Mr. Sulzer had been a strikingly good Governor, initiating reforms, exposing rascals, and preparing to punish evil-doers. A simple majority of the Assembly may vote to bring impeachment charges against a Governor. Sulzer's sole offense was that he would not play the Tammany game after he had been nominated and elected with Tammany support. During the weeks following the impeachment vote of the Assembly, the committee of impeachment managers occupied itself to the utmost in trying to find additional material against Sulzer that might be added to the flimsy charges previously made in the report of the investigating committee. The more exhaustively they had tried to blacken Sulzer, the more rapidly the community had recovered from its first surprise and had realized that the Governor was being crucified for his virtues and not for his faults. People who had not cared much for him before began to love him for the enemies he had made.



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GOVERNOR SULZER AS HE APPEARED LAST MONTH



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GOVERNOR SULZER AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, WITH A FAVORITE NEPHEW

A Test of the Governor's Powers

There had been a test of the Governor's position before one of the State judges. Mr. Sulzer had pardoned a banker who was serving a term for financial irregularities—the chief object being to allow the question of the validity of the pardon to be passed upon. The case was taken before Judge Hasbrouck, at Kingston, N. Y., who decided that, from the moment when the impeachment vote was taken in the Assembly, Mr. Sulzer had no right under the Constitution to exercise any of the functions of his office. Judges may, indeed, decide cases; but if their reasoning be unsound they cannot convince intelligent minds. Judge Hasbrouck's decision, reduced to simple terms, is that the elected members of the New York Assembly may at any time or at any place—regardless of the legislature's being in session—get together and by a simple majority vote pass a resolution against the Governor which shall immediately deprive him of the exercise of those duties for which he has been elected, and to the performance of which he is pledged by



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GEN. BENJAMIN F. TRACY, OF NEW YORK

(This distinguished lawyer and former cabinet minister, now eighty-three years of age, appeared for Governor Sulzer and made a notable argument before Judge Hasbrouck against the validity of the impeachment proceedings)

his oath of office. According to Judge Hasbrouck's decision, no Governor could ever, for a single day, exercise the duties of his office, from the beginning to the end of the term for which he was elected, if a simple majority of the members of the lower branch of the legislature had made up their minds to keep him "suspended." If one accepts Judge Hasbrouck's view, the decision of the Assembly to impeach is the important thing, and the trial of the impeachment charges becomes a matter of minor consequence.

A Curious Legal Situation

For, even if the Governor were acquitted by the impeachment court, there would be nothing to prevent the Tammany-controlled Assembly, on that very same day, from passing another resolution of impeachment which would operate to keep the Governor from resuming the exercise of his functions. One of the distinguished lawyers who appeared to defend the right of Governor Sulzer to exercise his office was the venerable General Tracy, who came out of his retirement because of his strong convictions in this matter, and his great sense of shock and public outrage. Quite apart from the question whether or not the Assembly had a right to bring the impeachment charges in an extra session, is the further question as to the effect of impeachment upon the status of the Governor. We endeavored to show our readers last month that the impartial student of the constitution of New York cannot well fail to become convinced that the last constitutional convention meant to protect the Governorship of New York against an adverse legislature, precisely as almost every other Governorship in the Union is protected, as well as the national Presidency. The posi-



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MARTIN H. GLYNN, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, AT HIS ALBANY HOME

tion taken by this REVIEW last month as to the meaning of the New York constitution is fully supported by studious lawyers; and a particularly valuable analysis of the subject in the Buffalo *Courier,* by a lawyer of that city, Mr. Roland Crangle, seems to us to prove our ground beyond any reasonable doubt. Meanwhile, a very embarrassing situation had persisted at Albany, where Lieutenant-Governor Glynn was endeavoring to act as Governor with much official but little popular recognition, while Governor Sulzer continued to occupy his offices in the State House and his home in the executive mansion, and to receive from the United States Government all mail addressed to the Governor of New York.

President Finley

The choice of President John Finley, of the College of the City of New York, to succeed the late Andrew S. Draper as State Commissioner of Education should go far to reassure those observers within and without the State whose confidence in our democratic institutions has recently been put to a severe test. Beyond question President Finley has won for himself a place in the front rank of America's educational statesmen. This magazine has commented more than once on his masterly work in New York City, where in the ten years of his administration he has, in the words of the *Educational Review,* "achieved the impossible." It may be expected that in his new field the same resourcefulness, enthusiasm, and persistency will go far to broaden and unify the educational interests of the Empire State. Dr. Finley was chosen by the State Board of Regents, a non-partisan body, and his tenure is in no way dependent on politics. He will not only be Commissioner of Education, supervising the entire educational system of the State, but he will be president of the University of the State of New York, an institution dating back to Hamilton's time and having no precise counterpart elsewhere, since it is in fact the State's Department of Education. An important part of the president's duties will be educational research with a view to the introduction of improved methods in the schools of the State, both higher and lower. Before assuming his new duties at Albany, Dr. Finley was selected, with the Hon. Seth Low, to complete the board of arbitrators in the controversy between the Eastern railroads and their employees, to which reference was made in these pages last month.



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DR. JOHN FINLEY, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

School Hygiene

Dr. Finley's first public function as head of the Educational Department of New York State was an address of welcome to the fourth International Congress on School Hygiene, which met at Buffalo during the last week of August. Dr. Charles W. Eliot was president of the congress, and the leading nations of the world were represented by delegates. The Buffalo meeting was the first of these world congresses to assemble in the Western hemisphere. The congresses have been held at intervals of three years, and have connoted the world's growing interest in what Dr. Finley aptly characterized as "the conservation of human power"; for that, after all, is what school hygiene means.

Uniform State Laws

The annual conferences of State Governors, while not authoritative in any sense, are interesting and profitable gatherings nevertheless. This year's meeting was held at Colorado Springs, twenty-five States being represented, and the topics discussed were both timely and practical—rural credit, bureaus of efficiency for States, expenses of primary elections, and re-



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THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS AT COLORADO SPRINGS

(This interesting picture shows twenty-one Governors and two Lieutenant-Governors of States in the Union, who attended the annual session of the House of Governors.

Top row (left to right): Governors Colquitt of Texas, Macdonald of New Mexico, Haines of Maine, Dunne of Illinois, Stewart of Montana, Slaton of Georgia, Oddie of Nevada, and Hatfield of West Virginia.

Middle row: Governor Lister of Washington, ex-Governor Gilchrist of Florida, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut, Lieutenant-Governor Fitzgerald of Colorado, Lieutenant-Governor Wallace of California, and Governor Spry of Utah.

Bottom row: Governors O'Neal of Alabama, Carey of Wyoming, McGovern of Wisconsin, Mann of Virginia, Ammons of Colorado; M. C. Riley, secretary of the House of Governors; Governors Hodges of Kansas, Miller of Delaware, and Byrne of South Dakota)

forms in the make-up of legislatures. The interchange of views that is always a feature of these conferences helps powerfully in the crystallizing of public sentiment for uniform State laws dealing with matters that concern all the States alike. It is, of course, not the business of the Governors to draft such laws. That duty is assigned to the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, who officially represent their respective States and formulate measures which tend to do away with the confusion that has resulted from independent State action on subjects of vital moment to the individual citizen—marriage and divorce, for example. The Commissioners at their Montreal meeting, in connection with the American Bar Association, gave special attention to workmen's compensation and agreed on a tentative draft of a uniform law, their aid in this matter having been sought by several State legislatures. An article in the July REVIEW on progressive lawmaking painted out the leading features of the uniform child-labor law drafted by the commission, and there is now on the statute-books of forty-six States the Uniform Negotiable Instruments act proposed by the commission many years ago, while every year adds to the list of States adopting the commission's measures on one or more topics.

Nominating Methods—Baltimore vs. New York

Results of recent legislation in many of our States are perhaps nowhere more apparent than in modern methods of selecting the candidates among whom the voter may pick and choose on election day. Contrast, for instance, the antiquated system in New York City with the more improved one in, let us say, Baltimore—both cities having primaries, so called. New York's primary election was held on September 16. On the Democratic ballot there was printed a single set of names for the various offices, presumably the selection of a duly constituted "designating committee," but actually and admittedly the handiwork of a half-dozen leaders of Tammany Hall who met two days before the committee's session. Mayor Gaynor had been refused a renomination. The only way for him and his supporters to have disputed the choice of the machine would have been for them to write in the Mayor's name in a blank column on the primary ballot. So great was the handicap, that Mr. Gaynor had preferred to desert his party and run as an independent.

In Baltimore, on the other hand, the official primary ballot handed to the voter on September 8 contained the name of every candidate who had filed nomination papers, properly made out, for party endorsement. Machine domination in Baltimore—particularly in the Democratic party—has been notorious; it has seemed omnipotent and impregnable. In making its designations for minor offices to be voted upon at the primaries last month, however, it overreached itself. A reform element in the party, led by such newspapers as the Baltimore *Sun,* rose in its might and nominated an opposing ticket of "Progressive Democrats." Under the Maryland primary law, these candidates were accorded equal privileges with the machine nominations, and the result was a humiliating defeat for the machine.

Non-Partisan Arrangements in Cleveland and Pittsburgh

The city of Cleveland has gone a step further, in its new charter adopted a few months ago. Not content with granting equal standing to all factions of a party in primary elections, it has abolished the primary and substituted a non-partisan election system. The official ballot at the November election in Cleveland will contain the name of every candidate for Mayor who has been able to secure 2500 signatures to his nominating petition. Pittsburgh tried for the first time, on September 16, its non-partisan method of nominating mayoralty candidates. Of the six who entered the primary on that day, the two leading candidates will go before the voters again in November. So far as municipal elections are concerned, Cleveland and Pittsburgh have abolished party government. No one will be permitted to use a party name or emblem. The voter indicates his choice for an individual, not for an organization. The innovation will be watched with interest, but it seems foreordained to result in the choice of officials upon individual merit rather than by virtue of party allegiance.

Various Contests in Cities of New York

This non-partisan tendency in municipal and State elections has become a very formidable movement in other parts of the country, although the method of its expression varies considerably. A notable instance is the fusion alliance, every four years, against the Tammany Hall Democracy in New York City. Other municipalities in the State furnish further illustrations this year. The Democrats and Progressives of Rochester have combined against the Republicans. The Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, the Rev. George R. Lunn, finds himself opposed for reëlection by a candidate supported by the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive parties. A like situation obtains in Ithaca, the Socialist candidate being a prominent surgeon, Dr. H. B. Besemer. The Progressives of Utica have placed in nomination a ticket, in opposition to both the Republican and Democratic candidates, made up of members of all three parties and headed by the Republican incumbent, Mayor Frank J. Baker.



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HON. DAVID I. WALSH, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Who was nominated for Governor at the Democratic primaries September 23, and whose campaign will turn largely upon the question whether or not Massachusetts accepts the new administration tariff)

Massachusetts and New Jersey Choosing Governors

Massachusetts politics this year furnishes a remarkable example of the slight regard in which many persons nowadays hold parties, even in a State election. Governor Foss, originally a Republican, has three times been elected at the head of the State ticket as a Democrat. Disagreeing with that party in some matters of local and national policy, he recently declared himself no longer a Democrat and seemed to encourage his followers in an attempt to get his name on the Republican primary ballot. This effort was unsuccessful, mainly because of lack of time before the designations had to be made; and it is now understood that the Governor will make an appeal to the voters for reëlection as an inde-



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MR. HOWARD ELLIOTT, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD SYSTEM

pendent. To add to this peculiar situation, Lieutenant-Governor David I. Walsh, the unopposed Democratic candidate for Governor in the primaries, aided and abetted the candidacy of Richard H. Long, an enrolled Republican, for the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. The Massachusetts primaries on September 23 had not been held when these pages were closed for the press. The principal contest was for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, the candidates being Col. Everett C. Benton, the nominee in 1912, and Congressman Augustus P. Gardner. Mr. Charles Sumner Bird, the Progressive candidate in 1912, is the unopposed choice of his party again this year. The New Jersey primaries, also held on September 23, brought forth contests in all three parties. Governor Fielder, serving out the term for which Woodrow Wilson was elected, had the support of the President for the Democratic nomination. There were four candidates in the Republican primary, led by ex-Governor Edward C. Stokes. Two of the Progressive leaders were arrayed against each other in an effort to secure the "Bull Moose" nomination.

Tests of Party Strength in Maine

A Congressional election in Maine last month—to fill a vacancy caused by death—attracted considerable attention because of the unusual efforts which had been made by all three parties to capture the seat. Secretary Bryan, Secretary Redfield, and Speaker Clark made addresses in behalf of the Democratic candidate; ex-Senator Beveridge, Congressman Murdock, and the former Secretary of the Interior, Mr. James R. Garfield, spoke for the Progressive; while the Republican was well supported by Congressmen Gardner of Massachusetts, Anderson of Minnesota, and Kahn of California. It is doubtful if the voters in the five counties comprising the Third Maine District ever before, in a single campaign, listened to so imposing an array of oratorical talent. The Republican candidate, Hon. John A. Peters, Speaker of the Maine House, was elected by a small plurality over the Democrat, Hon. William R. Pattangall, Mayor of Waterville. An attempt was made to show that the result—coming at a time when the Tariff bill was on its final passage in the Senate—was a rebuke to President Wilson and the Democratic party. But as the district has long been Republican, and as the Democratic candidate lost none of the votes cast for President Wilson last year, it is difficult to see how such an interpretation can be seriously considered. It is also difficult to see signs of the disintegration of the Progressive party because its candidate—Edward M. Lawrence, a sardine packer of Lubec—polled less than half the votes accorded to Colonel Roosevelt last fall.

Elliott Takes Up the New Haven Task

On the very day that Mr. Howard Elliott took up his new duties as Mr. Mellen's successor in the presidency of the New Haven road came the shocking disaster at Wallingford, in which two heavy trains filled with people returning from their summer vacations were telescoped in a rear-end collision. It was a hard and undeserved blow of fortune, so far as concerns the new head of the unlucky road, as Mr. Elliott could, of course, have had nothing to do with the conditions which allowed the disaster. In the immediate renewal of indignant public discussion of the

affairs of the New Haven, it was the more difficult for the new president of the road to get a sympathetic and patient hearing of his plans for maintaining the credit and improving the operating efficiency and safety of the New Haven. Whatever the result of the local and federal investigations into the Wallingford disaster, on September 16—the local coroner absolved the road from blame—and whatever outcome there may be of the rumored consideration by the Department of Justice of a suit for dissolution of the New Haven system and of possible criminal suits against its officers, it seems clear that President Elliott should not be prevented from carrying out the plans he has for financing the property and improving its physical condition and the personnel.

Money for Railway Improvements

His immediate necessity is to sell some $67,000,000 of debenture bonds. About two-thirds of this amount will be needed to pay off obligations of the road that mature in the next few months, and the remainder to buy steel cars, improve the signal system, rebuild bridges, and so on. Mr. Elliott made a strong plea before the Massachusetts Public Service Commission for prompt authorization of this financing, and had with him in his argument the strong group of New Haven stockholders who had organized for protection in the present critical phase of the road's career. This first important move of the new president was opposed by certain critics who were disturbed over the bankers' influence in the New Haven's policy and over the profits they had made out of past financial operations. So strong was the general criticism of the banking influence, that Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Company, for many years the fiscal agents of the New Haven, announced early in September that they would exercise their right to withdraw from that connection. Mr. Morgan remains as a director of the road. President Elliott is a man of fine qualities and splendid experience; he has begun the very difficult task that confronts him with energy, frankness, and an evident desire to put squarely before the public the things in which it has a legitimate interest. An early sign of his strong hand was seen in the announcement in mid-September, that locomotive engineers and firemen on the New Haven would no longer be promoted on the basis of seniority, but solely because of fitness and ability. At the same time, Mr. Elliott established rigid probationary requirements before these trainmen should enter the passenger service.

The Southern Pacific Stock Sale

The most weighty financial happening of September in an uncertain and apprehensive Wall Street atmosphere was the final settlement of the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific tangle. The August REVIEW OF REVIEWS told how, when the Union Pacific found itself in the position of being obliged to sell its enormous holdings of Southern Pacific stock—no less than $126,650,000—the problem was made somewhat more manageable by the ingenious move of exchanging $38,000,000 of this great block of stock for its equivalent in value of Baltimore & Ohio stock owned by the Pennsylvania. This done, there still remained about $88,000,000 of stock in the Southern Pacific road which the Union Pacific must promptly sell to persons who were required to make affidavit that they were no longer holders of Union Pacific stock. In such a financial year as 1913, the outcome of such a sale was indeed dubious. The Union Pacific Company decided on an offering price of 92, which with dividend accruals brought the price to a parity with the current Stock Exchange quotation. These quotations continued lower and lower, and things looked stormy, until the tide was turned by the announcement of the formation of a strong international syndicate to underwrite the sale.

Its Success and Effects

The outcome of the sale was so unexpectedly successful that the mercurial spirit of Wall Street rose, during the first half of September, with characteristic rapidity. Of the total $88,000,000 of stock, 92 per cent. was bought by subscribers, leaving less than $7,000,000 to be taken over by the syndicate. To the financial world an especially heartening feature of the transaction was the large amount of cash payments; although subscribers had the privilege of paying for the stock in instalments, no less than $68,000,000 was paid into the depository trust company at once. The possession of this huge amount of money not needed in the operation and maintenance of the Union Pacific road, at once led to rumors of a large cash dividend to stockholders, and to the strongest upturn in market prices for securities that has come this year. It may well be that the Union Pacific directors will decide to distribute some of the proceeds of the sale to stockholders. But, in the first place, it must be remembered that this Southern Pacific stock was originally purchased with money raised by issuing bonds, which would leave the

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GENERAL VIEW OF THE GREAT DAM ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RI

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The Final Estimates of Farm Yields

The Government crop report of September 8 is the most important and conclusive one of the year, as to the final results of the farmers' work and the production of new wealth from the soil. The intensely hot weather and drought during August in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Oklahoma played havoc in the great cornfields of these States, so that (with insufficient moisture for the maturing corn plant in other large areas) the average condition of this crop fell off no less than 10.7 per cent. in a single month, to 65 per cent. This points to an aggregate yield of corn of 2,351,000,000 bushels, the smallest since 1903. Other short crops are apples, potatoes, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, flax, cotton, and vegetables, the bad showing in all being occasioned by the same lack of moisture. On the other hand, the rice farmers had exceptionally good fortune, and the bright particular spot in the year's farming is the wheat yield. In spite of a poor showing for Spring wheat, the entire crop is estimated at 754,000,000 bushels, the largest ever harvested in the United States. With a total falling off from 1912 in the

Mr. McAdoo Helps to Move the Crops

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TO HAMILTON, ILLINOIS, AND THE POWER HOUSE GENERATING 300,000 HORSEPOWER

known that while the first allotments went to the West and South, the Government would be quite as ready to extend this temporary "accommodation" to Eastern cities if application came from them.

Dedicating the Great Keokuk Dam

The much-heralded opening of the Panama Canal will naturally have overshadowed in the public mind the earlier completion of another great engineering feat—the greatest of our time, in fact, next to Panama, and having a distinct economic relation to it. This is the creation in our own Middle West of the largest hydro-electric power development plant in the world. The concrete monolithic dam, a mile in length, across the Mississippi River from Keokuk, Iowa, to Hamilton, on the Illinois shore, with its $27,000,000 water-power plant, its new Government lock, and its dry dock, was formally dedicated with appropriate ceremonies lasting from August 25th to 28th. The closing of the gates in the dam flooded the hitherto impassable Des Moines rapids, while the well-nigh obsolete Government lock canal was covered by the newly created "Cooper Lake" (named for the engineer who carried out the project), which becomes a splendid speedway for motor boats. The steamboat lock of Keokuk dam is greater than any of those at Panama, having a higher lift and allowing two boats to pass abreast. Upon the completion of this great project, there was immediately begun a ten-year campaign of commercial development through the cities in the power-zone adjacent to the dam and located in the States of Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri. The new plant is expected to develop over 300,000 horsepower—equal to one-fifth of all the water-power in use in this country at the time of the 1910 census—while also insuring ample depth of water for a stretch of sixty-five miles that previously offered difficulties to navigation. The economic influence of this enormous water power will be marked. Situated as it is in the center of the agricultural area of the United States, it will do much to shift the activities of that region to the production of manufactured articles, while also tending to increase population within the power-zone, which includes St. Louis, besides scores of smaller cities.

New York City's New Water-Supply Project

The closing last month of the first gate in the great Ashokan dam in the Catskills called attention again to the gigantic new water-supply project of New York City. This main dam—which, by the way, is exactly one foot longer than the great Mississippi power dam at Keokuk—is built across Esopus Creek; and, with dikes across smaller streams and gaps, forms the immense Ashokan reservoir, one of four reservoirs planned for the basins of Esopus, Rondout, Schoharie, and Catskill Creeks, to be constructed and connected by aqueducts as they are required. The entire system will make available for New York City a daily supply of pure mountain water amounting to 500,000,000 gal-



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GENERAL VIEW OF THE GREAT DAM ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER FROM KEOKUK, IOWA.

profit on the transaction the only portion possible to distribute legitimately. This profit is estimated to be something like $20,000,000. In the second place, the present problems of the railroads and the temper toward them of the public and its legislative representatives do not point to the wisdom of any extravagant distribution of these fortuitous profits.

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Mr. McAdoo Helps to Move the Crops

The financial strain of marketing the crops of 1913 will be eased by Secretary McAdoo's use of treasury funds to meet the special seasonable demands of the great farming States. In the last of August the allotments of money were started to the West, Southwest, and South. A little more than half of the $50,000,000 fund went to the fourteen Western States, and a little less than half to the thirteen Southern States. The money is to remain on deposit for four or five months, and is to be returned not later than April, in monthly instalments. In each depository city a special representative of the Government will serve with a clearing-house committee of five, to pass on commercial paper offered as security, and there must be unanimous approval of this joint committee before a loan is made. Mr. McAdoo let it be



TO HAMILTON, ILLINOIS, AND THE POWER HOUSE GENERATING 300,000 HORSEPOWER

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lons. The cost of obtaining this supply is estimated at $161,867,000, with an additional $15,000,000 for a deep, high-pressure tunnel to distribute the water throughout the boroughs of the Bronx, Manhattan, and Queens. The Catskill Aqueduct conveying the water to the city will be about ninety miles long, thirty-one miles of which will consist of tunnels, six miles of steel pipes, and fifty-five miles of "cut-and-cover" construction. Where the aqueduct crosses the Hudson, a siphon was cut in the rock eleven hundred feet below the bed of the river. The Ashokan reservoir has a water-surface area of 12.8 square miles, with a maximum depth of 190 feet, and will hold sufficient water to cover the whole of Manhattan Island to a depth of twenty-eight feet. In preparing the bottom of it, seven villages were wiped out and a population of 2000 was removed. The closing of the first gate of the dam last month made possible the delivery of water into the Croton reservoir before the end of this year; and it removes the earlier danger of a water famine before the completion of the project.

Parliamentary Redistribution in Canada

In the coming session of the Canadian Parliament, which meets at Ottawa next month, the Borden Government will have to face several very important economic problems. It is the Premier's intention to introduce a redistribution bill early in the session. The figures of the recent census, referred to in these pages last month, will be used as a basis for a redistribution of parliamentary seats. The basis of representation in the Dominion House of Commons, it will be remembered, is the unvarying number of members from the Province of Quebec—65. Upon this as a unit, other provinces have their membership fixed. By the census of 1911 it was seen that, during the preceding decade, Quebec gained 21 per cent. in population and Ontario 15 per cent. The Western provinces gained enormously: British Columbia 119 per cent., Alberta 413, Saskatchewan 439, and Manitoba 78. The eastern or Maritime Provinces, on the other hand, increased only slightly, or actually decreased. New Brunswick gained 6 per cent. and Nova Scotia 7, while Prince Edward Island lost 9 per cent.

The West Gains, the East Loses

The growth of population in the Western provinces, which have always been strongly in favor of closer trade relations with the United States, has given some concern to the Conservatives. The Government, it is reported, will shortly summon a conference of provincial premiers to demand an amendment to the British North America Act, which will secure the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) against such a reduction of their representation as their comparatively slow growth and population, balanced against the increase of the West, would necessitate. It is announced, further, that the naval contribution to Great Britain will not be proposed again. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has reasserted his policy of reciprocity with the United States, and will advocate this with all the fire and brilliant ability at his command. The Government has already begun active discussion of the much-vexed problem of the two languages in educational matters. The Dominion Department of Education, in August, issued a circular of the new regulations regarding the teaching of French in the public schools. In these bi-lingual schools, hereafter, the general inspector will be assisted by three English-speaking and three French-speaking inspectors, and either language may be employed in teaching.

Growth of the Canadian West

The great progress in population, wealth, and general activity of the Western provinces of the Dominion is one of the impressive facts of the day. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba are throbbing with an agricultural and industrial advance that is amazing to those who see the country itself, or study the reports of the activities of its people. Enormous immigration has gone to the Canadian West during the past decade. In the year 1912 more than 400,000 persons came to the Dominion from other countries, 140,000 of them from the United States. A great majority of these immigrants go to the vast Northwest and join the increasing population which is producing the world's grain foods in that splendid agricultural section of the continent. Railroads are being pushed north and south and east and west, paralleling the already existing lines. Premier McBride, of British Columbia, who is an enthusiastic advocate of reciprocity with the United States, recently made a noteworthy address, in which he proposed the coöperation of Canada and the United States in building a north and south railway from the State of Washington through the Yukon country into the heart of Alaska. This could be linked up with existing lines and tap a country of enormous possibilities.

The Tax Question in Ontario and the West

The chairman of the Saskatchewan commission to investigate agricultural credits, J. H. Haslam, of Regina, who has recently returned from Europe, has strongly urged the provincial legislature to establish a credit organization for farmers based on European experience, particularly that of Germany. Mr. Haslam will also try to perfect for the province a scheme of agricultural coöperation in the buying and selling of farm products and advanced methods of conservation. The annual report of the Saskatchewan Department of Municipal Affairs for 1912, recently issued, shows the remarkable results achieved by the "land tax" method of revenue raising. The cities of Saskatchewan raise all municipal revenue by taxation on land values only. During 1914 a new principle known as the surtax will be introduced. This will be in the form of a special tax on uncultivated lands, or lands held by speculators, that is, an additional tax per acre on all the different classes of unused lands. In short, the soil in Saskatchewan must be put to use, or the owner will be fined for not doing so. Meanwhile, in strong contrast to this progressive attitude, the provincial parliament of Ottawa is apparently resisting a popular demand for reform of the old methods of taxation. Tax reform is one of the burning questions in Ontario, where it is claimed that rapid increase in land values has necessitated a broader autonomy for municipalities in the matter of taxation.

The New Canadian Bank Act

One of the important measures enacted into law by the last session of the Canadian Parliament, and about which very little has been printed in this country, was the Canadian Bank Act. This measure, which was supposed to remain in force for ten years (although Sir Wilfrid Laurier has recently intimated that he may attempt to revive the subject at the coming session) is considered to be an improvement on preceding banking legislation. One important clause very heatedly discussed in the West of the Dominion authorized banks to loan money to farmers and ranchers on the security of their grain and cattle. This provision, we gather from the news despatches, was finally included in the measure as passed. The newspaper discussion brought out the fact that there is an active popular demand for the appointment of a banking commission to inspect all banks, to supervise and regulate the banking business, and to serve as a court of redress for abuses. This demand, however, was not pressed in Parliament. There was some bitter criticism of an alleged bankers' lobby at Ottawa during the discussion of the bank act, and the agricultural journals of the middle and western provinces are still discussing the matter.

Lord Haldane on "Higher Nationality"

Special distinction was added to the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, held at Montreal during the week beginning September 1, by the address of the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, Viscount Haldane. Bearing a personal message of greeting from King George V to the lawyers present, and expressing the hope that the meeting would increase the common good will and esteem between Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, Lord Haldane delivered a noteworthy address on "Higher Nationality." There is, said Lord Haldane, something higher than written or common law in the moral rules observed between nations. The peoples of the world, in their relations one with another, recognize certain principles of conduct. These have become a matter of



LORD HALDANE AND CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE AT MONTREAL LAST MONTH

(On the way to the meeting of the American Bar Association. Lord Haldane is walking with Chief Justice White. Behind them are Hon. Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, and Sir Charles Peer Davidson, Chief Justice of the Montreal Superior Court)



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A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT MONTREAL LAST MONTH

(Left to right: Hon. J. C. McReynolds, Attorney-General of the United States; Sir Muir McKenzie, Lord Haldane's sister, the Chancellor, Francis Rawle)

habit, almost second nature, in fact, and we are not always conscious of them. Nevertheless, they are recognized as binding a nation, although they are ethical rather than legal. To do them is "eminently fitting" and not to do them would be "bad form." In short, there has now been elaborated an unconscious but real code of international good manners, forbearance, and friendliness. Just what he meant Lord Haldane found it difficult to express in English. He knew, however, a German word, *Sittlichkeit,* which exactly expresses the international good breeding and conscientiousness which he was endeavoring to describe.

Canadian-American Good Manners

Lord Haldane expressed gratification that such international good manners had always obtained on both sides of the Canadian-American border. There were those present, however, who might have recalled some of the public remarks of American statesmen during the Canadian reciprocity campaign, two years ago, and it may have been that at the moment the British statesman was speaking, echoes could be heard in the hall of the shouts of the Canadian mob near the Vermont border: "Hurrah for Thaw and the British Empire!" Nevertheless, as Lord Haldane put it, there is an increasing respect for the code of international good manners. He pointed, further, to the century of peace which had existed between the United States and the people of Canada and Great Britain, during which the peoples of these countries, he said, had come to "a greater possession of common ends and ideals natural to the Anglo-Saxon group." The binding quality of this international *Sittlichkeit,* he declared, resulted in the fact that a vast number of citizens would not to-day count it decent to violate the obligations which that feeling suggested. He advocated the settlement of differences between the three countries in the spirit and in the manner in which citizens settled their differences. Later the Lord High Chancellor stated that his address embodied the official policy of the British Government, and that it had been approved, line

by line, by Sir Edward Grey. Lord Haldane is one of the most eminent of living English statesmen and a scholar of breadth. He was Minister of War for several years in Mr. Asquith's cabinet. He visited New York on his way to Montreal, and also paid his respects to the Military Academy at West Point. Among other famous men who were present at the meeting of the American Bar Association were Chief Justice White, of the United States Supreme Court; Maître Labori, the famous French lawyer, who, it will be remembered, defended Dreyfus; Premier Borden, of Canada; Senator Root; Hon. Charles Doherty, Canadian Minister of Justice; Joseph H. Choate, ex-Ambassador to Great Britain; ex-President Taft, who was chosen for the coming year president of the Association; and Frank B. Kellogg, retiring president of the association.

Europe and the Panama Fair

It is to be regretted that several of the most important of the European nations have virtually decided against participation in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which, in 1915, is to commemorate the opening of the canal. The British and German governments have declined to take part officially, ostensibly for the reason that world's fairs have been overdone, and San Francisco is so far away. Great Britain, moreover, will hold an imperial exhibition of her own in London, in 1915, to commemorate, among other events, the 700th anniversary of the signing of the Magna Charta. It had been charged that the British refusal to take part was influenced by



THE HAPPY FAMILY—AS PICTURED IN LORD HALDANE'S ADDRESS
From the Satterfield Cartoon Service (Cleveland)



HERR ALBERT BALLIN, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE HAMBURG-AMERICAN LINE
(Who has been very active in securing private German participation at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco)

resentment over the alleged discrimination in the Panama tolls question, and that the German refusal was based on dissatisfaction with the new tariff. Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Minister, is reported to have stated that an official exhibition at a point so far distant as San Francisco would be too expensive, and, "moreover, America has always been backward herself in aiding foreign exhibitions."

There May Be Private Exhibits

The British Government, however, has officially denied that Panama has had anything to do with non-participation in the fair at San Francisco, and there is an active campaign in Germany among private commercial concerns to take some part in the fair. Herr Ballin, the director-general of the Hamburg-American line, is one of the chief movers in this enterprise. Russia will not exhibit, some say because of the action of the United States in abrogating the commercial treaty over passport discrimination. It is doubful whether there will be an Austrian exhibit. Japan, on the other hand, despite the present mood of her people because of the California land question, has already promised to participate officially.



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SEÑOR GAMBOA, HUERTA'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Panama Canal Completed

The last remaining barrier at the Pacific end of the Panama Canal was blown away by dynamite on the morning of August 31. The tide crept in and within a few hours the Pacific section from the ocean to the Miraflores locks was full and ready for navigation. On September 10 the Pacific dike was blown up and water admitted to the famous Culebra cut. This was the real completion of the canal. It had been announced that the great waterway would be ready for the passing of vessels by the middle of the present month. Later, however, it became evident that it would take some weeks to fill the nine-mile Culebra cut at the rate in which water was permitted to enter, and that the canal would not be ready for ships before January 1. The officials on the work were authority for the statement that there would be no special display at the passage of the first ship, but that a regular vessel of the Panama Steamship Company, carrying Colonel Goethals and other officials, would go through the great waterway for the first time, probably on New Year's day.

The Lind-Gamboa Notes

It became known on August 27 that the note submitted by ex-Governor Lind, President Wilson's special representative in Mexico, to Señor Gamboa, Foreign Minister in the de facto Huerta Government, with regard to the disturbed conditions in our neighbor republic, set forth in substance what we intimated last month in these pages. It professed the disinterested friendship of the United States for Mexico, and offered our good offices in bringing about a better condition of affairs, which "seems to us to be conditioned on

(*a*) Immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;

(*b*) Security given for an early and free election in which all will agree to take part;

(*c*) The consent of General Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election; and

(*d*) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and coöperate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new administration.

The reply of Señor Gamboa to the Lind proposals (dated August 16) was made public on the same day. With a good deal of rhetoric and elaborate argument, the suggestions of President Wilson were rejected. The Mexican note denied that Mr. Wilson's statement of conditions in Mexico was correct, declared that an armistice was "impossible with rebels," suggested that the United States observe its duties as a neutral by pre-



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

SEÑOR ZAMACONA, HUERTA'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Huerta's Message to Congress

On September 16, the Mexican Independence Day, and the birthday of the old dictator, Porfirio Diaz, the Mexican Congress assembled. It was expected that some reflection of the mind of the more thoughtful of the Mexican people would be found in the deliberations of the congress. Army increase was the keynote of General Huerta's message. He announced that his Government had obtained sufficient foreign loans to pay off its obligations and to equip 100,000 men for the field. Frequent reference to Americans was made in the message, the last one being to the effect that "though there have been difficulties with the Government of the United States, there has not, fortunately, been any with the American people." On the preceding day the United States Congress passed without the formality of reference to a committee an extraordinary bill appropriating $100,000 to help Americans get out of Mexico.

World Congresses and Their Work

Five important congresses held during September emphasized the international character of modern economic and social movements. The eleventh International Zionist Congress was held in Vienna from September 3 to 10. Large increases in the membership of Jewish societies, which look towards an independent Jewish state in Palestine, was recorded from all over the world. One hundred thousand dollars was subscribed for a Jewish university at Jerusalem. On September 4 the German Catholic Congress assembled at Metz. It considered questions affecting Catholic populations all over the world, including "the forces hostile to Catholicism — Socialism, Freemasonry and Modernism." The German Nationalist Socialist Convention began its sessions at Jena on September 14. Delegates from the rest of the Western world, including the United States, brought greetings. Friedrich Ebert, a member of the Reichstag from Berlin, was elected to succeed August Bebel as leader of the Social Democrats. We summarize representative German, French and English opinion of Bebel on another page this month. On August 29 the International Coöperative Congress was held in Glasgow. Earl Grey, former Governor-General of Canada, presided, and made an optimistic speech on coöperation as "an ameliorative factor in modern economics." On September 1 the forty-sixth annual British Trades Union Congress, representing two and a quarter millions of working men, began its sessions at Manchester. Representatives from the American Federation of Labor and labor organizations in France and Germany were present, for the first time in the history of the congress. The chairman, in his address, said that it was the trade unionists that had forced through the British parliament most of the economic reforms of the past fifty years. He declared, further, that the promotion of international peace was the great task now before organized labor. The congress declared against compulsory arbitration, in favor of political action and not in favor of syndicalist methods. Most international and optimistic of all was the meeting of representatives from the civilized world at The Hague, at the dedication, on August 28, of the Peace Palace. Mr. Oscar Straus, on another page this month, writing from the Dutch capital, speaks with enthusiasm of the dedicatory ceremonies.

Workers' Insurance in Russia

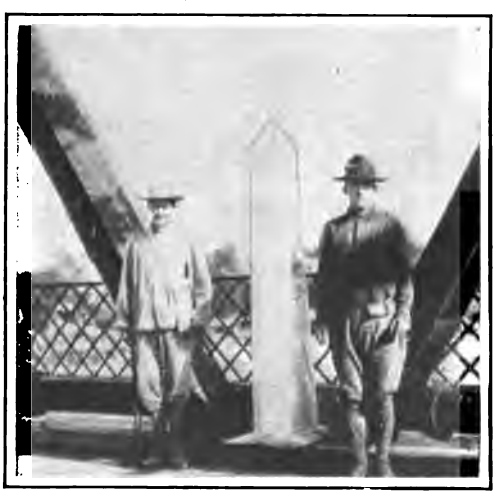
The workmen's insurance law which was passed by the Russian Duma in June, 1912, is now being gradually introduced by the Government into all the Empire. The measure is as yet imperfect in that its application is limited to cases of sickness and accident, but it is being hailed by the press as a beginning in the right direction. The law provides for the establishment of a hospital fund in every factory, mill, or other industrial concern employing 200 people and more. Small concerns must organize a fund for a membership not exceeding 200. Three-fifths of the fund are contributed by the workingmen and the remaining two-fifths by the employer, and these contributions are compulsory. The amount of contribution of every workman, which must not be over 3 per cent. of his wage, is determined by an executive board, which consists of elected representatives of the employees and a representative of the employer, who has two-fifths of the total vote. Financial assistance is given to a contributor to the fund, beginning with the fourth day of sickness, for a period not exceeding 26 weeks, and for not more than 30 weeks within a year. Married workers are entitled to from one-half to two-thirds of their wage, and single workers from one-fourth to one-half. Women about to become mothers are allowed six weeks of absence (two before and four after confinement) with from half to full pay, if they have been contributors to the fund for not less than three months. Besides regular contributors to the fund, the board



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THE PRESENT OWNERS OF THE FORMER ESTATE OF FELIX DIAZ
(After the rebel General Blanco had confiscated the immense estate of Gen. Felix Diaz in the north of Mexico he parcelled it out to small landholders. Here they are)

ted through Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the American Chargé d'Affaires in the Mexican capital. While they were not made public and were more or less informal, it is understood that these interchanges gave foundation for the belief that a complete understanding was not far off. It was asserted, indeed, on September 4, although afterwards denied in the usual way of diplomats, that Mr. O'Shaughnessy had received assurances of the most definite kind that General Huerta would not resign in order to be a candidate for re-election in the general elections set for the 26th of the present month. In the meanwhile Huerta had sent Señor Manuel de Zamacona y Inclan as a special representative to this country. Señor Zamacona is known as a very astute diplomat. He was Mexican Ambassador in Washington at the end of the Diaz régime, and until very recently the financial agent of his government in London.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MEXICAN AND AMERICAN GUARDS ON THE INTERNATIONAL BRIDGE OVER THE RIO GRANDE AT EAGLE PASS

The Course of Things in Mexico

It was becoming evident that the revolutionists were gaining ground in the North. They were making solid their conquests, parcelling out and selling to small buyers the estates of the large landowners which they had confiscated, including among others that of General Felix Diaz, whom Huerta had intended to send as special envoy to Japan, but whom the Japanese Government had declined to receive. It was evident also that there was disagreement in Huerta's official family. On September 12 it was stated that the Minister of Justice, General Reyes, had resigned, and later asserted that Dr. Urrutia, Minister of the Interior, had left the cabinet.

Huerta's Message to Congress

On September 16, the Mexican Independence Day, and the birthday of the old dictator, Porfirio Diaz, the Mexican Congress assembled. It was expected that some reflection of the mind of the more thoughtful of the Mexican people would be found in the deliberations of the congress. Army increase was the keynote of General Huerta's message. He announced that his Government had obtained sufficient foreign loans to pay off its obligations and to equip 100,000 men for the field. Frequent reference to Americans was made in the message, the last one being to the effect that "though there have been difficulties with the Government of the United States, there has not, fortunately, been any with the American people." On the preceding day the United States Congress passed without the formality of reference to a committee an extraordinary bill appropriating $100,000 to help Americans get out of Mexico.

World Congresses and Their Work

Five important congresses held during September emphasized the international character of modern economic and social movements. The eleventh International Zionist Congress was held in Vienna from September 3 to 10. Large increases in the membership of Jewish societies, which look towards an independent Jewish state in Palestine, was recorded from all over the world. One hundred thousand dollars was subscribed for a Jewish university at Jerusalem. On September 4 the German Catholic Congress assembled at Metz. It considered questions affecting Catholic populations all over the world, including "the forces hostile to Catholicism — Socialism, Freemasonry and Modernism." The German Nationalist Socialist Convention began its sessions at Jena on September 14. Delegates from the rest of the Western world, including the United States, brought greetings. Friedrich Ebert, a member of the Reichstag from Berlin, was elected to succeed August Bebel as leader of the Social Democrats. We summarize representative German, French and English opinion of Bebel on another page this month. On August 29 the International Coöperative Congress was held in Glasgow. Earl Grey, former Governor-General of Canada, presided, and made an optimistic speech on coöperation as "an ameliorative factor in modern economics." On September 1 the forty-sixth annual British Trades Union Congress, representing two and a quarter millions of working men, began its sessions at Manchester. Representatives from the American Federation of Labor and labor organizations in France and Germany were present, for the first time in the history of the congress. The chairman, in his address, said that it was the trade unionists that had forced through the British parliament most of the economic reforms of the past fifty years. He declared, further, that the promotion of international peace was the great task now before organized labor. The congress declared against compulsory arbitration, in favor of political action and not in favor of syndicalist methods. Most international and optimistic of all was the meeting of representatives from the civilized world at The Hague, at the dedication, on August 28, of the Peace Palace. Mr. Oscar Straus, on another page this month, writing from the Dutch capital, speaks with enthusiasm of the dedicatory ceremonies.

Workers' Insurance in Russia

The workmen's insurance law which was passed by the Russian Duma in June, 1912, is now being gradually introduced by the Government into all the Empire. The measure is as yet imperfect in that its application is limited to cases of sickness and accident, but it is being hailed by the press as a beginning in the right direction. The law provides for the establishment of a hospital fund in every factory, mill, or other industrial concern employing 200 people and more. Small concerns must organize a fund for a membership not exceeding 200. Three-fifths of the fund are contributed by the workingmen and the remaining two-fifths by the employer, and these contributions are compulsory. The amount of contribution of every workman, which must not be over 3 per cent. of his wage, is determined by an executive board, which consists of elected representatives of the employees and a representative of the employer, who has two-fifths of the total vote. Financial assistance is given to a contributor to the fund, beginning with the fourth day of sickness, for a period not exceeding 26 weeks, and for not more than 30 weeks within a year. Married workers are entitled to from one-half to two-thirds of their wage, and single workers from one-fourth to one-half. Women about to become mothers are allowed six weeks of absence (two before and four after confinement) with from half to full pay, if they have been contributors to the fund for not less than three months. Besides regular contributors to the fund, the board

has a right to support members of their families, former contributors, etc. Imperfect as this law is, it will undoubtedly prove of great advantage to the workingmen because of the opportunity it offers for organization on a legitimate basis. The police are apparently doing their best to reduce the possible benefit of the law by prohibiting meetings, or lectures on the subject of insurance, and by arresting the most active representatives of the workingmen. But the movement has been started and the promise is great.

Italy's Increased Electorate

The strike of the workers in automobile factories in Milan, which we discussed last month in its effect on Italy's national problems, was terminated by a practical agreement, on the part of the employers, to the demands of the workers. The government is concerned over the effects of this and other industrial disturbances on the new alignment of parties which will be shown at the next election. The general polling for members of the general Italian parliament will take place on October 28. There has been a great increase in the number of voters—from three millions to eight. The extension of the franchise was granted largely in response to a demand from the Socialists, and it is expected that they will elect a large number of deputies to the new parliament.



GEN. CARLO CANEVA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ITALIAN FORCES IN TRIPOLI AND FIRST GOVERNOR OF THAT PROVINCE

Her Embittered Relations with Austria

Italian-Austrian relations are always more or less strained, despite the "bonds of expediency" which unite the two countries in the Triple Alliance. A good deal of excitement was caused last month by the demand in the Chamber of Deputies, in Rome, that the Italian Foreign Minister take steps to obtain a repeal of the regulation adopted by authorities of Trieste, expelling from the country all non-Austrians engaged in any public work. Trieste is in "*Italia Irredenta*" ("Italy Unredeemed," that is, still under foreign domain) and is full of Italians. Meanwhile, the official cordiality of the Italian and Austrian governments was emphasized by the visit to Vienna, representing his sovereign, of General Carlo Caneva, who commanded the Italian forces in Tripoli during the Italian-Turko war and became first Governor-General of that colony. General Caneva has the title of Generalissimo, the highest degree in the Italian army, which he shares with the King alone. He has been referred to in the Austrian press as "the man whose valor opened up for Italy new and vast regions and who wrote with his sword his name in the book of history." It is claimed in Rome that General Caneva's mission has had the effect of strengthening the bonds of the Dreibund, which has recently seemed to be suffering from inanition.

Egypt's New Legislature

Hereditary upper chambers and those that are made up of appointees for life have been having hard times all over the world during recent years. The powers of the British House of Lords have been effectively curbed, and Mr. Asquith now threatens to do away with the hereditary chamber entirely. In Canada there is growing opposition to the Senate, the members of which are appointed for life. There is a bill in the New Zealand Parliament to substitute for the appointed upper house an elected chamber. The Council of the Empire in Russia, which steadily blocks all legislation for the relief of the populace, is the object of increasing bitter attacks in the Duma. There has been a campaign for years to popularize the Italian Senate by making its members elective. The German Socialists and Liberals have repeatedly agitated for a purely elective upper chamber to replace the



A NEW PICTURE OF LORD KITCHENER, BRITISH PRO-CONSUL OF EGYPT

(This photograph was taken after the opening of the new quay at Old Cairo. The turbaned figure in the lower left-hand corner is Sheikh Selim El-Beshery, Principal of Al Azhar University. Immediately behind him is: Ahmed Hilmi Pasha, Egyptian Minister of Finance, and next behind, speaking to Lord Kitchener, is Mohammed Said Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt. Next to Kitchener is Ismail Sirry Pasha, Minister of Public Works)

Bundesrath. The influence of this resentment against the tendency of upper chambers to be reactionary is shown in the recent amendment to our Constitution which provides for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people. Late in August ancient Egypt was added to the list. In accordance with the recommendations of Lord Kitchener, British Pro-Consul at Cairo and virtual ruler of the modern land of the ancient Pharaohs, the Khedive has amended the so-called organic law proclaimed in 1883, by abolishing the upper house, known as the General Assembly, and establishing a new one-chambered Parliament. Under the new law there will be 89 instead of 30 members to the national legislature, almost all of whom will be elected, with largely increased native representation therein. Formerly this council had no power of initiative; now it may propose legislation "of which the Government is bound to make a careful and prolonged study."

The "Bargain of Bucharest"

Two facts appear amid the maze of statement and counter-statement as to the gains and losses in the second Balkan War just ended. One is Rumania's success and preponderance among the Balkan States, and the other the sudden, undoubted betterment of the situation of Turkey after her crushing defeats by Bulgaria and the other allies. Without having fought a battle, Rumania has come out paramount. She gains a large strip of territory on the Danube, including the strongly fortified town of Silistria. She is now the most populous of the Balkan kingdoms. It is computed by the statistician of the London *Times* that, when the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest, signed August 10, have been formally carried out and the frontiers precisely delimited, the population of the Balkan States will stand as follows: Rumania, 7,600,000; Bulgaria, 5,000,000; Greece, 4,500,000; Servia, 4,000,000; Albania (approximately), 2,000,000; Montenegro, 500,000. The map on page 418 shows those portions of the territory captured from Turkey which Bulgaria finally surrendered to Servia and Greece, as well as the strip she ceded to Rumania.

Will Rumania and Bulgaria Merge?

Bulgaria's reverses have forced her to submit to what is being called in the European press the "bargain of Bucharest." It is true that Bulgaria has obtained a large amount of territory, although nothing like as much as she had demanded under the ante-bellum agreement with the other Balkan powers. The war, however, has been very disastrous to the personal fortunes of Czar Ferdinand's dynasty. It is constantly reported in the press of Austria, Italy, and Russia that popular resentment against Ferdinand is so great that he and his family will probably be expelled from the country in the near future. A rumor also persists in the French and German



HOW THE BALKANS LOOK AFTER THE "BARGAIN OF BUCHAREST"

(The black portions of this map indicate the captured Turkish territory surrendered by Bulgaria to Servia and Greece and the strip ceded to Rumania. See preceding page for figures of population within the newly rearranged boundary lines of these countries)

papers to the effect that when Ferdinand has been gotten rid of there will be a personal union of the crowns of Bulgaria and Rumania, under King Charles of the latter country, similar to the union of Austria and Hungary under the Emperor Francis Joseph. The marriage recently reported to have been arranged between the son of King Charles, the heir-apparent to the throne of Rumania, and the eldest daughter of the Russian Czar, is believed to be connected with these anticipated changes.

Investigating Balkan Atrocities

The second Balkan war has furnished opportunity for the first activities of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Much bitterness has been engendered by the charges and countercharges made by Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians against each other of atrocities committed, not only upon troops, but upon defenseless non-combatants. The Carnegie Endowment, therefore, appointed a commission to conduct a full and independent inquiry into the subject. This it was authorized and equipped to do, since one of its specific purposes was to make a scientific study of the costs of war and the effect of war on the territory involved. This is a new development of the international peace movement, the investigation being the first of its kind. The commission, as announced, includes Professor Samuel T. Dutton, of Columbia University; H. N. Brailsford, of England; Deputy Godard, of France; Paul Milukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Russian Duma; Professor Payskowski, of Berlin University; Professor Redlich, of the University of Vienna, and Professor Walter Schucking, of Marburg, Germany. The commission expects to complete its investigations by November 1.

Restoring Turkish Confidence

By a singular coincidence the reoccupation of the city of Adrianople by the Turkish army took place on July 23, the anniversary of the proclamation of the constitution in the last days of Abdul Hamid. This coincidence, together with the reconciliation of the Arabs to the régime at Constantinople, the repression of the Kurdish disorders along the Persian frontier, and the inactivity or jealousy of the European powers, which, on September 15, had re-

sulted in a practical agreement to let the Turks remain in Adrianople, has given a confidence to the Ottomans to which they have long been strangers. This restoration to the Turks of confidence in themselves is now one of the most important factors in the European situation in connection with the Near Eastern question, and it has brought them allies from quarters least expected.

Why the Turk Will Keep Adrianople

The Austro-Russian demand for the revision of the Treaty of Bucharest has failed, and the Russian proposal for a financial boycott of Turkey has been rejected by the French Government, since such a boycott would be ruinous to the interests of French investors in Turkish loans and enterprises. Moreover there is always the danger of complications that might arise among the European powers in the very probable event of the complete commercial and political bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire. It was this consideration that mainly contributed to bring about the understanding between France and Germany as to the fate of Turkey which has been so bitterly denounced by the Russian press. It was owing to this same Franco-German understanding that the Austro-Russian demand for the revision of the Treaty of Bucharest was not pressed. Behind the revision and a financial boycott of Turkey there lurked the specter of a general European war, with perhaps worse to follow. This is why it is probable that the Turk will not be molested. Russia would be the power to whom the task of driving the Turk back to Constantinople would naturally be entrusted, and that is just what the powers are not willing to have happen. They still have their old fear that Russia would remain at Constantinople. Muscovite activity in Asia Minor has not escaped the vigilance of the Turkish press, as we have more than once pointed out in these pages. A comprehensive editorial summary of the difficulties under which Turkey is laboring in her Asiatic domain is given on another page this month, quoted from the *Ikdam,* one of the leading journals of Constantinople.

Good Augury for the Turk

Everything considered, however, it may be said that at no time since the Crimean War has the combination of circumstances been so favorable for a Turkish Government sincerely desirous and capable of consolidating the country. The reconciliation of the Arabs and Turks, which now seems assured, will be one of the most potent factors in the uplifting of the Asiatic provinces, as it has already averted the danger of their disruption. The question is whether the enemies of the Ottoman Empire will relax in their efforts to accomplish its destruction or whether the internal conditions can be made such as to dissuade any section of the population from lending its ears to intrigues such as those which in the past have been so fruitful of disaster to the house of Othman. It has also to be seen yet whether the friends of Turkey will turn out to be mere exploiters in disguise or benevolent coöperators with its government and people in the work of regeneration.

What May Be Done with Peace

The Young Turk Government has some points to its credit. In spite of the war the revenue has progressively increased, and the first sections of the Bagdad Railway, with its branches in Anatolia, have so demonstrated their value to the country that the main line to Bagdad is being pushed vigorously to completion. Other railways and high roads are being surveyed and projected. All that is needed to secure the benefits which this policy promises to bring to Asiatic Turkey is a continuance of peace and wise and honest administration. Given these and friendly relations with all of its neighbors, there is no reason why the regeneration and reform of the Ottoman Empire as it stands to-day after the war should not become accomplished facts in a very short time. The only clouds on the Balkan horizon now are the announcement from Athens that the Greeks intend to fortify their new frontiers; the spirit that animated the addresses of the Kings of Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria to their armies at the end of the war, and the tone of certain Rumanian journals regarding the Turkish reoccupation of Adrianople. Against these is to be set the unwillingness of the great powers to have the peace disturbed by another war, with all its uncertainties.

Marking Time in China

The news from China during recent weeks indicates a rather obscure situation with regard to the permanency of Yuan Shih-kai's administration. He has not yet actually been elected permanent President, the Assembly at Peking being too busy debating over the constitution and passing resolutions to impeach those members of the cabinet who put through the recent foreign loan, to arrange for the popular election. It would seem, however, as is attested by letters this magazine has received from trustworthy authorities in China, that the new republic is living on borrowed

money, and that President Yuan's régime is not certain of continuing after the Western world has ceased to supply him with money. Practically no revenue has been collected during the past two years except through the customs and excise taxes, and, we are informed, interest on the foreign loans is being paid from the loans themselves. It is gradually becoming evident that Yuan's reliance is placed on his mercenary troops, who will probably not remain faithful to him when their pay ceases. More and more frequently there appear indications that the actual partition of China is not far off. Russia has virtually swallowed Mongolia, Britain has already detached Thibet so far as actual government of that province is concerned, and Japan, although losing no opportunity to appear in the light of a friend to the Chinese people, has recently assumed a rather hostile tone in dealing with the government of Yuan Shih-kai. Yuan has issued a number of proclamations announcing the suppression of the revolt in the South. But the revolt goes on. It would seem to be a serious hour for the Chinese Republic.

Japan and the Land Question

While the arbitration treaty with Japan expired by limitation on August 23, and the supplementary treaty proposed to extend its provisions has not, as yet, been acted upon by the Senate, the diplomatic and commercial relations between the two countries remain cordial, and, despite occasional popular outbursts of resentment, steady progress is being made towards the settlement of the difficulty over the California land question. On August 26, Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador, delivered to Secretary Bryan the fourth note in the long-drawn-out series of exchanges which began on April 5. It had been understood that the Tokyo Government would be willing to test the constitutionality of this question in the courts of the United States. The last note, however, declines to agree to such a test. Moreover, it is understood to have intimated delicately that there should be some definite understanding regarding the value of a treaty, and the extent to which the United States Government can compel an individual State to perform the obligations of that treaty.

The Ways of Japanese Diplomacy

Popular feeling against what has been called the emptiness of Japanese diplomatic relations in connection with California and China resulted in some riotous demonstrations in Tokyo, and the assassination of Moritaro Abe, the Director of the Political Bureau of the Foreign Office, on September 4. The enmity against Abe was largely due to his pacific attitude in the matter of the recent murder of three Japanese at Nanking, and the maltreatment of a Japanese consul and three naval officers at Hankow and Shantung. Japan demanded an apology, the punishment of those responsible and the payment of an indemnity, while a Japanese armed naval force was landed at Nanking on September 11. Later it was reported that President Yuan Shih-kai had agreed to the demands of the Tokyo Government. Some considerable interest was aroused in England by the publication, late in August, of the diary of the late Count Hayashi, Japanese Ambassador at London from 1900 to 1905, who died a few months ago. In the year 1901, this correspondence indicates, the German Chargé d'Affaires in London suggested a triple alliance between England, Germany, and Japan. This would seem to have been agreed to by Lord Lansdowne, British Foreign Minister, but Count Hayashi, speaking for his government, vetoed the proposition and declined to admit Germany as a third member of the alliance. The correspondence indicates that the government at Tokyo, then still smarting under the memory of the intervention of Germany, France, and Russia at the end of the war with China, "could not bring itself to trust the Germans." Then it seems that Lord Lansdowne "hung back" because Germany was not included. But Japan "threatened to go over to Russia if England did not meet her terms."

Celebrating American-Japanese Friendship

Four years ago a commercial commission was sent out from Japan to visit the United States. It was under the chairmanship of Baron Eiichi Shibusawa, one of the most eminent and highly respected of the Japanese captains of industry, a millionaire merchant and steamship owner. This mission visited various cities in the United States and was received with great cordiality. The experiences of the commissioners, if we may judge from comment in the Japanese press, were very valuable and highly regarded. The value they set upon these experiences may be seen from the fact that every year the members of this commission meet to refresh their memories of friendships made in America and to pledge themselves anew to the strengthening of the ties of good feeling

between the peoples of the United States and Japan. This year the reunion was held in the Chamber of Commerce in Kyoto. The following resolution was passed unanimously by the members present, which included all the survivors:

Resolved: That we write to our friends whose acquaintance was made during that memorable trip, and assure them that we still cherish the memory of all the happy relations formed on that occasion, and that conforming to the spirit of that mission of peace, we are making every effort to bring about a better understanding and to strengthen the ties of friendship between the peoples of the United States and Japan.

Another gratifying evidence of this real cordiality was furnished by the formation, at the Interparliamentary Conference at The Hague, on September 5, of an American-Japanese Parliamentary Union. Dr. Shimidzu, a member of the Japanese Parliament, was elected provisional president, and Representative William D. B. Ainey, of Pennsylvania, temporary secretary.



SIR OLIVER LODGE, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION
(Who last month made some startling statements concerning life after death)

Does Personality Persist Beyond Death?

That science as its methods are at present employed is not the only way of ascertaining truth, and that there may be a persistence of personality beyond bodily death were two of the rather startling statements made by Sir Oliver Lodge, the eminent British scientist, in his presidential address in London, on September 10, before the annual meeting of the British Association. Sir Oliver, whose achievements in physics and chemistry have won for him the rank of a leader in the world of science, has been interested for years in the subject of psychical research. In the address referred to, speaking from the experience of thirty-five years in exact scientific investigation, he issued a warning against the "narrowing tendency" by specialists who "deny the existence of facts beyond their special ken, at any rate, beyond the testimony of their senses." Sir Oliver's theme was "Continuity." He insisted that "truth did not begin to arrive on this planet a few centuries ago."

The prescientific insight of genius—of poets and prophets and saints—was of supreme value, and the access of those inspired seers to the heart of the universe was profound.

And then came the startling statement:

The evidence to my mind goes to prove that discarnate intelligence, under certain conditions, may interact with us on the material side, thus indirectly coming within our scientific ken, and that gradually we may hope to attain some understanding of the nature of a larger, perhaps ethereal, existence, and of the conditions regulating intercourse across the chasm. A body of responsible investigators has even now landed on the treacherous but promising shores of a new continent.

"There cannot be any scientific proof of this," said Sir Oliver, "because there is no material evidence; but belief based on experience, while not evidence, is frequently as good as evidence." The address has aroused a great deal of comment all over the world.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(*From August* 15 *to September* 16, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 16.—The Senate, continuing its consideration of the Tariff bill in Committee of the Whole, sustains the tax on bananas and the placing of fish on the free list.

August 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.) argues that free sugar would ruin the industry in the United States, both in the beet and cane districts; Mr. Tillman (Dem., S. C.) delivers a notable speech against woman suffrage.



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HON. CHARLES C. M'CHORD, OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

(Mr. McChord conducted the inquiry into the New Haven wreck which caused the death of twenty-one passengers on September 2)

August 19.—The Senate, by vote of 39 to 34, rejects the amendment of Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.) which would gradually reduce the duty on sugar from 1.9 cents to 1.275 cents per pound.

August 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Penrose (Rep., Pa.) introduces a resolution requesting the President to send troops to Mexico to protect American citizens and property.

August 22.—The Senate debates the wool schedule of Tariff bill, Mr. Warren (Rep., Wyo.) declaring that the wool-growing industry of the intermountain States would be destroyed, and Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) introducing a substitute measure.

August 23.—The Senate adopts the wool schedule without a roll call.

August 25.—The Senate completes consideration of the free list and the paper schedule..

August 26.—In the Senate, consideration of the income-tax section of the Tariff bill is begun.

August 27.—At a joint session in the House chamber, President Wilson reads a message on the Mexican situation and lays before Congress the mediation proposals made by the Administration, together with the Mexican reply; he urges all Americans to leave Mexico, and proclaims the strictest neutrality between the contending factions. . . . The Senate rejects the amendment of Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.) increasing the surtax on large incomes.

August 28.—The Senate rejects many amendments to the income-tax section of the Tariff bill, offered by progressive Republicans, which would increase the rate on large incomes. . . . The House Democrats, in caucus, adopt the Administration's Banking and Currency bill, as amended, by vote of 160 to 9.

August 29.—The Senate rejects, by vote of 30 to 41, the amendment to the Tariff bill offered by Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), placing a tax of from 5 to 20 per cent. on the incomes of corporations controlling more than one-quarter of any business. . . . The House debates the Hetch Hetchy Valley bill, to provide a new water supply for San Francisco; the Currency bill, as revised and approved by the Democratic caucus, is reintroduced and referred to the Banking and Currency Committee.

September 1.—The Senate debates the amendment of Mr. Clarke (Dem., Ark.) imposing a tax of 1/10 of 1 cent a pound on agreements for the purchase or sale of cotton for future delivery.

September 2.—The House passes a measure raising the diplomatic post at Madrid to an embassy.

September 3.—The House passes the bill granting an extensive tract of land in the Hetch Hetchy Valley (Yosemite Valley National Park) for the creation of a lake to supply drinking water for San Francisco.

September 5.—The Senate Democrats, in caucus, agree upon income-tax rates; the exemption line is fixed at $3000, incomes from $3000 to $20,000 paying 1 per cent., and surtaxes of from 1 to 6 per cent. being imposed upon larger incomes.

September 6.—The Senate completes its consideration of the Tariff bill in Committee of the Whole.

September 8.—The Senate, by vote of 38 to 36, rejects the amendment of Mr. Thornton (Dem., La.) to strike out the free-sugar paragraph of the Tariff bill; the amendments of Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.), placing a duty of 15 per cent. on raw wool, are rejected.

September 9.—The Senate passes the Democratic tariff-revision bill by vote of 44 to 37; two Democrats (Messrs. Thornton and Ransdell, of Louisiana) vote against the measure, and one Republican (Mr. La Follette, of Wisconsin) and the Progressive member (Mr. Poindexter, of Washington) vote for the bill. . . . In the House, the Administration's bill revising the currency and banking system is reported from committee; the Urgent Deficiency appropriation bill is adopted, with an amendment abolishing the Commerce Court.



AFTER THE SIX-MILLION-DOLLAR FIRE AT HOT SPRINGS, ARK., ON SEPTEMBER 5
(The fire swept through a section half a mile wide and a mile and a half long, destroying a number of schools, churches, and hotels, and many residential blocks)

September 10.—The House begins consideration of the Currency bill, in Committee of the Whole.

September 11.—The Democratic members of the conference committee of both Houses begin work on the adjustment of differences in the tariff bills.

September 12.—In the House, Mr. Hardwick (Dem., Ga.) assails his party's Currency bill, on the ground that it would lead to inflation and banking monopoly; Mr. Bulkley (Dem., Ohio) speaks in defense of the measure; an emergency measure is adopted, appropriating $100,000 at the request of the Secretary of State, to take American refugees out of Mexico. . . . In the conference committee on the Tariff bill, the House yields to the Senate amendment placing cattle and sheep on the free list.

September 13.—In the House, general debate on the Currency bill is concluded.

September 15.—The Senate passes the measure appropriating $100,000 to enable American citizens to leave Mexico. . . . The House begins consideration of amendments to the Currency bill.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

August 15.—Lieutenant-Governor Glynn, of New York, refuses Governor Sulzer's suggestion that the courts be permitted to determine who is Governor during impeachment proceedings.

August 19.—The Fusion ticket in New York City is endorsed at the Republican and Progressive conventions.

August 20.—The House Committee on Judiciary begins an investigation of charges brought against United States Judge Emory Speer, of Georgia. . . . Representative Francis Burton Harrison, of New York, is nominated by the President to be Governor-General of the Philippines.

August 21.—At a meeting of the leaders of Tammany Hall, Chairman Edward E. McCall, of the Public Service Commission, is selected as the Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York.

August 22.—A conference of prominent bankers of the country is held at Chicago, to recommend changes in the Administration's Banking and Currency bill.

August 26.—The sixth annual Conference of Governors convenes at Colorado Springs.

August 28.—Henry Morgenthau, of New York, is nominated by the President to be Ambassador to Turkey.

September 2.—The Government brings suit at Philadelphia to dissolve the Reading Company's control of the coal-mining and coal-carrying railroads, alleging monopoly of anthracite supply.

September 3.—Mayor William J. Gaynor (Dem.), of New York City, accepts a nomination for reëlection on an independent ticket, in opposition to the Fusion and Democratic candidates.

September 4.—The President nominates Thomas H. Birch, of New Jersey, to be Minister to Portugal, and Charles J. Vopicka, of Illinois, to be Minister to Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria.

September 5.—Joseph E. Willard, of Virginia, is nominated to be Ambassador to Spain, and John Ewing, of Louisiana, is named as Minister to Honduras.

September 8.—John A. Peters (Rep.) is elected Representative from the Third Maine District.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

August 15.—The British Parliament is prorogued.

August 18.—Venezuelan Government troops capture from the revolutionists the town of Coro, where the Castro revolution started.

August 22.—The strikers at Barcelona accept the Government's terms and will return to work.

August 31.—Dublin police, in preventing a meeting of tramway strikers, cause the death of a laborer and injuries to 300 other persons. . . .

Chinese Government troops retake the city of Nanking from the southern revolutionists.

September 2.—The Mexican Minister of the Interior, Dr. Aureliano Urrutia, resigns.

September 4.—Ex-King Manuel of Portugal is married to Princess Augustine Victoria of Hohenzollern.

September 7.—Fifteen thousand Japanese gather before the Foreign Office and demand military action against China for the killing of Japanese at Nanking.

September 8.—Federal gunboats bombard the town of Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, the center of the revolution. . . . The reconstruction of the Chinese cabinet, with six new members, is approved by the lower house.

September 12.—The Mexican Minister of Justice, Rodolfo Reyes, resigns.



THE LATE BERNARD QUARITCH, THE COLLECTOR OF RARE BOOKS, OF LONDON

September 16.—President Huerta's message to the Mexican Congress deals with the forthcoming election and relations with the United States.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 16.—Announcement is officially made at Berlin of the German Government's decision not to participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, because of lack of commercial interest.

August 19.—The Turkish council of ministers decides to offer to evacuate all territory west of the Maritza River on condition that the powers allow Turkey to retain Adrianople.

August 20.—The twentieth Universal Peace Conference is opened at The Hague.

August 26.—John Lind, the special representative of President Wilson, leaves Mexico City for Vera Cruz, preparatory to returning to the United States, his mission of mediation having been a failure. . . . The Japanese Ambassador submits to the American Secretary of State a fourth note in protest against the California anti-alien land-ownership law.

August 27.—In an address to Congress, President Wilson proclaims the strictest neutrality between the United States and the contending factions in Mexico, and urges all Americans to leave the country.

September 11.—Japan demands of China an apology and the payment of an indemnity for recent anti-Japanese occurrences in China.

September 13.—China accepts the demands of Japan.

September 15.—It is officially announced at Constantinople that an agreement has been reached with Bulgaria regarding the possession of Adrianople.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 15.—A memorial column, commemorating the departure of the Pilgrims for America in 1620, is unveiled by the American Ambassador at Southampton, England.

August 17.—The *State of California* founders on a reef in Gambier Bay, southeastern Alaska; 40 of the 179 passengers and crew are drowned.

August 19.—Nearly 100 persons are killed by the derailing and explosion of a dynamite car at Tacubaya, Mexico.

August 20.—Mount Numzkum, a Himalayan peak in India, 22,000 feet high, is ascended by Dr. Mario Piacenza.

August 23.—Maurice Gaillaux, flying from Biarritz to Brackel, Germany, establishes a new single-day aeroplane record of 860 miles.

August 25.—The fourth International Congress of School Hygiene meets at Buffalo, with 1000 delegates from twenty countries.

August 27.—Jule M. Hanaford, second vice-president, is elected president of the Northern Pacific Railway.

August 28.—The Palace of Peace, at The Hague, is dedicated by Queen Wilhelmina (see page 440). . . . Alfred E. Brown swims from the Battery, New York City, to Sandy Hook, N. J. (22 miles), in 13 hours and 38 minutes—the first time the feat has been accomplished. . . . The New York Yacht Club accepts Sir Thomas Lipton's fourth challenge for the *America's* Cup, the races to be held in September, 1914.

August 31.—The last barrier at the Pacific end of the Panama Canal is blown away by 44,800 pounds of dynamite, permitting the waters of the Pacific to flow to the Miraflores locks.

September 1.—Viscount Haldane, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, delivers the principal address at the opening session of the American Bar Association, in Montreal. . . . The National Association of Fire Engineers meets in convention at New York City.

September 2.—A rear-end collision between express trains on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, near New Haven, causes the death of 21 passengers and seriously injures 30 others. . . . In a rear-end collision between two sections of the London-Scotland express, near Carlisle, England, 15 passengers are burned to death. . . . The French aviator Pegoud, with a specially constructed Bleriot monoplane, near Versailles, demonstrates his ability to fly head downward.

September 3.—Ex-President Taft is elected president of the American Bar Association at the closing session of the annual meeting in Montreal.

September 5.—Fire destroys fifty-five city blocks at Hot Springs, Ark., the property damage amounting to $6,000,000.

September 6.—Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, an-

nounces that he has discovered and cultivated the germ of rabies. . . . The dry excavation work on the Panama Canal is completed.

September 9.—The new Zeppelin airship of the German navy, *L I*, is wrecked and sunk between Heligoland and the mainland, fourteen of the crew of twenty-one being drowned. . . . The Government's September crop report indicates an unprecedented wheat yield.

September 10.—The centennial of Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie is celebrated at Put-in-Bay, Ohio. . . . Sir Oliver Lodge, in his inaugural address before the British Association, expresses his conviction that memory and affection persist after bodily death, and that the souls of the departed may exert influence on the living.

September 11.—Arbitration of the wage demands of conductors and trainmen on Eastern railroads, by a board of six members under the revised Erdman Act, is begun at New York City.

September 12.—The body of Mayor Gaynor, of New York City, who died in mid-Atlantic, lies in state in the Town Hall of Liverpool. . . . The *Maple Leaf IV* wins the third and deciding race at Cowes, England, defending the international trophy for motorboats.

September 15.—The Grand Army of the Republic meets in its forty-seventh encampment at Chattanooga.



AMBASSADOR PAGE'S LONDON RESIDENCE

(No. 6 Grosvenor Square is in one of the most exclusive sections of London. Mr. Page describes the house as "spacious and comfortable enough to allow a plain American to uphold his country's dignity")

OBITUARY

August 16.—Joseph Nelson Larned, for many years superintendent of the Buffalo Library, 77.

August 18.—Mary Coes, dean of Radcliffe College, 52.

August 20.—Emile Ollivier, Premier of France at the beginning of the war with Prussia, 88.

August 26.—Michael Maybrick ("Stephen Adams"), the English composer, 69. . . . Liberty E. Holden, proprietor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, 80. . . . Mrs. Albert M. Kruger (Alice Miller Weeks), author of stories and articles for children.

August 27.—Bernard Quaritch, the London dealer in rare books, 42. . . . James Wall Finn, the mural painter, 45.

August 28.—Edward M. Bowman, the noted New York organist and composer, 65.

August 31.—Congressman Timothy D. Sullivan, a noted figure in New York Democratic politics, 60. . . . Fred H. Daniels, prominent as an engineer in the steel industry, 60.

September 1.—Dr. Martin Luther Jennings, of Pittsburgh, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, 66.

September 2.—Thomas A. Sperry, founder of the trading-stamp business, 49.

September 3.—John Martin, former United States Senator from Kansas, 79.

September 4.—Mrs. Frances A. Hackley, founder of the Hackley School at Tarrytown, N. Y., and a widely known philanthropist, 93. . . . Henry Billings Brown, formerly Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 77.

September 6.—Prof. James Orr, of the Theological College of the United Free Church of Scotland, 69. . . . Henri Menier, French chocolate manufacturer, 60. . . . John H. Stiness, formerly Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, 73. . . . Lucien Augustus Wait, formerly head professor of mathematics at Cornell University, 67.

September 7.—Cardinal Joseph Calasanctius Vives y Tuto, 59. . . . Rev. Dr. George Frederick Shieker, professor of church history at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mount Airy, Pa. . . . William F. Havemeyer, formerly prominent in the sugar-refining industry, 63.

September 8.—Eugene Lemoine Didier, biographer of Edgar Allen Poe, 76.

September 10.—William J. Gaynor, Mayor of New York City, 62 (see page 395). . . . Wayland E. Benjamin, a New York attorney and editor of legal reference works, 59. . . . Count de Smet de Naeyer, Belgian Minister of State and former Premier.

September 11.—William Henry Wilder, Representative in Congress from the Third Massachusetts District, 58. . . . James Farley, who achieved notoriety as a strike-breaker, 40.

September 12.—Robert Coit Chapin, professor of economics at Beloit College, 50.

September 13.—Brig. Gen. Edwin M. Coates, U. S. A., retired, 77.

September 14.—Edward L. Morris, curator of natural sciences at the Brooklyn Museum, 42.

September 15.—Arminius Vambrey, professor of Oriental languages at Pest University, Hungary, and a noted traveler, 81. . . . Charles F. Bishop, a former Mayor of Buffalo, 69. . . . Dr. Daniel Crosby Greene, senior missionary of the American Board in Japan, 70. . . . Alphonso Gerald Newcomer, professor of English at Leland Stanford Jr. University, 48.

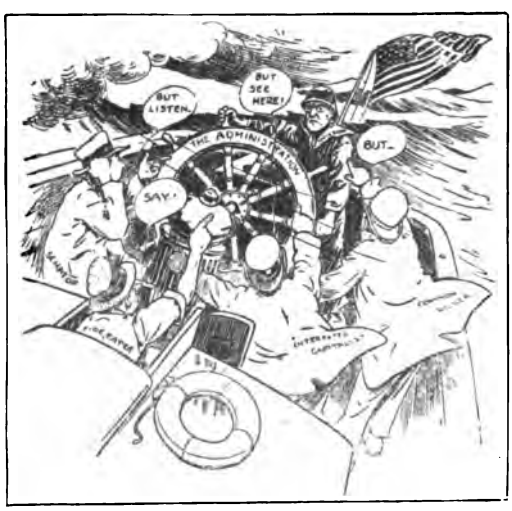
September 16.—Alfred Firmin-Didot, editor of a famous French dictionary, 85.

CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS



STILL PROGRESSING
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

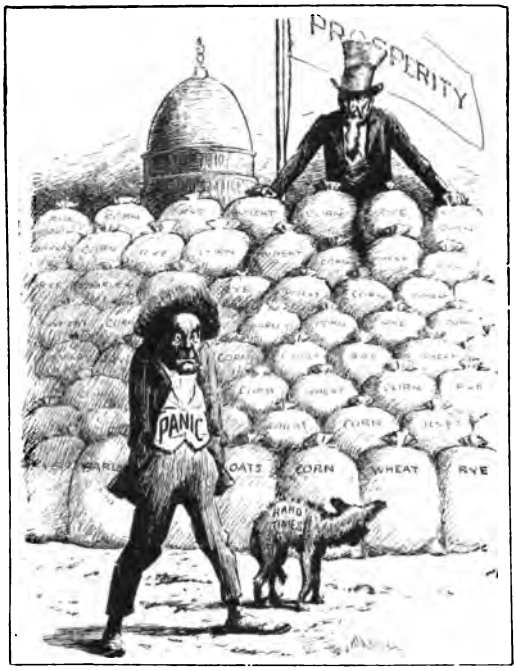
"STILL PROGRESSING," the Democratic party has at last completed the task of tariff revision, and is plodding steadily along the highway to "currency reform," while the "man at the wheel"—President Wilson—is receiving much advice from all sides. It surely will be a lucky Democratic party if it gets through the present problems of administration safely.



"DON'T BOTHER THE MAN AT THE WHEEL"
From the *News* (Chicago)



"HE SURELY WILL BE IN LUCK IF HE GETS THROUGH WITH THAT ACT WITHOUT MAKING A MESS OUT OF SOMETHING"
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



UNCLE SAM: "LET 'EM HOWL! THEY CAN'T BREAK THROUGH THESE BREASTWORKS!"
From *Leslie's Weekly* (New York)

While our corn and cotton crops have suffered somewhat this year, rice and wheat have done remarkably well. It is to be hoped that these will build up a sufficiently strong agricultural bulwark against the howlers of panic and calamity. Add to this the settlement of the tariff problem, and the clearing up later on of the currency question, and it would seem that the country might soon be ready to enjoy a fair measure of peace and prosperity.



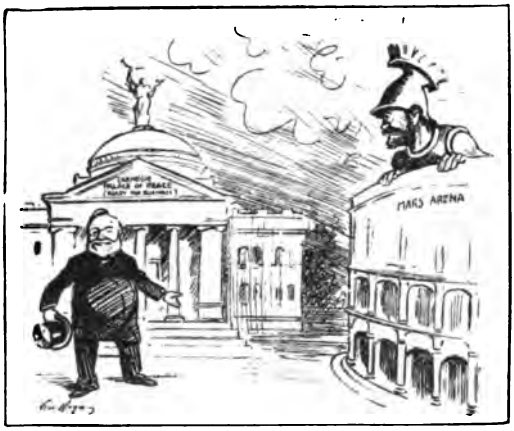
"COME, NOW, DON'T BE SILLY!"
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



SECRETARY LANE AVOIDING THE ROCKS IN HIS DEPARTMENTAL POLICIES
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



THE WEATHER CLEARING AT LAST WITH THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TARIFF QUESTION
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



CARNEGIE, THE COMPETITOR OF MARS
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)

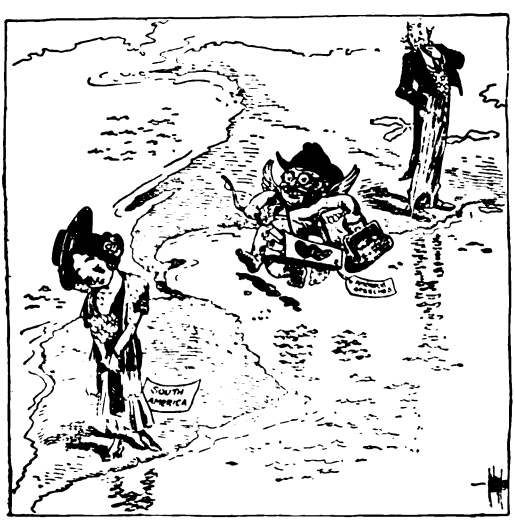


BON VOYAGE TO MRS. PANKHURST!
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)



THE FOREIGN CRITIC OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
From the *News* (Chicago)

On this page Mr. Carnegie, the donor of the Peace Palace at The Hague, is shown as the competitor of the war god Mars; and John Bull waves a glad farewell to Mrs. Pankhurst, who sailed last month for America by way of France. Other cartoons refer to our "unarmored" diplomacy, the projected visit of Colonel Roosevelt to South America, and the recent addition of Kaiser Wilhelm to the ranks of the supporters of teetotalism.



T. R'S NEWEST RÔLE
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



THE LATEST RECRUIT
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)



TAMMANY IN FOR IT
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

The political pot will boil quite busily in New York City in this month of October. The death of Mayor Gaynor, who was an independent candidate for re-election, has narrowed the contest down to Tammany *versus* anti-Tammany Fusion. Whether the Tiger's tail will get caught in the "Fusion Wringer" remains to be seen.

New York State affairs also continued to figure prominently in the news last month on account of the impeachment trial of Governor Sulzer. In Maine, a Congressional district election gave encouragement to the Republican party, owing to the success of its candidate over those of the Democratic and Progressive parties.



THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, OR—THE EMPIRE STATE MONSTROSITY
From the *American* (Baltimore)



THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S FIRST GOOD LAUGH SINCE 1912
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



MARY HAD A LITTLE LAMB—AND WANTS ANOTHER

(The fact is no longer denied that the American Meat Trust is operating in Australia, and large importations into the American market are expected as a result of meat being placed on the free list)

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

Our rapidly growing population, combined with our dwindling cattle products, make it necessary to reach out into other countries for an additional supply of beef. Argentina is being investigated as a possible source of supply, while our cartoon from the Sydney *Bulletin* indicates that similar inquiries have been made in Australia. The approaching opening of the Panama Canal naturally gives our cartoonists a fine opportunity to symbolize the wedding of the two oceans.



ALMOST READY FOR THE WEDDING SERVICE

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



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THE WOES OF AN ALTRUIST

UNCLE SAM: "This thing about being an altruist is getting monotonous. I am constantly being misunderstood. The more you help these South American and Central American countries the less thanks you get. They expect me to protect them from European aggression, yet they won't help me protect my canal from their insanitary ports. They won't clean up their ports, and call me a meddler if I offer to go in and do it myself. If I rigidly enforce my Panama quarantine, they call me a tyrant; if I don't, the rest of the world will call me incompetent. I get it coming and going."

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



UNCLE SAM (LISTENING TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE ON THE MEXICAN SITUATION): "THOSE ARE MY SENTIMENTS!"
From the *Tribuna* (New York)



WOODROW ON TOAST
PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, U. S. A.: "If you don't take care, I shall have to treat you the same way as Europe treats the Turk."
MEXICO: "And how's that?"
PRESIDENT WILSON: "Well, I shall have to—to go on wagging my finger at you."
From *Punch* (London)

The President's message on the Mexican situation has undoubtedly met with hearty approval throughout the United States, although London *Punch* humorously pictures his policy as simply a "finger-wagging" one.



NOT READY TO GOBBLE UP MEXICO!
THE BUTLER: "Here's your Mexican dessert at last, sir."
UNCLE SAM: "Don't serve it yet; it has not been sufficiently 'lubricated' by the wine of secret deals and understandings, and besides, these three dishes—Nicaragua, Cuba, and Panama—have left me but little appetite."
From *Sucesos* (Valparaiso)



KEEPING HIM GUESSING
(A champion three-shell-game artist)
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

A MEMORIAL FUND TO PROVIDE "STEAD HOSTELS" IN LONDON

SINCE the English-speaking world, in the sinking of the *Titanic,* lost in the death of William T. Stead one of the noblest and most useful men of our generation, there has been much consultation among his surviving friends regarding the establishment of some fitting memorial. In his last years he had been greatly devoted to the cause of international peace, and his statue is one of those that adorn the new Temple of Peace at The Hague. But Mr. Stead's work was primarily, through his lifetime, that of a social reformer, and his efforts were most concerned with the welfare of women and children under the conditions of our industrial age.

It is gratifying, therefore, that the movement to provide a memorial has taken definite form in London in the plan to provide lodging homes for women, to be called the Stead Hostels. There is great need of accommodations of this kind in various parts of London, where employed women often find it difficult to obtain shelter at low cost under safe and homelike conditions. Mr. Stead himself would not have cared about a memorial which at great cost should have been intended merely to perpetuate his own fame. It was the motive of his life to serve those who suffered and were in need, and to help in the accomplishment of everything that would do away with bad social conditions. Nothing, therefore, could have been so entirely in keeping with his spirit as the connecting of his name with some social work or movement which had good reason to exist quite apart from his name or memory, while in the direct line of his lifelong efforts.

Already the Stead Hostels have come into existence through the opening, several weeks ago, in a modest way, of the first in the series. It is in the Westminster district, and consists of two adjoining houses which have been leased and so connected as to be made into one. From time to time other houses will be taken as the fund may justify, in different parts of London, and they will be made to accommodate different classes of women workers.

In England there has been opened, in connection with this movement, a so-called Shilling Fund for Women, in order that thousands of self-supporting women and girls who appreciate Mr. Stead's lifelong devotion to the protection and welfare of women might have opportunity to give their small contributions. It is also hoped and believed that many people in the United States, men as well as women, may like to give something to this fund.

Mr. Stead's enthusiasm for social reform had lent impetus to many causes and movements in this country as well as in his own, and it has been the good fortune of this magazine, in years past, on many occasions to bring his views and counsels to the attention of American readers. It has not been customary with this magazine to solicit subscriptions to any cause, and we shall not now make requests for the Stead Memorial Fund. But we shall take great pleasure in extending the opportunity to any of our readers to associate themselves with this enterprise both because it is useful and worthy in itself, and especially, from the American standpoint, because it gives the members of the great reading public an opportunity to show grateful recognition of the beneficent life of a great journalist and a great lover of humanity. The Stead Memorial Fund is in the control of very well-known and responsible English people. Her Majesty Queen Alexandra is the special patroness of the movement, and Earl Grey presided at the inaugural meeting. The secretary is Miss Josephine Marshall, and one of the most active workers for its success is Miss Kate Stevens, an English teacher known to many Americans.

While the larger gifts will be put to good use at once in extending the number and capacity of the Stead Hostels, the smaller gifts will be very welcome because none will come without the genuine desire on the part of the sender to pay tribute to the devoted and unselfish life-work of William T. Stead. There may be cases where groups of people, as women's clubs, local associations of teachers, or women engaged in professions or industries, may like to unite in making some offering. Contributions may be sent to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, 30 Irving Place, New York, and it would be convenient in such cases if the envelope were addressed to the Stead Fund. We shall be glad at a later time to make report upon the growth and success of the movement in London to establish the Stead Hostels.

THE NEW TARIFF: A RETROSPECT AND A FORECAST

BY N. I. STONE

AT the time of this writing, the tariff bill is going through the final stage of adjustment in the Conference Committee of the two houses of Congress. The Senate has tacked on 676 amendments to the House bill and each of these must be considered by the conferrees, to be accepted, rejected, or compromised. A detailed analysis of the new tariff is, therefore, impossible at this moment. The general character of the measure, however, cannot be altered in conference, as in that respect the two houses have acted in substantial harmony.

The Underwood Tariff bill marks the opening of a distinctly new development in the tariff history of this country. It will demonstrate to the world at large and to our own people in particular the ability of American industry to stand on its own feet. By dispelling the gloom born of fear of an impending disaster, it will give new courage to those who have grown up under a system of Government protection, until, like the too much coddled child which is not allowed to take a step without the protecting and guiding hand of its parents, they, too, have come to think that they cannot stand on their own feet.

Having lived for more than half a century under the system of protection, the whole nation has become imbued with the idea of the stimulating, if not always beneficent, effect of the tariff upon its industrial life. For Democratic States have been no less eager to secure protective duties than avowed protectionist communities. Some, like the sugar and woolen States, have done so with utmost frankness. Others have preferred to mask their hankering after the fleshpots of Egypt by professions of patriotism which would not let their consciences rest until the law allowed their industries to bear no less a share of the burden of furnishing revenue to the national Government than falls to the lot of other industries and States.

Although in many instances there has been a radical cut in duties, the new tariff is on the whole decidedly protective in character, as will be shown later. Hence the spectacle of avowed honest protectionists like Senators La Follette and Poindexter, as well as several Republican and Progressive members of the lower house voting for the Democratic bill as a protective measure.

Nevertheless, the new tariff marks a distinct turning point in our tariff history. Manufacturers who cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of doing business without Government aid, and politicians whose ears are not attuned to the motif of a new day, go on repeating their old shibboleths and expect to see a revulsion of feeling which will sweep them back into power and restore rates to a higher level. If that view were to prove correct, no historical significance could be attached to the new tariff. More than that, its importance to our own day would be limited to the temporary disturbance it may cause business through the unavoidable readjustment to new conditions created by tariff changes. It is, therefore, a matter of utmost importance to all of us to analyze the causes that led to the present change so that we may be able to answer the question whether they make for permanent change, such as England experienced when it repealed its corn duties, or are of a mere transitory nature.

HAMILTON, FATHER OF TARIFFS

Whether protection has really been the chief cause of our wonderful industrial development, as claimed by protectionists, or was merely a concomitant circumstance as maintained by those who are opposed to it, it cannot be gainsaid that the legislators who fathered that policy in the past, from Hamilton's day to comparatively recent times, found much plausible if not always real justification for it.

Alexander Hamilton, with the struggle against English industrial domination fresh in his mind, urged the necessity of national self-sufficiency: "Every nation," he wrote in his famous "Report on Manufactures," which he submitted to Congress in December, 1791, "ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the necessities of national supply necessary to the safety as well as to

the welfare of society." The building up of a "domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil," was another argument which appealed to the father of American protection. The "infant industry" argument was likewise known to him, though not under that precise name which List later made famous and to which that champion of protection in the United States as well as in his own fatherland gave such wonderful emphasis at a later day.

In fact, there is hardly an argument for protection which the brilliant Hamilton had not anticipated, with the exception of the necessity of protection for the high standard of wages of American labor. Not that wages were not higher than in Europe in Hamilton's time before the establishment of the protective system. In those days of restricted suffrage, it was but natural that Hamilton should look at the question from the point of view of the manufacturer, or "the undertaker" in the parlance of the day. Aware of the higher standard of wages in the United States, Hamilton points out that this disadvantage to "the undertaker could be largely offset by the great use which can be made of women and children," the increased use of labor-saving machinery, the employment of persons ordinarily engaged in other occupations during the seasons or "hours of leisure," and, last but not least, "the attraction of foreign emigrants." He turns with a wistful eye to Great Britain, where women and children constituted at the time four-sevenths of the persons engaged in cotton-mills, "and many of them of a tender age," he adds. All of which would come nowadays with refreshing frankness from a protectionist, but for the fact that most of it no longer appeals to an enlightened and humane age.

THE EMBARGO

Hamilton's ideas did not attain complete realization until the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts led to the war with England in 1812, when the duties prevailing at the time he wrote his report were raised four-, five- and six-fold. The American producer suddenly found himself in undisputed possession of the home market through the war, and under the stimulus of an enlarged demand the old household industry first began to give way to the factory system. This was true of spinning and weaving of cotton and wool as well as of the manufacture of iron, glass and pottery. The vision of protectionist statesmanship now began to reach out beyond the horizon of national self-sufficiency of which Hamilton had fondly dreamed a quarter of a century before, and President Madison thus spoke to Congress in his Annual Message of 1815: "Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency which justify a belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competition from abroad but a source of domestic wealth and even of *external commerce.*" Like Hamilton's remarks, Madison's vision of a foreign commerce in the products of American factories proved prophetic.

CLAY AND WEBSTER

Following President Madison's message, duties on cotton and woolen goods were raised to 25 and 30 per cent. by the Act of 1816 as against 5 per cent. and 7½ per cent. in Hamilton's day. Duties on other goods were advanced in a similar manner, so that by 1821 the average duty on all dutiable imports was nearly 35 per cent. *ad valorem.* Still manufacturers pressed for more and more in the well-known French maxim that *l'appétit vient en mangeant.* The bill of 1824 brought forth the famous debates in which Henry Clay and Daniel Webster took a leading part. In his masterly speech which lasted two days, Clay did not add a single new argument for protection but coined the jingo phrase of protection being an "American policy," which brought forth the stinging rebuke from Webster, who in his equally able, less brilliant, but more profound speech had no difficulty in pointing out that the policy Clay called American was but a blind imitation of the moth-eaten European custom of restriction and repression. He, too, made a prophetic assertion that England, to which Clay pointed for his moral, was on the eve of abandoning her old protectionist policy and of entering upon an era of free trade.

WAGES AND THE TARIFF

Like their predecessors, neither Clay nor the more moderately protectionist Webster dreamed of defending the policy on the ground that it was needed to maintain the American standard of wages. In those days of an inexhaustible public domain which beckoned invitingly to every able-bodied man the cause of high wages in the United States was patent to all. But the high wages did

not spell disaster to American industry in Clay's eyes. On the contrary, like Hamilton, he called attention to the increased use of labor-saving machinery as a powerful factor in both supplanting human labor and reducing its cost. He pointed to the striking example of Great Britain which, in spite of her smaller population and higher priced labor, was able to force upon the countless millions of Asia the products of her factories and mills through their greater cheapness.

"INFANT INDUSTRIES"

From 1816 to 1840 the infant-industry argument formed the chief stock in trade of the protectionists. Toward the end of that period it was felt that the principal industries had emerged from the stage of infancy. As early as 1833 the revulsion in feeling created by the act of 1832, which led to South Carolina's attempted secession, resulted in the enactment of Clay's Compromise bill, which provided for the gradual reduction of the tariff until no duties were to exceed 20 per cent. *ad valorem* after 1842.

In 1840 the protectionists, hard pressed in their struggle with the South, found a godsend in a young agitator whose name was Horace Greeley. It was Greeley who conceived the idea of turning the tariff to the benefit of labor, which the Republican party later took up. As Professor Commons has well said, the Whig idea of protection was that of protection to capital, while the Republican theory became one of protection to labor.

GREELEY'S THEORY OF PROTECTION TO LABOR

Greeley's message came at a time when the old Whig party had lost its hold upon the people, and the young Republican party, just as anxious to continue the policy of protection for the industrial States in the North and West, from which it drew its strength, fell in with the more democratic spirit of the age and subsequently adopted Greeley's appeal to labor. Apparently the manufacturers, who otherwise combated all attempts on the part of labor unions to raise wages, were not scared by the newly discovered virtue of the tariff. In fact, for once they seemed to rejoice in the prospects of higher wages for their hands. Perhaps Secretary Walker's remarks in his report to Congress in December, 1845, throw some light on the causes of this altruistic attitude:

> An appeal has been made to the poor by the friends of protection, on the ground that it augments the wages of labor. A protective tariff is a question regarding the enhancement of the profits of capital. That is its object, and not to augment the wages of labor which would reduce those profits.

WAR-TIME TARIFFS

Neither the infant-industry argument before 1840 nor that for protection to labor since that year were instrumental in forcing duties to the high level they reached through the financial necessities of the Civil War. In 1840 the average duty on dutiable imports was slightly over 30 per cent. In 1850 under the Walker tariff it declined to less than 26 per cent. On the eve of the war under the Act of 1857, it fell to less than 19 per cent., a rate which to this day forms the low-water mark in American tariff history over a period of nearly a century.

DUTIES UP TO 50 PER CENT.

The very next year, as the cannon roared and destroyed untold wealth, the duty rose, as if to feed the liberated furies, to nearly double that rate, and by 1866 it exceeded 48 per cent., a rate which formed the high-water mark in our tariff history until the enactment of the McKinley act, when the average duty reached 50 per cent.

This brings us to our own time. In spite of repeated promises to reduce the war tariff which had avowedly been raised not on the ground of needed protection, but solely to furnish much-needed revenue, the duties continued to remain at an extraordinary high level. The short period of three years (1894-97) which marked the existence of the Wilson tariff did not change matters to any appreciable extent, the average *ad valorem* rate being about 40 per cent. under that act. The scandals connected with the enactment of that tariff are too fresh in the minds of the public to warrant repetition. It was the tariff which Grover Cleveland, refusing to sign it, branded as a betrayal of the people. It demonstrated the insidious and corrupting influence which is usually engendered by the use of public power for private benefit.

THE NEW ERA

As long as the most powerful private interest felt benefited by the tariff policy, half a century of effort failed to upset it. Whether because of protection or in spite of it, the half-century of most rampant protectionism has been one of unparalleled industrial growth and accumulation of wealth unrivaled in the world's history. The wonderful achievement of American industry was accompanied by an equally unparalleled con-

centration of wealth, a control of the basic industries and transportation systems of the country, and a rise of prices of the necessaries of life which exceeded the increase of nominal wages. If the discontent had remained confined among farmers, small business men, and wage-earners, it is a matter of speculation as to when it might have succeeded in effecting a change in our tariff policy, if it had succeeded at all. But the quantitative growth of our industry brought with it, as is usually the case, also a qualitative change, a change which the most far-seeing among the manufacturers themselves have perceived. They felt that the high protective tariff had become more of a hindrance than a help in their business. Madison's dream had come true. We ceased being hewers of wood and drawers of water for the rest of the world and began to supply the markets of the world with increasing quantities of manufactured goods. These goods were of superior quality and inferior price in spite of our high money wages, thus realizing the prophecies of Hamilton and Clay.

BENEFICIARIES OF THE TARIFF TURN AGAINST IT

But the realization of the dreams of our early protectionists brought with it new problems. On the one hand, the people had been disappointed; the infant industries, having grown to giant stature, refused to surrender a jot or tittle of the protection they had enjoyed, contrary to assurances which had been given when the policy of protection was being weighed in the balance; domestic competition had failed to reduce prices in so many instances, for the simple reason that, sheltered from foreign competition, American manufacturers combined among themselves to keep up prices. On the other hand, the advent of American competition in the world markets, accompanied by prohibitive duties on foreign goods in American ports, drew forth retaliating measures on the part of foreign nations. For the first time American manufacturers as well as farmers began to feel the injurious effect of the tariff on their own business. Manufacturers of more highly finished products began to feel the pinch of high prices on their raw materials which they had to obtain from the highly protected and trustified basic industries.

Hence the new factor in the movement for tariff reform which has culminated in the present tariff revision: The formation of the American Reciprocal Tariff League, headed by Alvin H. Sanders, later a member of President Taft's Tariff Board, and the launching of the movement for tariff revision downward by the National Association of Manufacturers, headed by Herbert E. Miles, a manufacturer of agricultural machinery. The former organization had its backing chiefly among farmers, shipping circles and large manufacturing concerns interested in foreign trade. Their ruling idea was the negotiation of reciprocity treaties which would open foreign markets to our products in return for mutual tariff concessions. The Manufacturers' Association, on the other hand, demanded the revision of the tariff with a view to reducing rates on over-protected, trust-controlled products which they used as raw materials in their factories. They realized that, once aroused, the people would not stop at the cruder products which are only used by manufacturers, but would in all likelihood go the full length of the tariff and reduce the rates on articles used by the ultimate consumer. But they were prepared to give up a part of their own protection in return for the relief they would obtain. They could do so without appreciable sacrifice for the reason that competition among themselves deprived them of the greater part of the benefit which the tariff held out to them in theory, while the trusts were able to levy toll on them to the extent of the tariff duties, owing to their control of the domestic market.

The two movements started independently, one to achieve better trade terms abroad through reciprocity, the other to reduce the tariff through a more equitable adjustment of rates on products at different stages of manufacture, met on common ground and joined forces. Out of this, as a logical sequence, came later the demand for a scientific, permanent tariff commission. It was this movement, started behind the breastworks of the citadel of protection nursing its strength from protection's own bosom, that broke the formerly solid phalanx of protected interests, and led to its rout.

THE INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION

It would be an error to assume from this cursory sketch of a movement of such magnitude and wide ramification that the recent change has been merely the result of strategy. What is to prevent a realignment of forces, it may be asked, that would destroy the new equilibrium, reconcile the members of the protected family, take advantage of

a new industrial depression with the resultant popular unrest, in order once more to regain the reins of government and restore protection to yet dizzier heights, as was done in 1897?

History repeats itself only under similar conditions. Is our industrial situation similar to what it was in the heyday of protection? If it were, there would have been no revolt among the manufacturers and farmers which we have witnessed. A few facts and figures will help to convey a concrete impression of the transformation we have undergone as an industrial nation.

In 1860, before the outbreak of the Civil War, nearly one-half of our imports consisted of manufactured articles ready for consumption; last year less than 22 per cent. of our imports were of that class. In 1860 materials imported for use in manufacturing industries constituted but a little over one-fifth of our total imports; last year the ever-growing needs of our industries absorbed more than half (51 per cent.) of all our imports.

When alarm is raised at the enormous growth of our imports, which passed the billion-dollar mark ten years ago, it is well to bear in mind that more than one-half of these are brought in by or for our manufacturers to feed the factories and mills with necessary raw materials. Far from signifying a dangerous invasion of our markets, they are an indication of the marvelous growth of our industries. Hence, by the way, the explanation why one protectionist bill after another results in an extension of our free list; it is to furnish free materials to our protected industries.

OUR EXPORTS CHANGED FROM RAW MATERIALS TO MANUFACTURES

While taking larger quantities of raw and semi-manufactured materials for their own use, our industries are in turn supplying the outside world with ever larger quantities of manufactured goods. Adding together the figures given by the Bureau of Statistics under the groups of "foodstuffs partly or wholly prepared," "manufactures for further use in manufacturing" and "manufactures ready for consumption," all of which are products of our factories and mills, we find this enormous growth in our exports of manufactured goods: 1860, $87,000,000; 1880, $315,000,000; 1900, $803,000,000; 1910, $1,026,000,000, our exports of manufactures for the first time crossing the billion-dollar mark that year; 1912, $1,339,000,000. Stupendous as these figures are, their true significance can only be grasped when studied in their relation to our other exports: In 1860 more than 72 per cent., or nearly three-fourths, of our exports consisted of crude materials, foodstuffs in crude condition and food animals, while only about a fourth of our exports consisted of wholly or partly manufactured goods; to-day the situation is almost reversed; last year 61 per cent., or almost two-thirds, of our exports, consisted of manufactures, while less than 38 per cent. was made up of crude products.

IMPORTS COMPARED WITH EXPORTS

A still more striking comparison bearing on our ability to compete with foreign countries is obtained by comparing the total imports of wholly or partly manufactured commodities with our exports of the same class of goods. Taking last year's figures, we find that while our total imports of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods amounted to less than $850,000,000 in value, our exports exceeded that figure by more than 50 per cent., being valued, as previously stated, at $1,339,000,000. In spite of the numerous reductions of duty and transfers of articles from the dutiable to the free list there are scores of commodities left on the dutiable list of which we export greater quantities than we import. They include almost every variety of iron and steel products, from heavy structural iron of many kinds, boiler plate, tin plate, steel rods, iron and steel wire, to highly finished products like automobiles, bicycles and motorcycles, hardware, railway rolling stock, sewing machines, typewriters, cash registers, watch movements, etc. Similar instances are to be found in practically every schedule of the tariff.

An examination of the figures shows that in the case of about one-third of the dutiable items the imports amount to less than 10 per cent of our domestic production. The instances in which the proportion is less than 5 per cent. are very numerous. This is also borne out by comparing our total dutiable imports with our domestic production. According to the last census, the net value of our manufactured products in 1909, after deducting duplications caused by the transfer of the finished products of one industry to the raw materials of another, exceeded $8,500,000,000 in value. Adding to that the value of our agricultural products, including raw wool, animals and crops, as well as the products of the mines, we get a

total of $18,200,000,000. During the same year our total dutiable imports of every kind amounted to $712,000,000, or *less than 4 per cent.* of our domestic production.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY

This is no less true when we consider separately important items in our national economy. Our imports of cotton yarn amount to four-tenths of 1 per cent. of our domestic production. Our imports of cotton cloth in 1909, the census year preceding the enactment of the Payne-Aldrich Act, amounted to $10,000,000, as against exports of over $21,000,000, or more than double the value of the imports and a domestic production valued at more than forty-two times the value of the imports. We have nearly one-fourth of the world's cotton spindles, being second to England alone, and having more spindles than Germany, Russia and France combined. Our mills consume more raw cotton than those of any other country in the world. We have been threatened with the bugaboo of cheap labor of British India, China and Japan, which, combined, had 9,250,000 spindles in 1911 as against our 29,500,000. The report of the Tariff Board demonstrated the fact that in spite of her 15 to 40 cents a day spinners and weavers, Japan's cost of production of cotton cloth was higher than that of the United States.

WOOL, COAL, STEEL

Taking the pet of our tariff, the woolen industry, the imports during the last census year (1909) of all manufactures of wool amounted to less than $24,000,000 as against a domestic production of over $507,000,000, or less than 5 per cent. We produce as much coal as Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and Austria combined, which comprises the bulk of the coal-producing countries of the world. Our output of iron ore of 57,000,000 tons is equal to the combined output of Great Britain, Germany and France; our production of pig iron, amounting to 27,000,000 tons, is almost equal to the combined production of these three countries. Our annual output of 26,000,000 tons of steel almost equals the combined products of Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium and Russia, which includes practically the bulk of the world's output.

OUR INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH

These instances could be multiplied tenfold; but without wearying the reader with an endless procession of figures, enough, it is hoped, has been said to indicate our transformation from a nation of consumers of foreign manufactures to one which can not only supply its own needs in that field, but can produce a surplus for the world's consumption in competition with the alleged cheaper labor of foreign countries.

Yet all of these articles have been taxed hitherto on the theory that we needed the duties to protect our markets from being swamped by the output of the pauper labor of the rest of the world. Only a few of these have been put on the free list in the new tariff, and as to a part even of these few, the Senate and the House have been at odds for fear that the revenue would suffer.

The figures quoted above show that the world could not swamp us with these products without depriving itself of these necessities of modern life. Furthermore, the Tariff Board reports have demonstrated conclusively that the "pauper labor" of the world is not necessarily cheaper when its value is measured in terms of output and not merely of wages paid.

Stimulated to greater efficiency by increased potential competition from abroad, our industries will furnish more brilliant illustrations of enhanced efficiency than they have in the past, and thereby add to the already formidable list of highly finished goods in which we can compete in the world's markets. Under these conditions protectionists will find it increasingly difficult to demonstrate the necessity of a protective tariff on articles of this kind. A rational regard for their own interests must dictate to our manufacturers, the chief beneficiaries of protection in the past, the necessity of cultivating a friendly disposition on the part of foreign nations and of avoiding all measures which may provoke retaliation. It is the policy which enlightened selfishness has induced the industrial nations of Europe to adopt under similar conditions. It is the policy which is responsible for the fact that protective countries like France and Germany have a tariff on dutiable imports which averages about 19 per cent. *ad valorem* as against our 41 and impels them to eagerly solicit reciprocal trade concessions as against our exclusive aloofness.

THE INCOME TAX

The new tariff, in response to an imperative mandate from the people, provides for a tax on the incomes of the well-to-do. As a new means of providing revenue for the

Government its portent is nothing short of revolutionary. The Democratic party has hitherto characterized the tariff as robbery. Mr. Underwood, Mr. Simmons, and all the prominent leaders responsible for the new tariff have waxed eloquent in the denunciation of the hardships and misery which the tariff causes the people by falling heaviest on the necessities of the poor. Their only justification for continuing the levying of duties has been the need of Government revenue. On the other hand, moderate protectionists represented by the progressive wing in Congress, while recognizing the hardship caused by the tariff to those who can least afford to bear it, find its one justification in the protection which they believe the tariff affords in maintaining a high standard of living for the American workingman.

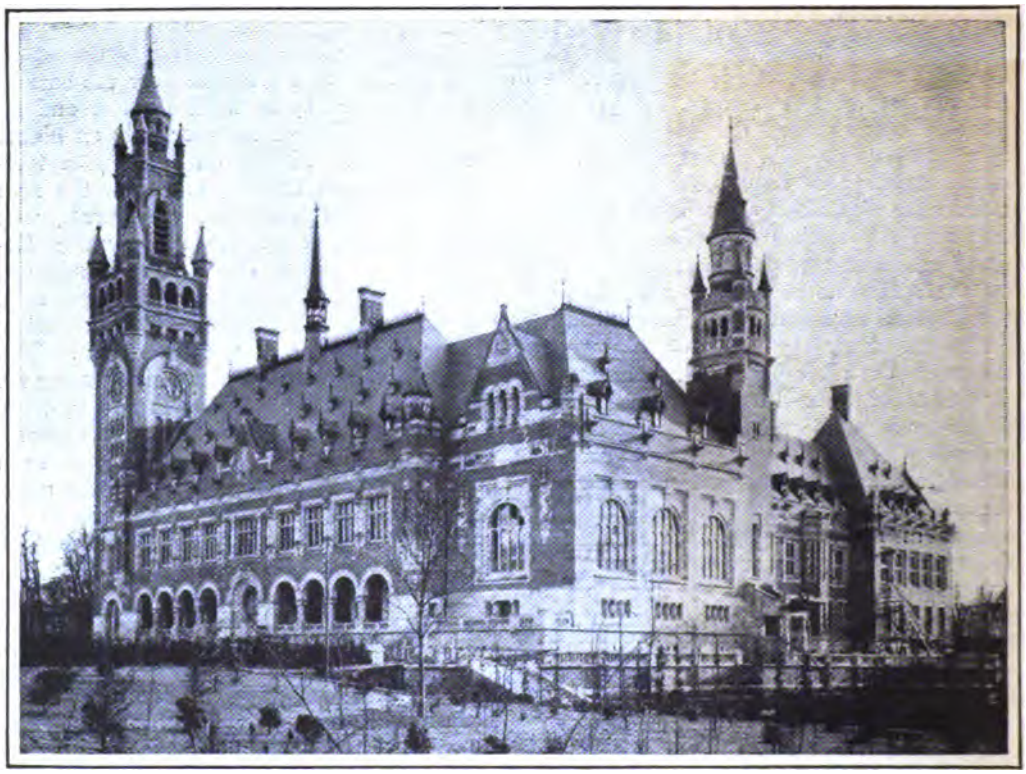
Senator La Follette, in the last Congress, and Senator Cummins, in the present, have both declared on the floor of the Senate that in every instance where a protective duty has been demonstrated to be unnecessary they are prepared to vote for its transfer to the free list. No consideration of Government revenue would justify in their eyes the taxing of the necessities of the poor after the amended Constitution has placed in the hands of Congress the ready means of raising revenue by taxing the incomes of the rich.

The debate in the Senate over the amendments proposed by Senators Bristow and La Follette to raise the tax gradually on higher incomes up to 10 per cent. is but a forerunner of more stirring events in the near future. The conservative Democrats, who had the support of the conservative Republicans in voting down the amendments of the Progressives, regarded a 10 per cent. tax on incomes exceeding a million dollars a year as a punitive tax on wealth. The same Senators had no hesitation in voting for duties two, three, and four times as high, which in the aggregate will reduce the income of the workingman and the farmer to a greater extent than 10 per cent. if the assertions made by these very Senators as to the effect of the tariff on the cost of living are true.

With the income tax once established and the interest of the average citizen aroused, the tendency in taxation reform is likely to be in the direction of reduction, if not ultimate elimination, of the indirect tariff tax on necessities and the gradual increase of direct taxation of incomes. The latter will probably extend to lower incomes than those affected by the present bill, and are sure to be increased on the higher incomes over and above the rates adopted by the present Congress.



THE TARIFF IN CONGRESS—CONGRESSIONAL BOWLING TO DATE
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



Photograph by the American Press Association

THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

A MEETING-PLACE FOR THE WORLD'S PEACEMAKERS

BY THE HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS

(American Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague)

WITHIN the past few weeks three notable international pacifist events have taken place, the meeting of the Institute of International Law at Oxford, the Dedication of the Peace Palace at The Hague, and also at The Hague the Assembly of the International Parliamentary Union.

The 28th of August, 1913, will mark an epoch in the development of the spirit of peace and of the peace ideal, as on that date there was dedicated at The Hague the magnificent and stately peace palace of the nations—the visible and concrete embodiment of the spirit which will dominate the future relations of nations—peace and justice.

This building, beautiful as it is and worthy to stand among the many notable examples of mediæval structures which adorn the capital of the Netherlands, is notable for the fact that it vitalizes an ideal, which, through a vista of more than 3000 years, comes down to us from the prophets of Israel. Here we find the remote inspiration for this structure.

The immediate incidents which caused the laying of the corner-stone arose out of the following circumstances: Shortly after the close of the first Hague Conference of 1899 the late Professor Martens, the distinguished Russian international jurist and arbitrator, called upon Mr. Andrew D. White, then American ambassador in Berlin, who had recently been the chairman of the American delegation to that Conference; they discussed together the desirability of a building at The Hague which should serve as a "Palace of Justice" for the International Tribune and also as a place of meeting for future international conferences.

Dr. White, who has always been accustomed to look upon human problems with a large vision, as is shown by his distinguished



THE GREAT COURT OF JUSTICE

public career, and in all his writings, notably in his great work, "The Conflict Between Science and Theology," presented this idea to Andrew Carnegie, "who" (to quote Dr. White), "looks at the world in a large way." Mr. Carnegie, shortly thereafter, invited Dr. White to visit him at Skibo. "The original idea," says Dr. White, "had developed into something far greater. The Peace Palace at The Hague began to reappear in a new glory—as a pledge and sign of a better future for the world. Then there came from Carnegie the words which assured his great gift to the nations—the creation of a center as a symbol of a world's desire for peace and good will to men."

I am writing this from The Hague. I have just returned from the solemn and impressive ceremonies for the dedication of the Peace Palace. The great Conference Hall and the galleries were filled with the representatives of the nations—the diplomatic corps, about forty of the members of the permanent court, the members of the States General of Holland, and many ladies, in the presence of the Queen, Prince Henry, and the Queen Mother. Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie sat on the right of the royal party. It was an imposing assembly. The avenues surrounding the palace were filled with thousands of interested and orderly people. The whole city was decorated in festive draperies and with floral arches. The day was beautiful, and the sun shed its genial glow over all.

The ceremonies opened by the singing of anthems by the choir from Amsterdam. The president of the Carnegie Building Foundation, the Venerable Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, delivered in French an historical address, pointing out the blessings of international arbitration, which, he emphasized, depended for its success upon the spirit and honor of the nations, and that a permanent building was needed to give expression to the ideals of Peace and to vitalize the imagination of the world's peoples.

Mr. Van Swinderen, the retiring Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, in another oration accepted the custody of the building. He stated that although arbitration as a means of settling international differences is no new thing, it is only within the last dozen years that it has been placed on a solid basis. Then, turning to Mr. Carnegie and speaking in English, he said: "The man with the generous heart, the giving hand and the noble ideals who had presented the highest and most impressive illustration of capital, the product of his strenuous labor, had placed it to the credit of humanity, in the name of the civilized Powers of the world."

The choir then closed the ceremonies by singing the anthem, "Vaterland."

As Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie, with the American Minister and Mrs. Lloyd Brice,



THE PALACE FROM THE WATER SIDE

left the building in the automobile to return to the Legation they were greeted with hearty applause by the great crowds that filled the broad avenues.

In the evening The Hague was brilliantly illuminated with arches of light. A banquet was given at the Binnenhof in the Great Hall of Knights by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the name of the Government of the Netherlands to Mr. Carnegie, at which were present the officials and notabilities who attended the ceremonies, after which Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie and those present at the banquet were given a reception and received in audience by the Queen at the Royal Palace. Perhaps it may not be an exaggeration to say that this event, the dedication of the Peace Palace, signalizes, if not the fulfilment, at any rate an important onward step in the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy.

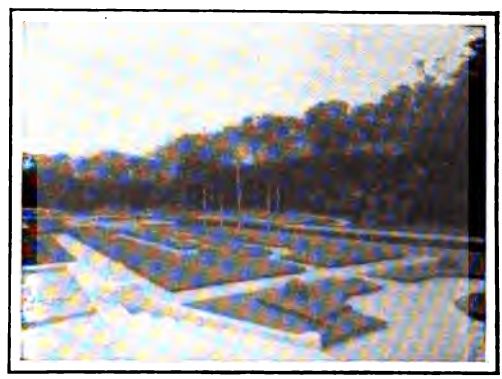
Notwithstanding the terrible conflicts that so recently have bathed in blood Turkey and the Balkan lands, the cockpit for the past hundred years of the troublesome Eastern question, it is more than probable, had this war broken out even a generation ago, it would have drawn into deadly conflict the Great Powers of Europe. That this was avoided was due to that spirit of peace which our generation has done so much to vitalize, and which materially served as a restraint upon the chancelleries of Europe.



REAR VIEW OF THE PALACE

Now peace has a habitation, and for the first time in the history of nations she has a royal and permanent abode, portraying there is a middle course which will preserve national honor and that there is an alternative between war and national humiliation.

In the first instance, this Temple of Peace will serve as a guardian for the Netherlands, more powerful than if the Commonwealth possessed the strongest army and navy in the world. At last the epoch-making work of Hugo Grotius has been crowned in the land



FORMAL GARDENS OF THE PALACE GROUNDS

of his birth, and his ideals, to bring the nations under the majesty of the law, will have a lasting and living monument in the Temple of Peace whose spirit will radiate with increasing influence throughout the world. Within her portals Humanity will ever sit enthroned, with Truth and Justice to guide her into the paths of Peace.

We frequently hear criticisms regarding the Court of Arbitration, which was established by the first Hague Conference, and whose functions were enlarged by the second Hague Conference, that it would serve a much more useful purpose if it were transformed into or replaced by a judicial court. I am unable to agree with such critics, for the reason that most of the differences between nations are not of a judicial nature—so-called questions of honor seldom if ever are. A Tribunal of Arbitration whose jurisdiction is unlimited is broad enough to cover and to take cognizance of any and every question arising between nations.

HANSEN, AMERICA'S FIRST PLANT EXPLORER

THE ROMANCE OF BRINGING SIBERIAN ALFALFA TO DAKOTA

BY WILLIAM P. KIRKWOOD

THE middle northwestern States have become tremendously interested in the alfalfa problem. They see in this wonderful forage the basis of more stable and profitable farming. But they have had trouble to find just the hardy kinds of the plant needed to meet rigorous climatic conditions. A campaign now well under way in South Dakota —to grow alfalfas widely and especially to reclaim the high-and-dry lands of the State with alfalfas obtained from Siberia and Russia—is, therefore, of the utmost significance to Western agriculture. It is certainly one of the most significant movements in agriculture to-day.

The great importance of the movement lies in the tremendous value of alfalfa as a forage for practically every kind of livestock. Alfalfa grows luxuriantly, giving abundant yields, it is rich in protein, it is extremely palatable, it gathers nitrogen abundantly, it renovates the soil and provides better conditions for succeeding crops, and it is long-lived. It has been the chief support of great peoples in the region between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, famous for its herds since long before the Christian era. By helping to restore the livestock industry of the western uplands it will directly enhance the wealth of the West. But livestock means improved soil conditions, and these spell better crops of different varieties. Consequently alfalfa not only means more stock-raising but more crop-raising, and greater general prosperity wherever it can be grown. It has been proved that the Russian and Siberian alfalfas can be grown on the high-and-dry uplands. Hence the effort to extend the alfalfa areas over these regions, if successful, means immensely increased prosperity. It is little wonder the people of the Middle Northwest are interested.

The campaign is in charge of Professor N. E. Hansen, who has made a comprehensive study of the alfalfas of the world in their native habitats, in Russia, Siberia, Manchuria, Turkestan, the Mediterranean countries, and in the United States, and is the nation's foremost authority on the whole subject. Professor Hansen is vice-director and horticulturist of the South Dakota Experiment Station connected with the South Dakota College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, at Brookings. It was he who brought from Siberia and Russia the alfalfas on which South Dakota is basing its hopes of solving the great forage problem of our Northwest.



PROFESSOR NIELS E. HANSEN, WHO HAS INTRODUCED THE TURKESTAN AND SIBERIAN ALFALFAS INTO THE UNITED STATES

Professor Hansen believes that even rough lands of the high-and-dry kind in the northwest of our country can be made valuable—possibly worth one hundred dollars an



ROOTS OF CHERNO AND COMMON ALFALFAS
(1, One-year-old Cherno plant of the kind transplanted; 2, Cherno after one season from the time of transplanting; 3, Old plant of common alfalfa from an eleven-year-old field)

acre—if they can be made to grow alfalfas. The success of South Dakota's campaign, which already is assured through the co-operative work of some fifteen hundred farmers under the Professor's direction, will, therefore, point the way to the profitable use of millions upon millions of acres of uplands in the vast region between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, and from the Panhandle of Texas on the south far to the northward. This will mean reclamation of a high order and on an immense scale, where irrigation is quite out of the question.

Alfalfas for such areas had long been dreamed of but never realized in this country. From the Panhandle of Texas, from Oklahoma, from western Kansas, from Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and elsewhere, came the cry for something of the kind, but in vain. The common alfalfas would not do. Unless provided with ample moisture in the summer and covered with a blanket of snow in the winter they would die out. A hardier variety must be found. Then came Professor Hansen, with a new philosophy of plant life and the discovery of hardy alfalfas in Russia and in the heart of Asia, giving promise of a vast extension of the alfalfa belt on this continent and of a drouth-resistant and cold-resistant forage for the high-and-dry uplands. It is upon experiments with these new alfalfas that men and women who have been trying to subjugate dry, cold areas are now building their hopes.

Professor Hansen is the kind of a man who, having set himself a task, never lets go until the work is finished. He is a quiet man, but his mind teems with problems, and he talks readily enough with those who show a genuine interest, now and then flashing out an epigram to clinch a point. Thoroughly logical, he is yet finely imaginative. He grasps facts quickly, correlates them, and then draws original and sometimes startling conclusions. Along with all of this you find a keen sense of humor and a splendid large-heartedness, an interest in the general welfare that is wholesome and strong without being depressingly serious. Yet his devotion to his work as applied to the needs of his fellow-beings is altogether evident. In other words, you read in the man an unfaltering consecration to service. He might make fortunes, with his stores of scientific knowledge and his inventive genius in the field of horticulture. Instead, he practically gives the use of these things for the common good. Then, too, he is possessed of an unwavering will that can be patient to the limit where patience is needed — and much is required of it in such work as his— but that is fearless and facing new issues and quick to surmount or to cut through obstacles.

There, then, you have something of the problem and of the man. How the two came together is one of the romances of modern science as applied to agriculture. In order that South Dakota's problem may be the better understood, the story must be briefly outlined.

Professor Hansen was born near Ribe, Denmark, in 1866. He came of sturdy ancestry. His father, an artist who had also proved himself a valiant soldier, came to the United States with his family in 1873,



PLANTING ALFALFA BY MACHINE
(A tobacco planter adapted by Professor Hansen for use in transplanting alfalfa)

and in 1876 settled at Des Moines, Iowa. In time his son, Niels, became a student in the Iowa Agricultural College at Ames. There he came under the influence of Professor J. L. Budd, a horticulturist who had the faculty of awakening the creative instinct in men, and decided to give his life to a study of horticulture.

One of the problems that engaged his attention at once was that of increasing the list of orchard and small fruits for the Northwest. Other men were trying to work out the same problem by seeking to acclimatize fruits from regions to the southward. But they were making infinitely slow progress, and before long the young man decided that they were on the wrong track. He came to believe that "plants (perennials) cannot be brought to endure a greater degree of cold to any noteworthy extent; that hardiness cannot be bred into plants by selection alone." In this, as a young assistant professor at Ames, he was making a daring departure from accepted beliefs, but he was not afraid of that kind of thing if he felt he had reason and experience with him. He believed, however, that hardiness could be put into a tender plant by crossing, or rather that by crossing a tender plant with a hardy one the luxuriance of the one and the hardiness of the other could be combined in a new variety; that thus a hardy plant could be literally invented. This was the Professor's new philosophy of plant life.

And this new philosophy worked. In 1895 Professor Hansen was called to head the department of horticulture at Brookings, almost beyond the frontier of the orchard and small-fruit belt of the Northwest. He immediately decided to try out his theory. Out on the prairies grew wild strawberries in abundance, and they were perfectly hardy. Many such plants were gathered, propagated, and selected with infinite care. Then the work of crossing with fine commercial varieties was begun. Among the results were strawberries of large and luscious type from vines that knew no fear of forty-below-zero weather out on the open prairies, even without a blanket of snow or of straw. Like experiments were made with raspberries, with plums in large numbers, and even with roses. And the work is still going on.

The latest achievement of the kind, announced only last spring, is the Waneta plum, a cross between the Apple plum, a large Japanese variety, originated by Luther Burbank, and the Terry, the largest native plum, originated by H. A. Terry, of Iowa. As grown at Brookings last year, this fruit was two inches in diameter, weighed two ounces, was of good red color, with a skin free from acerbity, and a delicious flavor. The tree, moreover, needs no coddling to keep it alive through extreme winter weather.

In 1897 James Wilson, then Secretary of Agriculture, who had known Professor Hansen at Ames, called upon him to go to Russia



SEMIPALATINSK ALFALFA (FROM SIBERIA) DEFIES DROUGHT
(Plants after fourteen months' drought, with less than five inches of rain, on dry upland gumbo)

and Asia as the nation's first plant explorer. He was to get drouth-resistant and cold-resistant plants of commercial value to supplement those of the Northwest or other parts of the United States.

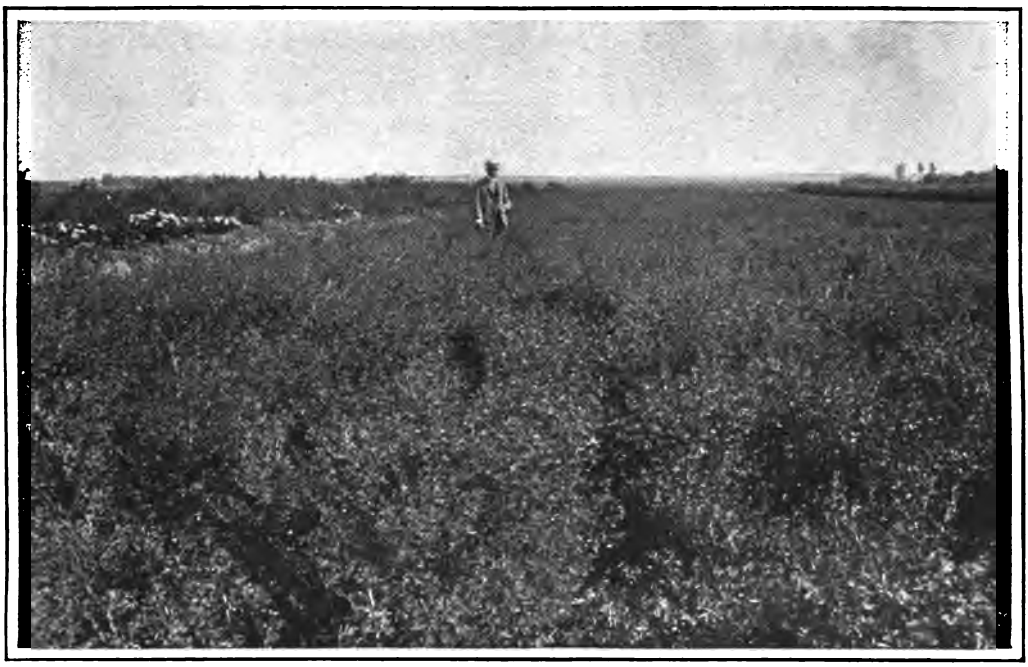
Having crossed through northern Europe, and made his way eastward and then southwestward across Russia again, the Professor turned southward through Transcaucasia, and then sailed over the Caspian Sea to the realms of the Turkoman. Here he came face to face with the problem in the discovery of a hardy alfalfa.

It was almost like discovering a new continent. Here was an alfalfa that nature, doubtless through thousands of years, had inured to drouth and cold. It held hardiness.

Hardiness had been worked into it by nature's slow processes as the plant had traveled with infinite pains from the southward; perhaps in Persia, whereas the common alfalfas of the United States had traveled another way. These were taken from Persia to Greece in the fifth century B. C. Thence they were carried to Italy and Spain, and after that to South America, long after which they were brought to the southwestern States. They had never had an opportunity to spread northward through long centuries of time, becoming hardy by infinitely slow degrees, as had those of the part of Asia where Professor Hansen had just made his discovery. With the discoverer's philosophy of plant-hardiness, however, the hardiness of these new alfalfas could be transferred to other alfalfas, and a variety both luxuriant and hardy could be invented. That is, if this newly discovered alfalfa would not itself do as a successful forage in the Middle West of the United States.

But the thing to do was to follow this new plant northward, and find out the home of the hardiest of the hardy. With this in mind he set out. He followed the trail across deserts, among wild and forbidding mountains, along routes infested by bandits, tracing it by caravan for 1300 miles to a latitude about level with St. Paul—45 degrees north—in the very heart of Asia. The tale as he tells it is one that stirs the blood. Along the difficult way he interviewed natives, soldiers, and the horses in the markets. He and his company gathered seed by hand out on the steppes. Then winter overtook him a little to the northwestward of the Chinese frontier, and, risking his life by exposure, he made a seven-hundred-mile dash northward to Omsk on the Trans-Siberian Railway, whence he started westward with his precious freight of seeds.

Twice afterward he went back to Asia. On his second trip, in 1906, he made another discovery quite as wonderful as his first—that, extending far north of the limits of the first hardy alfalfa he had found, "were three wild species with yellow flowers instead of blue, and that these were good forage plants in the driest and most severe regions of southern Siberia." The lateness of the season, however, made it impossible to obtain the seed of more than one of these species. Another very important fact was that the regions of the blue-flowered and of the yellow-flowered alfalfas overlapped, showing natural hybrids which suggested unlimited possibilities for the development of hybrids in the United States on the basis of Professor Hansen's theory of plant hardiness. On his third trip, in 1908, the Professor obtained seeds of the two yellow-flowered alfalfas he had missed two years before, one in south-central Siberia, between the Irtish and Obi rivers, and the other some eighteen hundred miles to the eastward in Mongolian Manchuria. He also found that the northeastern limit of the yellow-flowered alfalfas



SEMIPALATINSK ALFALFA AT THE SOUTH DAKOTA EXPERIMENT STATION, JUNE 20, 1912
(One-year plants set in the spring of the preceding year, 1911)

was somewhere in the vicinity of Verkhoyansk, 68 degrees north, said to be the coldest spot on earth. The seed obtained, however—an epidemic of cholera being flouted in the search—came chiefly from latitudes 50 to 55.

The question now is: What has been the outcome of experiments with these alfalfas in this country? An answer may be found in a bulletin issued by Professor Hansen early this spring. Another may be seen in the fact that this summer South Dakota sent the Professor back to Siberia to get more seed, in order to hasten the spread of the forage throughout the State. But a glimpse of the results may be given.

Professor Hansen having developed a sufficient supply of seeds and plants by 1911—some of the best from a single spoonful of seed obtained in the East—the South Dakota Legislature appropriated $1000 a year for two years to make possible a limited trial of the hardy alfalfas in every county in the State. In this the farmers were asked to coöperate. "A problem of so vast importance," said the Professor, "should not be left for any one man or for several men to solve." The response on the part of the farmers was immediate. The bulletin mentioned tells in part how they succeeded.

G. A. Tracy, of Watertown, in eastern South Dakota, last fall reported on tests with Cherno alfalfa, one of the alfalfas brought to this country by Professor Hansen. The plants grew, seeded heavily in spite of extremely dry weather and the ravages of gray bugs, and left Mr. Tracy confident of the worth of the alfalfa. He says: "I am well pleased with this alfalfa, and think it will be worth millions to South Dakota as soon as we can raise seed enough to supply the demand." Fred Meidinger, of the north-central part of the State, having tested another variety, the Semipalatinsk from Siberia, through the dry seasons of 1911 and 1912, declared: "I wish I had ten acres instead of ten plants." Henry L. Jeffries reported from Sansarc, west of the Missouri River, a region that gave almost no other crops at all in 1911 and 1912: "These plants have been directly the cause of keeping several people from moving away this year (1912). . . . They have also put new life into old ranchmen, there being no native hay raised close by for several years. The stock eat the alfalfa very readily. . . . We in the semi-arid belt in western South Dakota have great faith in the ultimate outcome of the yellow-flowered alfalfas brought from Siberia, regardless of the opinion of a few unpractical men."

Even up near Saskatoon, in the heart of Saskatchewan, Canada, trial was made of the Siberian alfalfas, with excellent results.

In February, 1912, F. Maclure Sclanders wrote to Professor Hansen: "This Siberian alfalfa has successfully withstood several very heavy cold snaps when the snowfall was too slight to afford it any material protection; in fact, I feel that our experience has fully justified your claims, and with your permission and coöperation we intend to continue our efforts."

In short, the hardiness,—drouth-resistance and cold-resistance—of the various alfalfas has been proved again and again under most trying conditions. The plants have been found to be sturdy growers, that will stand pasturing, will come up again and again after being cut by hail, eaten off by rabbits, and trampled down and eaten by horses. Their palatibility has been proved convincingly; all sorts of stock thrive upon them. They produce seed prolifically. One plant of Cossack alfalfa in 1911 yielded three ounces of seeds, or 41,430. Moreover, five hundred stems to one plant has been found to be not uncommon. In fact, this number is becoming the South Dakota standard.

With such results, there is little wonder that the interest of the people became intense, that alfalfa became one of South Dakota's main subjects of conversation. The demand was for more seed, and men were actually elected to the last legislature on alfalfa tickets, pledging their support for appropriations to extend alfalfa seed-growing and to get seed in other ways.

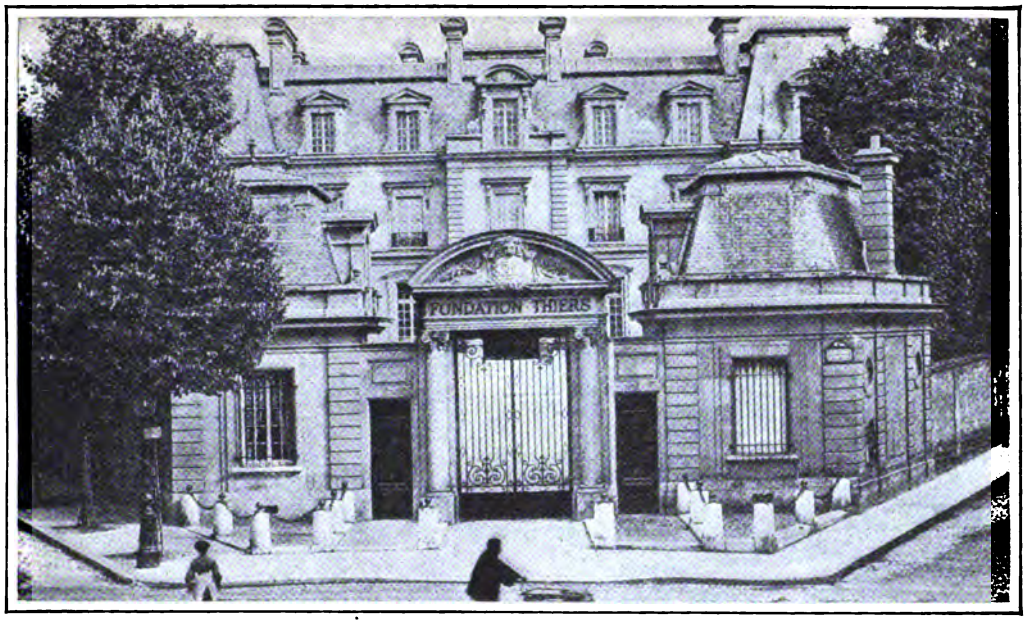
In the meantime Professor Hansen was working upon this very problem of seed supply. He wished both to increase the seed grown and to make the available supply go as far as possible. He found one way of doing both things. He introduced the transplanting of alfalfas by horsepower machinery. He had observed that the sowing of seed broadcast was wasteful. He did a little arithmetical problem, and discovered that by transplanting he could make one pound of seed go as far as eight hundred and forty go under the broadcast method of seeding. Experiment showed him also that by transplanting, with the plants properly spaced according to conditions of soil, elevation, or moisture, the tap-roots could be broken up into lateral systems, giving stronger growths both for seed or hay. Transplanting meant nurseries, and to-day South Dakota as a State has nearly a score of these devoted wholly to alfalfas. The machine used by the Professor is an adapted tobacco planter, with which plants can be set at the rate of six thousand an hour.

So much progress had been made by the time the legislature of 1913 met that there was little difficulty in obtaining appropriations for further work. Whereas in 1911 the legislature appropriated only $2000 for alfalfa work for the next biennial period, in 1913 the legislature appropriated $25,000 to push the work. This was provided for in two bills, in each of which appeared the name of Professor Hansen, one providing for $7500 a year for two years to further the production of alfalfa seed and to continue experiments at home, and the other setting apart $10,000 to send Professor Hansen to Russia and Siberia to get such supplies of seed as he could there. These two acts, with their tribute to Professor Hansen and his work, are, perhaps, the best evidence of the feeling throughout South Dakota toward the new alfalfas.

The legislature having provided the funds, Professor Hansen pushed the campaign vigorously. He saw to it that his nurseries were in shape for another summer's work, and forced the business of transplanting, setting out more than five hundred thousand plants. Then he packed his things and set out on a fourth trip to Siberia. This time he knew just where to go. All of the seed experimented with in South Dakota came from definitely known localities. The best —those having given the best results— therefore, would be sought where they had been obtained before.

But as a result of the year's work both at home and abroad, South Dakota has taken a long step toward the final demonstration of what can be done with the West's high-and-dry lands by the use of alfalfas, and there are few familiar with the work who doubt the outcome.

Professor Hansen years ago expressed the opinion that the alfalfas obtained in Russia and Asia would be of great value on the prairies of the Northwest, either in hay fields or scattered over the prairies to take their chances with other wild growths. This end, he felt, could be gained with the alfalfas as they were or else as they could be improved by hybridizing, until an ideal alfalfa was obtained, one combining the best points of the alfalfas of the world and that would not winter-kill under the severest conditions that can be found in the Northwest. Ultimately, he believed, the hardy alfalfas would make alfalfa culture possible on this continent clear to the Arctic circle. Now, after years of experiment, he sees no reason for changing his views.



THE "FONDATION THIERS"

A Unique Educational Institution

BY DAVID JAYNE HILL
(Formerly United States Ambassador at Berlin)

TURNING a few steps from the elegant Avenue du Bois through the Rue Spontini into the Rond-Point Bugeaud,—an open space in the avenue of the same name extending from the Place Victor Hugo to the Porte Dauphine,—the visitor to Paris suddenly finds himself confronted by a handsome three-story building of freestone surrounded by a walled garden, over whose elaborate iron-grilled gateway he reads the inscription:

FONDATION THIERS

The name of the first President of the Third Republic at once attracts attention; but the word "Fondation" does not disclose the nature of the institution, and no guide-book informs us whether it was founded by the distinguished French statesman and historian himself, or as a tribute on the part of others to his memory.

We touch the brass sonnette at the door of the lodge on the left, which opens to admit us; but the immediate appearance of the concierge indicates that strangers are not indiscriminately allowed to enter, and we soon become aware that the "Fondation" is not, in the ordinary sense of the term, a public institution.

It is, in fact, neither a school nor a college, nor yet a sanatorium. It represents an idea born of a bitter experience, long deferred in execution, and finally realized through the love and sympathy of those whose most earnest wish was to accomplish the purpose and honor the memory of the great scholar and statesman who cherished the conception which the institution embodies.

As a young man who had received his diploma from the University, Louis Adolphe Thiers found himself face to face with the problem of abandoning his ideals of scholarship and research or of enduring personal hardships that threatened to undermine his health and diminish his future usefulness. With a brave heart he made the necessary sacrifices, sometimes living literally upon bread and water, in order to obtain the books necessary for his studies. When in later life he became a celebrated writer, a minister of state, and finally President of the French Republic, he never ceased to recall the privations of his youth, and to meditate upon a plan for providing a certain number of meritorious young men with the means of prosecuting their favorite studies and arriving at eminence in them without the hard struggle



THE EMINENT FRENCH STATESMAN AND PRESIDENT LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS
(Who established the "Fondation Thiers")

and privations which had embittered his unhappy youth.

Preoccupied until his death with important public duties, Thiers was never able to carry out his intention. Faithful to her husband's noble purpose, Madame Thiers, at her death, made her sister, Mademoiselle Dosne, her residuary legatee, on condition that she should found an institution which would realize the dream of the great historian.

With a spirit of devotion that entitles her to the highest praise, Mademoiselle Dosne resolved to execute in her own lifetime the trust imposed upon her, and to create a home for a limited number of young men, where, in perfect tranquillity, under the guidance of an accomplished director, and without anxiety regarding pecuniary matters, they might pass a number of years in prosecuting their researches, and thus be fitted for careers of distinguished usefulness. In fulfilment of this resolve, the institution was founded by her in the year 1892.

AN AMPLE ENDOWMENT

In order to render this benefaction all that Monsieur Thiers had desired, this generous lady not only surrendered her share in the fortune bequeathed to her, but gave the land on which the building was erected, which was valued at 1,500,000 francs—$300,000. The construction of the house cost more than 1,000,000 francs in addition; thus making the property, when complete, represent more than 2,500,000 francs. The endowment consists of about 4,000,000 francs, yielding an annual income of 150,000 francs, or $30,000.

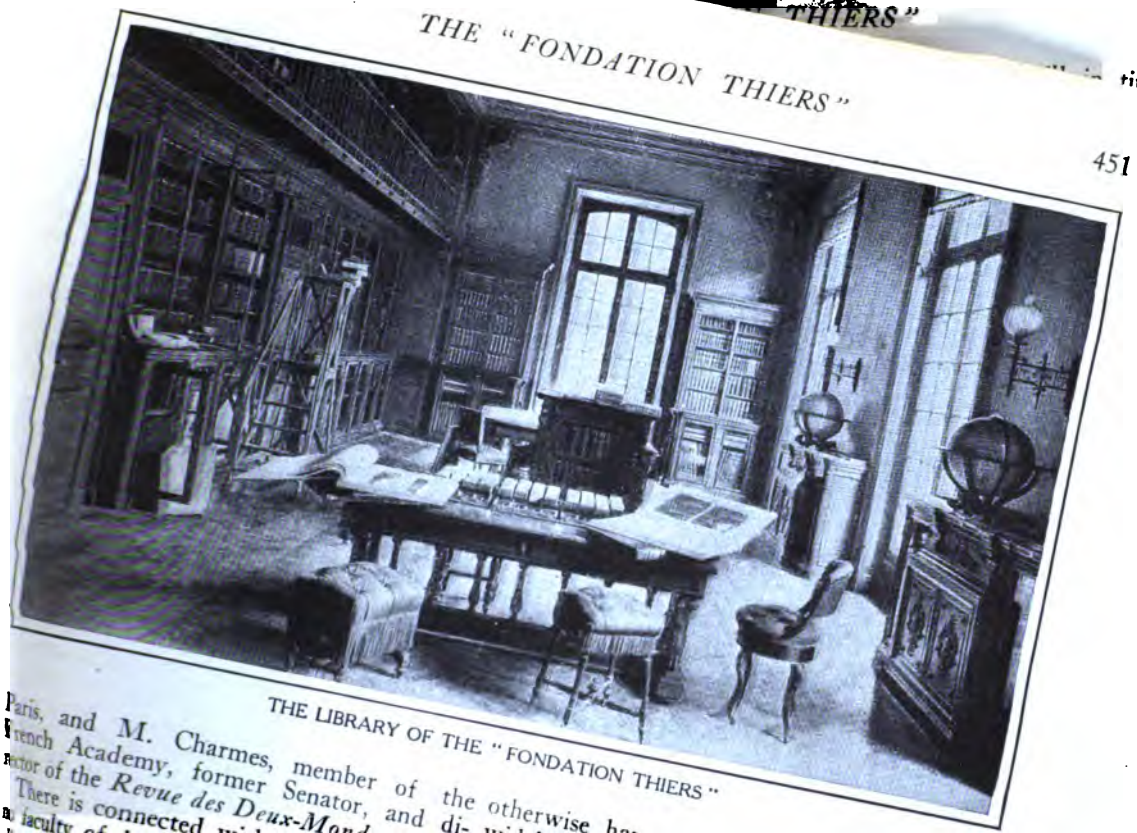
In preparing this home for scholarship no pains were spared to make it in all respects a worthy memorial to the great man whom it commemorates. Substantiality, elegance, and convenience are the dominant notes of this handsome structure. The library, though not large, is sumptuous; wainscoted with oak, decorated with a beautiful oak ceiling taken from M. Thiers' private house, and containing nearly 15,000 volumes, including many rare editions, under the care of an erudite librarian. The council-room, designed as the meeting-place of the representatives of the learned bodies that govern the institution, is a beautiful installation, opening on one side upon the garden, and decorated with a spacious mantel of sculptured marble, with a marble plaque on which are carved the names of the founders, and large oil portraits of Monsieur and Madame Thiers.

Besides ample accommodations for the director and his family, and fifteen bedrooms, with dressing-rooms, for the pensionnaires, there are a large refectory, wainscoted in oak, a smoking-room, a billiard-room, a fencing-room, and baths.

The hospitality of this elegant home is shared by fifteen élite scholars, who are furnished with rooms and meals, with one hundred francs each per month for pocket-money, and with eighteen hundred francs on leaving the institution, besides provisions for travel, during three years of residence.

HOW BENEFICIARIES ARE SELECTED

The selection of the beneficiaries is not competitive, but left entirely to the director, with the advice and approval of the council of administration, composed of four eminent savants. At present these are M. Croiset, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, and Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris; M. Ribot, member of the French Academy and of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Senator, and former President of the Council of Ministers; M. [illegible] member of the Academy of S[illegible] professor in the Faculty of S[illegible] University of



THE LIBRARY OF THE "FONDATION THIERS"

Paris, and M. Charmes, member of the French Academy, former Senator, and director of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*.

There is connected with the "Fondation" a faculty of instruction. Each resident is allowed, when once admitted, to follow his own specialty, which may be any branch of knowledge,—science, literature, history, philosophy, law, or mathematics. He is free to seek aid outside, to make use of all the rich and manifold resources of Paris, and to pursue his researches in his own way; always, however, subject to the approval of the director, whose abundant knowledge, wise counsel, and sympathetic guidance are at the young man's disposal, and usually drawn upon with grateful appreciation.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE DIRECTOR

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that the director, upon whom so much responsibility devolves, should be a man of wide culture, large experience, elevated character, and keen personal sympathies. The "Fondation" is at present under the direction of the eminent philosopher, M. Emile Boutroux, member of the French Academy and of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and Honorary Professor in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris.

The selection of this distinguished scholar as director of the "Fondation Thiers" is a French scholar has been so often invited to speak in other countries, and none has been more than it might more widely honored. His first visit to

widely admired in France as an eloquent expounder of the history of philosophy and as an original contributor to philosophic thought, the lecture hall of Professor Boutroux has been for many years crowded with appreciative listeners. His books are widely known and read. His profound and accurate scholarship in many fields and his long and intimate contact with academic life fit him in an exceptional manner for the guidance of young men in their advanced studies.

Notwithstanding his devotion to high scholarship, M. Boutroux is by no means a mere cloistered student. An indefatigable worker, he is also fond of the society of men, and is much sought for as a speaker on important occasions. Since his retirement from active connection with the university, he gives no regular lectures; but whenever he speaks in the auditorium, no matter how capacious, is crowded to its utmost capacity. Habitually his discourse, carefully prepared beforehand, is carried unerringly in his mind; and his perfect mastery of lucid, picturesque, and graceful diction enables him to clothe his thoughts in a garb of exquisite beauty which gives to his profound reflections the appearance of unstudied simplicity. Probably no other living French scholar has been so often invited to

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PROF. EMILE BOUTROUX, DIRECTOR OF THE FONDATION

United States,—when he delivered lectures at Harvard, Columbia, and other universities, — is well remembered; and he has at other times been invited to England, Scotland, Italy, Denmark, Holland, and other countries, where he has received the highest academic honors. It is most fitting, therefore, that he should have been chosen to deliver one of the principal addresses at the dedication of the new Graduate School of Princeton University during the month of October. His comprehension of American thought is well illustrated in his admirable discourse on *La Pensée Américaine et la Pensée Française,* delivered last winter at Paris in a course of public lectures organized by the Comité France-Amérique for the purpose of drawing more closely together the people of France and the people of the United States.

It is fortunate for the young men who enjoy the privileges of the "Fondation Thiers" that they are not only in constant contact with the best intellectual traditions of France but are frequently brought in touch with some of the most distinguished personages of foreign countries; for the home of the director is, perhaps, the most cosmopolitan social center of the French capital. Educated partly in Germany, M. Boutroux has personally known many of the most eminent thinkers of that country, whose language, as well as English, he speaks with a scholar's comprehension. No household in France is more sought out by foreigners, and nowhere are they more welcome. Few Americans of eminence in the world of thought and culture visit Paris without a call upon Monsieur and Madame Boutroux. The intimate friendship between M. Boutroux and the late William James was one of special tenderness and mutual appreciation, and no one has written of our eminent American philosopher with deeper comprehension or warmer sympathy.

In all his activities and in all his friendships the director is sustained and efficiently aided by Madame Boutroux, whose rare intellectual gifts and literary skill have won for her a distinct place by the side of her talented husband. As hostess, as translator, and as a personality, Madame Boutroux has her own conspicuous, but always modestly asserted, claim to the esteem and admiration of her many friends. A sister of the great savant, the late M. Henri Poincaré, and a cousin-german of the President of the Republic, she adds to the "Fondation Thiers," by her eminent qualities and charming hospitality, an influence that contributes an important element to the cultural advantages of this home of higher learning. It may be of interest to our countrymen to know that the talented son of this household, M. Pierre Boutroux, is about to accept a position in the faculty of Princeton University.

AN INSTITUTION WITH A UNIQUE FUNCTION

From every point of view, the institution founded in memory of the French statesman and historian occupies a unique place among the educational facilities of the French capital, so rich in resources of this kind. Neither the University nor the Collége de France, nor the École Normal Supérieur,—of whose Société des Anciens Élevés M. Boutroux is the honored President,—nor the École Libre des Sciences Politiques,—a great teaching institution of the highest order,—fill the rôle of the "Fondation Thiers." They spread their bountiful repast of learning before the student, and invite him to partake of what others have prepared for him to appropriate. This, on the contrary, inspires him to do something for himself; to bring his intelli-

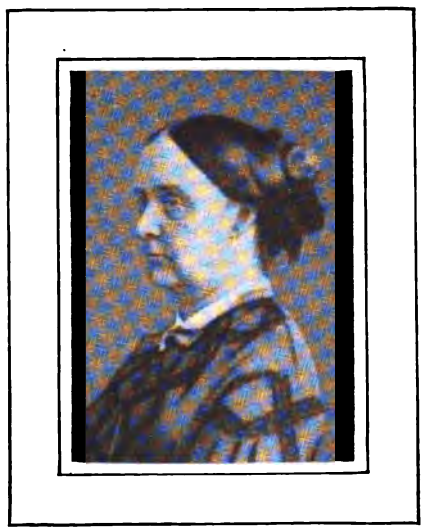
gence into relation to some unexplored region of fact or of record; and to offer from these unworked mines of information some new contribution to human knowledge; not hastily, and for a pecuniary reward, but leisurely, deliberately, studiously, and with perfect freedom from anxiety about his material well-being, already liberally provided for by the benevolence and foresight of others, and to do this under the inspiration of a master whose own achievements entitle him to respect and confidence. It calls for action rather than absorption, creation rather than repetition, self-reliance rather than mental obsequiousness.

To employ the words of its eminent director, "the 'Fondation Thiers' has for its object to give to young men who have completed their studies and have already given evidence of scientific capacity the means of perfecting their instruction and performing personal work. It takes these young men at an age below twenty-six years, that is, at the period when they leave the hands of their masters, and when the question is presented whether they will live solely upon the instruction that has been presented to them, or whether they will be able to display the activity and originality of mind necessary to contribute, in their turn, to the advancement of science. They have learned how to work, they have seen others work; it remains now to digest what they have acquired, and, if possible, to become a scientific personality. That transformation of a learner into a master, sufficient in himself, and, in the human sense of the word, able to create, demands reflection, liberty, intellectual leisure. These are the conditions which the 'Fondation Thiers' offers to its beneficiaries. Calm retreat in the heart of the capital, it receives each year five pensionnaires, whom it retains three years, and of whom it requires that they live only for their intellectual formation and for scientific production."

One marked advantage of the plan is that, while it cultivates specialists, it prevents their becoming too narrow, by bringing them into daily contact with other scholars, equally devoted to widely different lines of research. An examination of the annual reports of the director indicates how diverse and how fruitful these researches have been, and the subsequent careers of the young men fully justify the wisdom of affording them the opportunities they have enjoyed.

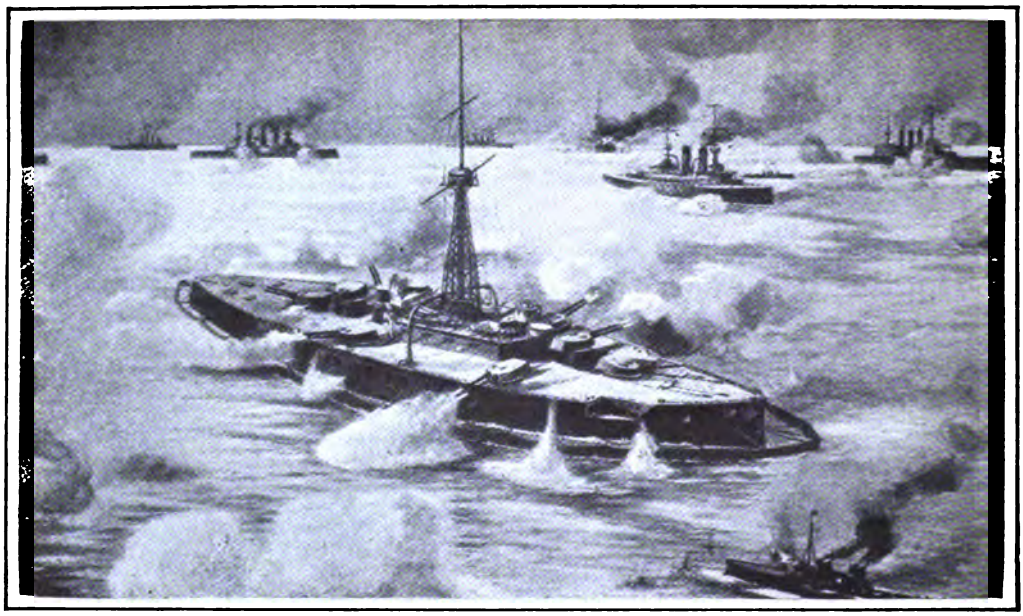
Thus far, the "Fondation Thiers" remains a unique institution even in France; but it has attracted attention in other countries, and it is not doubtful that it will in time be many times reduplicated. In Germany it has been well appreciated by so great an authority as Professor Hermann Diels, in the volume *Die allgemeinen Grundlagen der Kultur der Gegenwart*. In the United States, we have fellowships, traveling scholarships, and courses of study in our graduate schools; but, thus far, we have nothing quite identical with this interesting institution.

The example given by the original idea of President Thiers, and so nobly realized by the generosity of his accomplished sister-in-law,—of whose benevolent spirit this is not the only evidence,—may well merit the attention of American philanthropists who contemplate some work of beneficence and have not decided upon the form it should take. We appear to have already as many universities and colleges as the country needs, though many of them require to be more liberally endowed; but there is in this unique institution a suggestion for a new and undeveloped field of philanthropy. We have in our great country room for many institutions of this kind. A modern university requires for a foundation tens of millions of dollars, and a first-class college not less than two or three millions. More moderate fortunes would be adequate for the establishment of an institution of this character; which, if properly located and liberally provided for, would fill a vacant place in our system of higher education.



MADEMOISELLE DOSNE

(The sister of Madame Thiers, who carried out the wishes of her brother-in-law in establishing the "Fondation" after his death)



ONE ADVANTAGE OF THE "OIL ONLY" WAR-SHIP

(The possibility of a funnel-less, clear deck in action in a battleship driven by gas engines. From a sketch appearing in the *Illustrated London News*)

THE AGE OF OIL

BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN

IT was hardly a dozen years ago that oil-burning locomotives and stationary engines began coming into general use in certain parts of the United States, the innovation receiving a strong initial impulse from efforts that were being made to find new uses for the output of the rapidly developing fields of California and the Middle Southwest. It was a striking case of increase of appetite growing by what it fed on; for, principally because of its high efficiency and the ease with which it could be handled, crude petroleum began replacing coal in steam engines of all descriptions at greater and greater distances from its points of production.

Before long it became evident that the fireman who remarked that "oil was better'n coal fer ev'ry thing but to pick up in lumps an' fling at the heads of the cops when a strike was on," was speaking pretty near the literal truth. Nor was the astute stoker's objection one which told heavily when the question of the merits of the two fuels came up for debate at a board meeting. It also became clear that the extent to which oil would replace coal was subject only to the limiting factors of distance and maintenance of supply; that whenever a manufacturing plant, or the locomotives of a section of railway, could be operated anywhere nearly as cheaply burning oil as with coal, that the liquid fuel would always be given the preference. Through better storage facilities, the extension of pipe lines, and the employment of tank trains and steamers, the "oil zone"—the territory in which the use of oil is economically preferable to that of coal—is being extended farther and farther from the fields which produce it and nearer and nearer to the coal-mining centers. The supremacy of oil in its ever-broadening sphere is now so well established that nothing except a falling off of the supply could cause it to give ground, and this contingency, thanks to the incalculable promise of the North American fields—especially those of Mexico and California—is not one that need be considered for many decades to come.

THE TRIUMPH OF OIL OVER COAL

The triumph of oil over coal upon the sea has proceeded more slowly than upon land, but in the end—and this year marks the beginning of that end—it is destined to be even more sweeping. As in the case of stationary engines, the installation of oil-burning equipment in the first steamers was

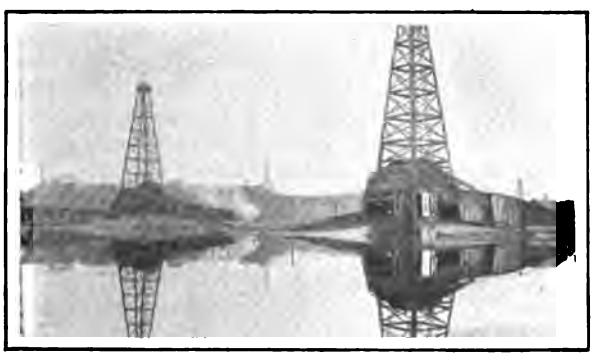
looked upon as a radical move of precarious promise. Its success was so complete, however, and its manifest advantages so evident that the few years which have passed since the initial experiment have seen almost every ship steaming in a practicable radius from the ports of the coasts adjacent to the world's four greatest oil-producing regions—California, Eastern Mexico, the Black Sea and the Dutch Indies—equipped as burners of liquid fuel. In the same way, in supplying the demands on land, the extension of the distributing system for the ships of the sea broadened the zones in which oil-burning vessels could ply, and it was not long before the tanks of the petroleum supply depots began taking their places at the strategic points of the world's trade routes alongside the dwindling bituminous mountains of the coaling stations.

Doubtless, in any case, oil would have celebrated a complete triumph over coal as a ship's fuel within a very few years. That event, however, has been materially set forward by the invention of a crude oil-consuming gas engine which made that marvel of scientific achievement, the non-steaming, motor-driven, ocean-going ship a *fait accompli* at a single stroke. Unquestionably, the endless vista of possibilities opened up by the successful attainment of the motor-driven ship was a potent influence in determining the British Admiralty, which had been debating the matter for several years, finally to declare in favor of equipping all future ships of the world's greatest navy to consume oil exclusively. This momentous action will do more toward establishing the supremacy of oil as a universal fuel than anything that has ever happened; and it is no less portentous politically than industrially. It forecasts activities in all parts of the world that are fraught with interest and significance to governments as well as producers of petroleum.



THE LAKEVIEW, CALIFORNIA, GUSHER FLOWING 40,000 BARRELS PER DAY

(This was the greatest well ever bored in the California fields, and, like that of most other great gushers, a large part of its product was lost before the flow could be controlled. The frame at the right was one of a number of contrivances vainly tried before the well was capped)



PORTION OF AN OIL LAKE FORMED BY A CALIFORNIA GUSHER

(The only way to save any of the oil from a great gusher is hastily to erect dams and confine it in the nearest gulches or hollows. The loss from seepage is always great in such instances, but if the oil does not stand too long much of it is still fit for use)

WHY BRITAIN WILL USE OIL IN HER NAVY

That this radical move was long in contemplation by Great Britain was a matter of common knowledge. That it has been definitely determined upon indicates one of two, or, perhaps, three, things: either that new oil fields of sufficient extent to give an adequate supply of liquid fuel for naval purposes have been located within the confines of the British Empire, that the much-mooted process of manu-



AN OIL WELL IN THE NEW TRINIDAD FIELD

(Although long famous for its great lake of asphalt, this island, which lies just off the Venezuelan coast, has only recently commenced to produce oil. Venezuela itself is also being very systematically prospected by a large body of American oil experts. The steel derrick shown in the photograph is erected to withstand the ravages of ants and other wood-eating pests that abound in the tropics)

facturing oil from coal at a low cost has proved successful, or that the British Admiralty has concluded that the use of oil as fuel has been demonstrated to be of such commanding advantage over coal as to warrant—or even compel—its adoption irrespective of what nations control the sources of supply. The latter consideration undoubtedly was the most potent influence. In any event, Britain's move will force all the other great powers to follow a similar program, just as that nation's inauguration of the dreadnought and super-dreadnought types of battleship did, and with all the principal navies and an increasingly large proportion of the ships of the world's merchant marine consuming oil, it is well within the realm of probability that the demand for liquid fuel may be doubled within the next decade, provided, of course, that there is a corresponding increase of supply to keep the price from rising unduly.

FINE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States and Russia, as the leading oil-producing nations of the world, are the only ones of the great powers which, far from contemplating the imminent change with apprehension, stand to turn it to a profit. Rumania, Mexico, the Dutch Indies, and other producing countries will, of course, benefit commercially, but they have no navies to give them the opportunity of reaping the political advantages their possession of oil fields would otherwise open to them. Furthermore, in a great war, such as all the European powers are arming against, the oil fields of the weaker states will inevitably be seized by the nation that is strong enough to take them.

The position of the United States will be especially strong in the new epoch, first—from a commercial standpoint—through the almost exhaustless resources this country has to draw upon for its own use and to sell to less favored nations, and, second—from the standpoint of offense or defense—through the fact that the American navy is already well advanced upon an oil-burning program. Every one of our battleships laid down within the last six or seven years is equipped to burn oil, either exclusively or as an auxiliary to coal. Oil is used as an auxiliary in seven battleships and exclusively in four, while all of our torpedo craft laid down within the last seven years, thirty in number, are of the latter type. It is very unlikely that coal will figure at all as a fuel for any of our warships laid down from now on, except, perhaps, for gunboats designed for out-of-the-way service. Only the latest of Britain's torpedo craft are oil-burning.

OIL-DRIVEN SHIPS ALREADY A FACT OF IMPORTANCE

Up to the summer of 1912 the superiority of the ocean-going steamer driven by internal combustion engines was largely a matter of theory. One after another, each distinctive feature of the funnelled steamship, with which traditionary ideals have so long been associated, had been carefully considered and theoretically laid aside as obsolete. It only remained to be settled by experiment how far the theoretical advantages checked up to the account of the vessel equipped with the internal combustion oil engine could be practically realized.

This question was answered a little over a year ago when a Danish company, which operates a line from Copenhagen to Singapore, completed and despatched on its maiden trip a 7000-ton vessel equipped with oil engines, the first ship of great size of this class ever put into commission. That steamer —properly speaking, one should say motor



AN OIL BURNING STEAMER OF THE ROYAL DUTCH PACKET COMPANY IN THE HARBOR OF HUMBOLDT'S BAY, NEW GUINEA

(This steamer has an itinerary of ports among the islands of the Dutch Indies which takes three months to complete, the round-trip being made on a single filling of its oil tanks at Macassar, Celebes. Before oil was used, three coalings were necessary on this voyage, the expense of maintaining the isolated stations being very great. The fuel bill for steamers on this run was more than cut in half. An American steamer of 12,000 tons recently steamed from Baltimore to Seattle burning but a barrel of oil per mile. The total consumption of oil for the voyage was 1686 tons, where 5600 tons of coal would have been needed)

ship, for steam has no part in driving its engines—has by this time completed a number of return voyages to the Orient, covering between one and two hundred thousand miles, and has so completely vindicated the most enthusiastic claims made by its sponsors that the European yards have received orders for a number of vessels of similar type and even greater tonnage. A sister ship has already been launched by the same company, while a prominent German line expects to have at least two vessels of 10,000 tons, driven by internal combustion engines, in commission for transatlantic service some time in 1914. From now on—provided only that the price and supply of oil warrant it—we may expect to see the steam vessel—even where the steam is generated by the use of oil—replaced by the vessel driven by internal combustion engines in a good deal the same way that the sailing ship was replaced by the steamer, and perhaps quite as rapidly.

VARIATIONS IN THE TYPE OF VESSEL DUE TO OIL FUEL

The advantages of a motor-driven over a steam-driven ship are even more striking in the instance of a warship than a merchant vessel. The removal of the funnels at once increases the firing arc of a number of guns, and these of the most useful type for both defensive and offensive purposes. It has not yet been definitely ascertained—at least as far as public announcements go—just how much better the internal combustion engine is than the steam. Of equal size—that is, occupying the same amount of space—there has been no question of the proportionate increase of energy generated by the oil engine; and the advantage is, of course, considerably increased where, with less space taken up, an increase rather than a diminution in horsepower results. In connection with displacement, the reduction in stokers employed alone results in economy of space in the two-fold directions of dispensing with both the sleeping space and the storage required for their food and feeding arrangements. In addition to the fact that the oil-consuming ship can bunker a much larger bulk of fuel than the coal burner, there is no longer any question that the motor trebles the radius of action for the identical quantity of fuel, while the cleanliness of the oil storage and the absence of smoke give it further advantages both in the benefits thus secured and in the economy practised in dispensing with the agencies and appliances needed to be continually coaling and removing the traces of coal dust. With our latest submarines equipped with internal combustion engines, the United States is well to the fore in this department.

The fact that, on the one hand, England and nearly every one of her important colonies are large coal producers, while, on the other hand, the oil production of the entire British Empire is almost negligible, has been responsible for the reluctance of that country to abandon the former in favor of the latter as the fuel of its navy, or even its merchant marine. It has been urged that the matter of securing the necessary supplies of oil from abroad would be complicated by the consideration that, in time of war, the navy, besides fulfilling its normal functions of offense and defense, would be called upon to furnish not only convoys for the food supply of a nation which depends almost entirely upon foreign trade to live, but for the oil carriers as well.

BRITAIN'S MEAGER SUPPLY OF OIL

How apprehensively England has regarded the rise of oil as the predominant fuel may be judged from the following extract from an editorial in a prominent British engineering journal of about a year ago:

It is only natural that England should be greatly disquieted at the prospect of oil becoming the fuel of the future. Her position at present as the leading coal producing country of the world would be seriously menaced and her navy would be placed at a serious disadvantage, as there is practically no oil, except a little produced from shale beds, in the British Isles. To have, therefore, to depend upon foreign oil for her mercantile marine, and, above all, for her navy, is a situation not to be contemplated without the gravest misgivings, and a general movement in favor of oil burning is, therefore, not likely to be promoted. Whether, however, this will retard the movement may well be doubted. At present it is only where oil is at hand that steamers use it to any large extent, as, for instance, on the Caspian, the Pacific Coast of America and here and there in the Dutch Indies. The Panama Canal, however, must necessarily alter the situation, at least for America, as it will enable the whole of the American navy to obtain it easily and cheaply. As this will give the American navy a distinct advantage over others, it would seem to be only a question of time as to how long Great Britain will be able to hold back from making the change.

The announcement that this momentous change has been decided upon has already been made, however, and sooner than was expected even in England. In some quarters there appears to be a belief that the alleged discovery by the German, Diesel, the inventor of the gas engine, of a process for extracting oil from coal at a low cost has been tried out to an extent that will warrant Great Britain in believing that it may develop a supply of liquid fuel of its own. On account of the inventor's standing in the world of science and mechanics, Diesel's reputed discovery created a considerable furore in Europe when he announced it a year or more ago, but little has been heard of it since. Doubtless the process has been thoroughly investigated in the interval that has elapsed, and it is barely possible that it has proved to be all the inventor claimed for it. If this were the case, however, it seems highly improbable that the secret could have been kept.

SEARCHING FOR NEW OIL FIELDS

There are oil prospects at a number of points in British territory, but only one important producing field in the whole length and breadth of the greatest of empires. That



THE INSTALLATION OF THE ASIATIC PETROLEUM AT HONGKONG

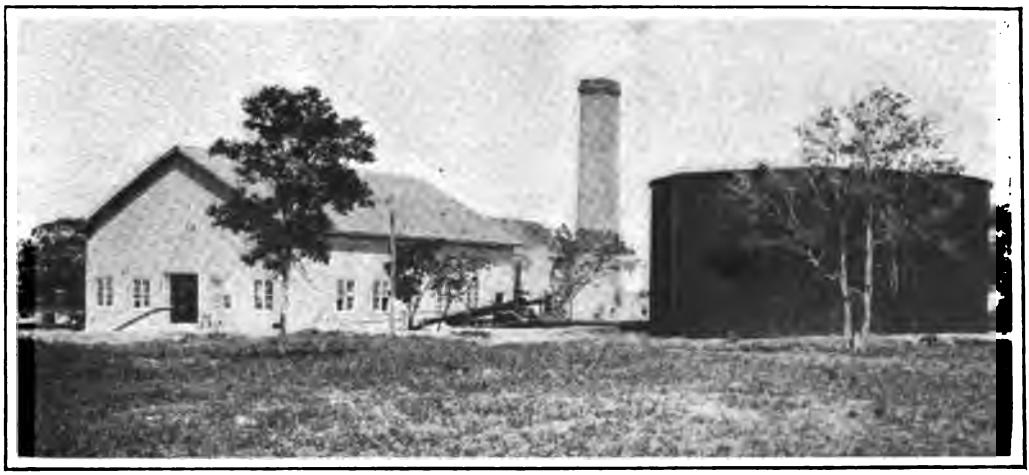
(The "Asiatic" is the distributing company of the Royal Dutch-Shell interest in the Orient, and the great rival of the Standard. As the oil which it markets in the East is all produced comparatively near at hand—in Sumatra, Borneo and Burma—it has this one distinct advantage over the American concern, most of whose product is brought from ten to fifteen thousand miles)



ONE OF THE TANKS FROM WHICH THE STANDARD SUPPLIES INDIA

(The aggressive American company is no less successful in India than China. It not only has the best part of the business of the railways and big manufacturing concerns, but a specially refined kerosene, which is marketed under the name of "Elephant Brand," is the most popular illuminant with the masses of Britain's vast Asiatic domain)

THE TWO GREAT OIL RIVALS IN THE ASIATIC FIELD



TANK AND PUMPING STATION IN THE GREAT MEXICAN OIL FIELD

(The oil fields of the east coast of Mexico have proved the most sensational in the history of oil production. Though under exploitation for less than a decade, they have placed Mexico in third place among the oil-producing nations of the world, and bid fair to land that country in second place—now held by Russia—within a very few years. Lack of storage and transportation facilities is keeping down production at the present, but this trouble is rapidly being remedied. The tank and pumping station shown in the photo are typical of the new installations)

is the Yenangyaung field, in Burma, which lies on both sides of the Irrawadi, about halfway between Rangoon and Mandalay. The refineries, at Syriam, near the former city, are reached by a 275-mile pipe line. Even this field, which produces in the vicinity of 7,000,000 barrels a year, is not comparable in extent or output to the great oil districts of North America, Europe, and the Dutch Indies, and the fact that its outrun has not increased greatly for some time would indicate that it is never likely to figure extensively as a factor in world production. This is a fairly old field—dating back to the '60s of the past century—and, though under British ownership, its development has been in the hands of Americans for many years. At the present time practically all the skilled labor, the mechanics, and even the manager and his assistants, are American-born and trained.

Since it has been established that oil possesses such decided advantages over coal for use in warships, Great Britain has prosecuted a feverish search for liquid fuel in every corner of the empire. The writer recalls meeting an expert in Borneo last year who had just arrived there after several seasons of fruitless prospecting in Australasia, and another was encountered in Egypt who claimed to have found little to encourage him in the Sudan, Nigeria, Uganda, Rhodesia or South Africa. As far as is generally known, neither Canada, nor Africa, nor yet Australia have shown indications of special promise. Trinidad, in the West Indies, produces asphalt, but little oil. Fairly encouraging prospects have been encountered in British Malaysia. In Sarawak—a protectorate—and in Labuan—a Crown Colony under the Straits Settlements government—wells have been driven to oil at several points, while promising showings have recently been found in British North Borneo and in Papua.

In southern Persia a British company has been engaged for a number of years in developing a new oil field of considerable apparent promise. At the time of the writer's visit to this region, in the summer of 1912, several hundred wells were being pumped and a pipe line had been laid a distance of forty miles to Mahomerah, on the Shar-el-Arab, near the head of the Persian Gulf, where tanks were being erected and modern shipping facilities provided. Though this field is in Persia, it lies well within what has been delimited as the British sphere of influence, and there is no doubt that it would be seized by Britain in case of need. However, neither this, nor the Burma field, nor any of the Malaysian prospects give promise of developing to a point which would warrant the British navy depending on them for its fuel supply. That supply could be depended upon only from one source—the fields of the United States and Mexico—and it is safe to assume, therefore, that Great Britain, confident that the which could close that source o her—a war with the United St thinkable, has decided to take



AN INSTALLATION FOR THE RAPID LOADING OF TANK CARS IN CALIFORNIA

(A continued improvement of facilities for getting oil cheaply to consumers has characterized the development of all of the American oil fields during the last few years. The use of oil fuel on American railways increased from 15,000,000 barrels in 1906 to 28,000,000 in 1911. The use of oil on a locomotive not only gives freedom from cinders, which contributes greatly to the comfort of the passenger and obviates the danger of forest fires, but also effects a great saving of labor in stoking. Locomotives of the Diesel or internal combustion principle are now being tried out, and will doubtless soon be in use)

of being able to protect its oil carriers in the event of a war in Europe.

OIL IN THE NEXT GREAT WORLD WAR

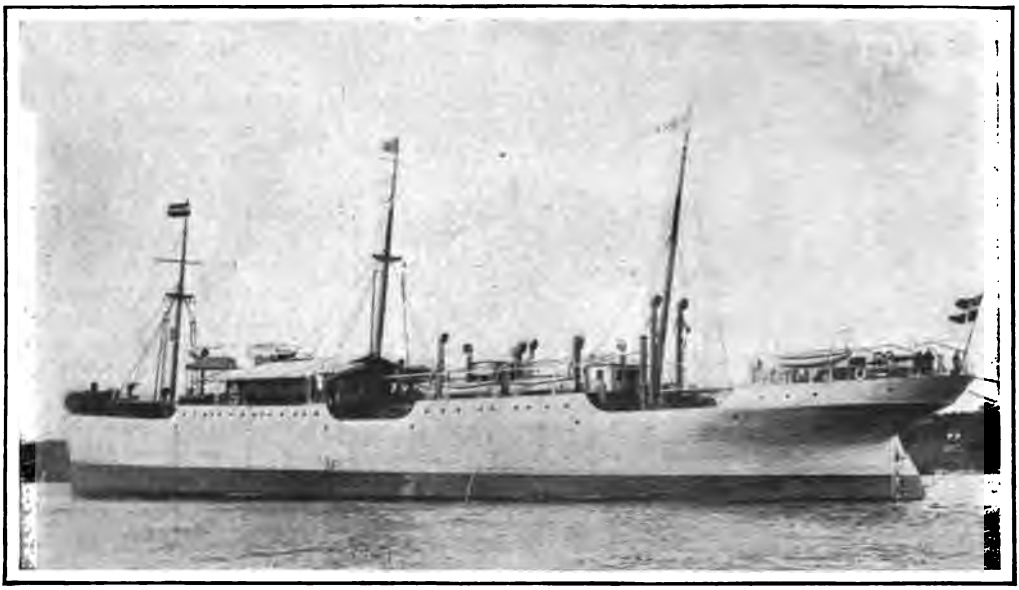
In a great war, such as all the European nations are preparing for, there will be no such thing as the respecting of the rights of non-belligerents who are not powerful enough to protect themselves. In the same way the oil fields of the lesser powers would undoubtedly be seized by the first nation, or coalition, that felt it could further its own ends by their possession. Of such are the great fields of Rumania and the Dutch Indies—Sumatra and Borneo. The oil fields of Mexico would also be included in this list but for the fact that the protecting wing of the Monroe Doctrine renders them fairly safe from European aggression. If the United States, however, became hard pressed for oil, as might happen in a war, this "law of might and expediency" would undoubtedly be invoked to justify our seizure of the Mexican fields. The Rumanian fields would be the greatest prize for Austria, save for the Galicia fields, as neither that country nor the other two members of the Triple Alliance have any amount of oil of their own. These fields lie fairly easy to hand for Russia, however, and, although that country has more than enough oil for its own use, it would never allow the Rumanian fields to go to an enemy without a struggle.

With the Japanese alliance still a fact, the oil fields of the Dutch Indies could easily be taken over by Great Britain in case of need. On the other hand, with the British navy out of the reckoning, nothing could prevent these fields falling to Japan should their possession ever be deemed imperative to the existence of that empire. The Bornean and Sumatran fields, which are becoming large producers, would give Britain a very considerable supply of fuel oil, but the line of transport between there and England is too attenuated and exposed to make it one to be depended upon in case of war. To Japan these fields would indeed prove an incalculable asset.



ONE OF THE PIPE LINES OF A CALIFORNIA SUPPLY

(Similar lines are being pushed farther and farther afield from every oil producing center in the United States, with the result that the oil-consuming zones are constantly spreading and the coal-consuming zones being restricted. Probably 65,000,000 barrels of oil were used by American manufacturers in 1911, and perhaps 5,000,000 barrels more in 1912)



"CHRISTIAN X," THE FIRST GREAT MOTOR-DRIVEN LINER IN AMERICAN WATERS
(This ship, originally built in Denmark, is now in the regular service of the Hamburg-American Line)

Russia, ranking next to the United States among the world's oil-producing countries, will benefit commercially by the coming increased demand for that commodity, but from the fact that, as things stand at present, her naval activities are considerably circumscribed, will not be able to take advantage of her good fortune in having an ample liquid fuel supply of her own to the same extent as would otherwise be possible. Russia is only just beginning seriously to replace the navy which was practically wiped out in her war with Japan, and the abundance of her oil supply should alone be sufficient to cause her to follow the lead of the United States and Great Britain in building ships equipped to consume that fuel exclusively.

THE GREAT RUSSIAN OIL FIELDS

Most of Russia's oil comes from the Baku district, on the Caspian, in many respects the most remarkable field in the world. Neither in point of the time during which it has produced, nor in the volume of annual production which it still maintains, has it a serious rival. There are inscriptions in this vicinity which indicate that oil was brought from the depth of the earth at this point in the time of Alexander, 330 B.C., and it would appear that either Hindus or Zoroastrians had a "fire-temple" there at an even earlier date. From the time of Marco Polo down to the present there is an unbroken chain of records referring to the existence of oil wells at Baku, and even among modernly operated fields this one ranks among the oldest.

The great output of the Baku field is as remarkable as its age, for up to within the last four or five years, the little district included in a six- or eight-mile radius from the city of that name, has produced close to one-fifth of the total annual oil outrun of the world. In 1902, when the Baku district produced 76,000,000 barrels, and before California began to figure extensively, this remarkable Russian field accounted for over one-third of the world's supply. Since 1902 its output has fluctuated considerably, but with a decided downward trend, so that in 1911 its production was but 52,000,000 barrels, with continued decreases probable. Russia's only other important field, the Grosny, produced a little over 9,000,000 barrels in 1911, to which the Maikop and other districts added about 5,000,000 more. Both European and Asiatic Russia have oil prospects of great promise, but the fact that the best of them are on unopened government land will preclude rapid development unless there is a radical change of policy. Several foreign concerns are working on the Russian island of Sakhalin, in the Pacific, and it is expected this district will begin to figure as a producer this year.

The Prahova district, which produces nine-tenths of the Rumanian oil output, declined somewhat in 1911, but increases in some of the minor fields brought the total of that country up to the highest figure

THE MAYOR'S TREMENDOUS JOB

When all the issues have been determined, and the election is over, the successful candidate for the mayoralty will address himself to the largest administrative task entrusted to any municipal official in the world. The next mayor in New York will appoint sixty heads of departments and members of executive boards, who during the four years of his term, based upon 1913 appropriations, will spend $236,000,000. Of these sixty executives, fourteen are in charge of fourteen major departments, and the remaining forty-six are members of eleven administrative boards or commissions. Not only will he be required to find men with some competence to take charge of the great departments under his control, but he will have to prescribe for every department for which he is responsible a course of action more or less in detail.

MAKING OVER POLICE ADMINISTRATION

The next mayor, whoever he may be, will be confronted with the great and vital task of reorganizing the police department. This clearly will be expected of him, no matter by whose votes he is placed in office. Recently completed investigations will put into the next mayor's hands more information regarding the problem of police administration than any American mayor has ever had. By the end of the next four years New York should hear the last of police corruption and ineffectiveness. New York is prepared for a new definition of public work, and is surfeited with police mismanagement and ineptitude. The next mayor's success in this undertaking will very largely determine popular judgment of his administration.

GREAT MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

The next mayor will have to find a head for New York City's health department, competent to develop a program in answer to increasing popular demand for more zealous protection of the public health. He will be required to find and set at work a commissioner of docks charged with formulating plans for carrying out a practical reconstruction of New York's port facilities. The next mayor, unless he continues the present incumbents in office, must appoint a street-cleaning commissioner to take charge of 6500 men engaged on cleaning 26,000,000 yards of streets and removing each day 9000 tons of waste from city households; a water commissioner to administer what is now the largest municipal water system in the world; a fire commissioner to carry on the new work of fire prevention, in itself a problem of magnitude; a commissioner of the department of charities to deal with the momentous question of public dependency.

These are merely a few of the first month's problems that New York's next mayor must solve. Besides the departments I have mentioned there are a host of other municipal institutions of vital importance, both to the success of the administration and to the comfort and convenience of citizens, which are subject to the mayor's direction. There are hospitals to be administered through a board of eight trustees, to which the next mayor will, in the ordinary course of events, make five appointments. There is a great school system governed by a board of education, forty of whom the next mayor will appoint during the four years of his term. Radical changes in the system of public education were recommended by the corps of experts who last year studied the schools for the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The next mayor may not assume a negative attitude toward school questions. Four times the next mayor will sit as a member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to make the city's budget, now $192,000,000, and probably totaling in the four years $800,000,000. Directly and indirectly, 100,000 city employees will be subject to his influence, to inspiration by his leadership or to discouragement by his lack of leadership.

The next mayor will find a problem of especial difficulty in providing funds for new public improvements. An outstanding net constitutional city indebtedness of $738,000,000 makes practically prohibitive, both because of constitutional limitations and the great burden of interest and repayment, a further issue of bonds to pay for schools and the replacement or extension of other parts of the city's vast plant and equipment.

A SHIFTING PERSONNEL

The next mayor, even if he comes into office with the experience of seven years' contact with the city's business, as would Mr. Mitchel, will inevitably commit his reputation for the success or failure of his administration in a large degree to the hands of the assistants he appoints. These assistants, if precedents are to be followed, will for the most part be men without experience in municipal affairs. By virtue of necessity they regard municipal em[illegible]s a tem-

porary service, and will have scarcely acquired familiarity with their responsibilities before the term of the mayor by whom they were appointed expires. It is rare in New York for a mayor to continue in office the appointees of his predecessors. Only occasionally do department heads acquire in the public mind a status independent of their chief. This army of administrators comes with the mayor and goes with him,—a fact which makes doubly difficult the always slow process of developing departmental efficiency. The result of this condition is that the next administration, whoever is elected, will achieve only a small percentage of now hoped for efficiency, and will transmit to its successor a government somewhat improved, perhaps, but by no means divested of all the evils which during the coming campaign will be pointed out as a justification for the change.

THE RELATION OF TENURE TO EFFICIENCY

This is the price that democracy pays for perpetuating the traditions of democratic government. There is not the slightest question that New York could easily achieve a quality of government superior to any municipal government in the world, including those of German cities, if it were given permanent service by department heads, with resulting greater continuity in program. The government of the city could be made a triumph of civilization if its annual expenditures of about $285,000,000 were directed not by inexperienced officials, but by a permanent corps of experts. New York's next mayor will render an incalculable service if in appointing department heads he seeks to apply definite standards of experience, training, and independence of political control, and thus lay the basis for a popular demand that his successors in the mayoralty exercise the greatest caution in sending back into private life men who have demonstrated skilled capacity to conduct the details of city administration.

It is too soon in the development of municipal government in America even to suggest the possibility of practically permanent tenure by mayors. This may do very well, it is said, in autocratic Germany, but it is impossible in democratic America. A German city does not expect a mayor to proceed past the stage of formulating his program in the first four years of his administration. A movement in this direction is, however, already on foot in the United States, for in several cities, conspicuously in Dayton, Ohio, the adoption of the city-manager plan makes entirely logical a permanent tenure by the city's chief executive.

A MAYOR MUST ENDURE CRITICISM AND ABUSE

To many observers of city government in New York the office of mayor seems to impose tasks beyond the range of ordinary human ability. For the mayor of the metropolis is not merely the guiding executive of the multitude of departments, but the conspicuous representative of the city in all its public relations. By a persistently critical press he is made the object of incessant discussion, criticism, and generally abuse. So multifarious are his responsibilities that scarcely a day passes but that some untoward incident occurring somewhere in the vastness of the city government lays him open to public attack. Mayor Gaynor repeatedly complained of the endless criticism to which he was subjected. Mayor McClellan before him lived perpetually under the shadow of venomous newspaper hostility. In commenting on his administration after Tammany's public announcement of its intention to nominate Judge McCall, Mayor Gaynor said: "I have had a pretty hard time for four years to hold my own against all comers and against every corrupt influence, but I have been Mayor."

DUTIES LIKE A RAILROAD PRESIDENT'S

By a process of consolidation of various municipalities and unprecedented growth in population, New York's government has expanded into mammoth proportions. Its problems are literally too big for a single man to administer. Yet its charter makes no provision for group responsibility in the conduct of its affairs. It is true that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment shares with the mayor responsibility for financial legislation, for planning public improvements, for granting franchises, but the mayor alone is responsible for the conduct of all departments of the government except the borough departments of public works committed to the elective presidents of the boroughs. The mayor's office in New York is patterned upon the office of the President of the United States. He sits alone in City Hall, out of touch with the departments under his control, except as information of their conduct is brought to him in the form of reports, personal interviews with his commissioners, or by statements in the press. His duties are similar to the duties of a great railroad executive,

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NEW YORK'S MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS

BY HENRY BRUÈRE

(Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research)

DESPITE the long array of men who have left New York's mayoralty discouraged or discredited, every fourth year brings forward a new group of aspirants hopeful of achieving what others had failed to achieve,—a successful administration of the city of New York. For there is no prize more worth striving for than the reputation which awaits the man who first has vision enough, courage enough, ability enough to build up in New York an untrammeled, competent and highly serviceable government.

Opportunities for service in the government of New York City are unlimited. Service rendered there is not restricted in its benefits to the people of New York, but spreads throughout the nation, for among American cities New York stands on a promontory. What it achieves it makes possible for other cities to achieve. New York is a great laboratory of municipal experiment. In the socialization of government it keeps a stride ahead of other American municipalities, and this notwithstanding the fact that New York has never had a government wholly free and competent to make its first concern service to the people of the city.

In this year, when a mayor is to be chosen, there was at the outset promise of a new definition of the perennial anti-Tammany issues. In the Committee of 107, organized to compound a ticket which the elements of fusion would support, there were many men of fresh interest in politics with a very definite social program underlying their concern for electing suitable officials. There were more seemingly suitable candidates to choose from this year than in other years, because in its fusion Board of Estimate and Apportionment and in its District Attorney's office the city had been for four years conducting a training school for *distinguished* civic service.

But a mayoralty election in New York is something more than an opportunity for selecting the chief administrator of the city and his associates. It is the only occasion presented to the public for framing the policies of municipal action. It is the only opportunity in which those who would lead public opinion may submit their proposals to the judgment of the electorate. Therefore, even were partisan and factional differences completely eliminated, and selfish office-seeking wholly suppressed, it would still prove difficult to select a group of candidates whom all the independent voters in New York would be ready to support. This has proved to be the case in this year. At the very moment when the labors of the harmonizing committee seemed to approach successful completion a discordant voice was raised. Mr. Hearst and his following declared their opposition to two thoroughly competent officials because, they charged, in voting for the recently executed subway contracts these officials had broken the pledges of municipal ownership upon which he claims they were elected to office. "My lance is leveled," proclaimed Mr. Hearst, "I intend to assail all public traitors, all corporation mercenaries, no matter under what banner the scarlet livery of their shameful service may be found."

And so the Hearst rejection of the substantial part of a carefully compounded fusion brought into the campaign a new question in New York, the question of official responsibility to the electorate for the fulfilment of a platform pledge. Heretofore issues in New York City have either been personal, or the vague issues of good government versus alleged Tammany corruption.

MORE DEMOCRACY

More significant than the question at issue in the Hearst charge is the possibility of the development in New York of a vigorous movement to establish popular control over government through the initiative, referendum and recall. This issue (for if Mr. Hearst chooses to make it an issue there is no question that it will become a formidable one) is likely to overshadow the issues of constructive service which at the beginning of the campaign seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the citizenship.

THE MAYOR'S TREMENDOUS JOB

When all the issues have been determined, and the election is over, the successful candidate for the mayoralty will address himself to the largest administrative task entrusted to any municipal official in the world. The next mayor in New York will appoint sixty heads of departments and members of executive boards, who during the four years of his term, based upon 1913 appropriations, will spend $236,000,000. Of these sixty executives, fourteen are in charge of fourteen major departments, and the remaining forty-six are members of eleven administrative boards or commissions. Not only will he be required to find men with some competence to take charge of the great departments under his control, but he will have to prescribe for every department for which he is responsible a course of action more or less in detail.

MAKING OVER POLICE ADMINISTRATION

The next mayor, whoever he may be, will be confronted with the great and vital task of reorganizing the police department. This clearly will be expected of him, no matter by whose votes he is placed in office. Recently completed investigations will put into the next mayor's hands more information regarding the problem of police administration than any American mayor has ever had. By the end of the next four years New York should hear the last of police corruption and ineffectiveness. New York is prepared for a new definition of public work, and is surfeited with police mismanagement and ineptitude. The next mayor's success in this undertaking will very largely determine popular judgment of his administration.

GREAT MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

The next mayor will have to find a head for New York City's health department, competent to develop a program in answer to increasing popular demand for more zealous protection of the public health. He will be required to find and set at work a commissioner of docks charged with formulating plans for carrying out a practical reconstruction of New York's port facilities. The next mayor, unless he continues the present incumbents in office, must appoint a street-cleaning commissioner to take charge of 6500 men engaged on cleaning 26,000,000 yards of streets and removing each day 9000 tons of waste from city households; a water commissioner to administer what is now the largest municipal water system in the world; a fire commissioner to carry on the new work of fire prevention, in itself a problem of magnitude; a commissioner of the department of charities to deal with the momentous question of public dependency.

These are merely a few of the first month's problems that New York's next mayor must solve. Besides the departments I have mentioned there are a host of other municipal institutions of vital importance, both to the success of the administration and to the comfort and convenience of citizens, which are subject to the mayor's direction. There are hospitals to be administered through a board of eight trustees, to which the next mayor will, in the ordinary course of events, make five appointments. There is a great school system governed by a board of education, forty of whom the next mayor will appoint during the four years of his term. Radical changes in the system of public education were recommended by the corps of experts who last year studied the schools for the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The next mayor may not assume a negative attitude toward school questions. Four times the next mayor will sit as a member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to make the city's budget, now $192,000,000, and probably totaling in the four years $800,000,000. Directly and indirectly, 100,000 city employees will be subject to his influence, to inspiration by his leadership or to discouragement by his lack of leadership.

The next mayor will find a problem of especial difficulty in providing funds for new public improvements. An outstanding net constitutional city indebtedness of $738,000,000 makes practically prohibitive, both because of constitutional limitations and the great burden of interest and repayment, a further issue of bonds to pay for schools and the replacement or extension of other parts of the city's vast plant and equipment.

A SHIFTING PERSONNEL

The next mayor, even if he comes into office with the experience of seven years' contact with the city's business, as would Mr. Mitchel, will inevitably commit his reputation for the success or failure of his administration in a large degree to the hands of the assistants he appoints. These assistants, if precedents are to be followed, will for the most part be men without experience in municipal affairs. By virtue of necessity they regard municipal employment as a tem-

politics in New York, but radical and conservative. In the present campaign much of the radical discussion will center about a retrospective issue—that of subways, for the subway contracts furnish the basis of Tammany Hall's attack upon Mr. Mitchel, and are the peg upon which Mr. Hearst will hang his popular-rule program.

Except for Mr. Hearst's municipal ownership following, the Progressive party is probably the only avowed non-Socialist party with what conservatives describe as a radical program. Judged by the platform adopted by the Progressives in 1913, its radicalism is not of a revolutionary order. What they propose is a mixture of the program of German cities and the new democratic freedom of the cities of western United States.

PROGRESSIVE DEMANDS

They ask for a city freed from boss and machine domination. As a protestation of faith this will be subscribed to even by the ultra-conservative forces. They ask for a city freed from State legislative interference—in other words, for home rule—a policy advocated with equal vigor by Mr. Murphy's Tammany Hall. They ask for a city freed from excessive charges of public service corporations, and to bring this about they declare for municipal ownership and operation where necessary. They ask for a city freed from an excessive tax rate, thus making a concession to those who protest against the mounting cost of government in the metropolis. They demand "a city freed from exorbitant prices for the necessaries of life, and other conditions of economic injustice which now harass and oppress great numbers of people, by progressive employment of municipal powers to aid in ending these conditions." It is in this economic program that lies the potential radicalism of the Progressive party. As a part of this program the Progressives urge wholesale terminal markets and cheaper transportation of food products by utilizing the new rapid transit lines in outlying boroughs; open piers for shippers, criminal prosecutions of violators of anti-monopoly statutes, an adequate supply of ice at lower prices through municipal ice plants, action to reduce congestion, to lower rents and to improve housing conditions. To this end they promise an inquiry into "the use of the natural sources within the city side by side with rent speculation and the growth of great fortunes which represent no increase in wealth, happiness or prosperity of the community."

This program, at least affirmative, is the first statement made by the first political party in New York City to avow the purpose of linking the city government more intimately with the life of the people and building up for the benefit of the whole public common economic services under municipal direction.

TAMMANY AND ECONOMY

Contrasted with the Progressive program is the essentially conservative program of Tammany Hall. The Progressive program is a document of fourteen pages. Less than a column and a half of newspaper space is required for a full statement of the Tammany platform. Tammany devotes chief attention to pledges of rigid economy and to presenting a word-picture of what it claims to be a critical financial condition of the city. With regard to taxation it repeats the threadbare promise of relief to taxpayers. With regard to home rule it points to the recent home rule enactment of the Democratic State Legislature as fulfilling previous pledges of the Democratic party. The development of the wider use of public schools as social centers, fire prevention work, a public market system, civil service and police reform, with a promise of fair treatment of labor, constitute the whole array of proposals which Tammany presents as an invitation for the support of the electorate.

Here is not even a vague threat of interference with vested interests or property rights. It is rather the conservation of property interests upon which Tammany places its chief emphasis. Incidentally, Tammany's new rôle as a public guardian of property rights is strikingly emphasized by the fact that it was to Tammany Hall that the Economy League, an organization of land-owners and real-estate operators, made its appeal for protection from municipal extravagance. This despite the fact that the present government of the city of New York was elected to office because of exposures of Tammany waste, and despite the reputation for the somewhat open-handed treatment which Tammany office-holders in the past accorded the city's finances. Land-owners have a suspicion, whether justified or not, that though reformers may check waste by the introduction of efficiency, they will not bring relief to taxpayers, but expend the money so saved for some "idealistic" purpose. According to the manifestoes of the Economy League, no "idealist" might expect the support of the land-owners in a candidacy for public office.

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porary service, and will have scarcely acquired familiarity with their responsibilities before the term of the mayor by whom they were appointed expires. It is rare in New York for a mayor to continue in office the appointees of his predecessors. Only occasionally do department heads acquire in the public mind a status independent of their chief. This army of administrators comes with the mayor and goes with him,—a fact which makes doubly difficult the always slow process of developing departmental efficiency. The result of this condition is that the next administration, whoever is elected, will achieve only a small percentage of now hoped for efficiency, and will transmit to its successor a government somewhat improved, perhaps, but by no means divested of all the evils which during the coming campaign will be pointed out as a justification for the change.

THE RELATION OF TENURE TO EFFICIENCY

This is the price that democracy pays for perpetuating the traditions of democratic government. There is not the slightest question that New York could easily achieve a quality of government superior to any municipal government in the world, including those of German cities, if it were given permanent service by department heads, with resulting greater continuity in program. The government of the city could be made a triumph of civilization if its annual expenditures of about $285,000,000 were directed not by inexperienced officials, but by a permanent corps of experts. New York's next mayor will render an incalculable service if in appointing department heads he seeks to apply definite standards of experience, training, and independence of political control, and thus lay the basis for a popular demand that his successors in the mayoralty exercise the greatest caution in sending back into private life men who have demonstrated skilled capacity to conduct the details of city administration.

It is too soon in the development of municipal government in America even to suggest the possibility of practically permanent tenure by mayors. This may do very well, it is said, in autocratic Germany, but it is impossible in democratic America. A German city does not expect a mayor to proceed past the stage of formulating his program in the first four years of his administration. A movement in this direction is, however, already on foot in the United States, for in several cities, conspicuously in Dayton, Ohio, the adoption of the city-manager plan makes entirely logical a permanent tenure by the city's chief executive.

A MAYOR MUST ENDURE CRITICISM AND ABUSE

To many observers of city government in New York the office of mayor seems to impose tasks beyond the range of ordinary human ability. For the mayor of the metropolis is not merely the guiding executive of the multitude of departments, but the conspicuous representative of the city in all its public relations. By a persistently critical press he is made the object of incessant discussion, criticism, and generally abuse. So multifarious are his responsibilities that scarcely a day passes but that some untoward incident occurring somewhere in the vastness of the city government lays him open to public attack. Mayor Gaynor repeatedly complained of the endless criticism to which he was subjected. Mayor McClellan before him lived perpetually under the shadow of venomous newspaper hostility. In commenting on his administration after Tammany's public announcement of its intention to nominate Judge McCall, Mayor Gaynor said: "I have had a pretty hard time for four years to hold my own against all comers and against every corrupt influence, but I have been Mayor."

DUTIES LIKE A RAILROAD PRESIDENT'S

By a process of consolidation of various municipalities and unprecedented growth in population, New York's government has expanded into mammoth proportions. Its problems are literally too big for a single man to administer. Yet its charter makes no provision for group responsibility in the conduct of its affairs. It is true that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment shares with the mayor responsibility for financial legislation, for planning public improvements, for granting franchises, but the mayor alone is responsible for the conduct of all departments of the government except the borough departments of public works committed to the elective presidents of the boroughs. The mayor's office in New York is patterned upon the office of the President of the United States. He sits alone in City Hall, out of touch with the departments under his control, except as information of their conduct is brought to him in the form of reports, personal interviews with his commissioners, or by statements in the press. His duties are similar to the duties of a great railroad executive,

but, unlike the president of a railroad, he has no executive staff that vicariously maintains intimate contact with the processes of the corporation.

NEEDED ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

Begun under Mayor McClellan and continued under Mayor Gaynor, the chief executive has utilized effectively the investigating office of the Commissioners of Accounts, but to a large degree this office is useful only to inform him of conditions after the fact, not to assist him in keeping his hand on the throttles of administrative control. New York's next mayor, if he is able to disengage his attention from the more dramatic public activities of his office, and devote his time to the development of an administrative mechanism to make him in a real sense the chief administrator of the city, will do what has not yet been done in the national government or in any State, make the chief executive of the great public corporation in fact the directing influence of its administrative subdivisions. To accomplish this the mayor must equip himself with a staff of high-grade technical aides and sedulously protect his time and energy from dissipation by after-dinner speeches, fruitless public discussions, irrelevant to the business of the municipality, and avoid the tempting opportunity to conduct with the citizens of New York correspondence of variegated and unending interest.

PUBLICITY AND THE MAYOR'S OFFICE

Day after day the mayor of New York is expected to give interviews to the press, because the mayoralty is regarded by newspapers as an especially rich field for news. The conspicuousness of his position and the avidity of the newspaper public so magnify every official and unofficial utterance of the mayor that much of his time needed by administrative questions has in the past been given to interviews, speeches and more or less irrelevant public statements.

Mayor Gaynor, perhaps more than any other of his predecessors, capitalized the opportunities for publicity that his office afforded. His official and unofficial letters, published as a campaign volume, were regarded by his followers as one of the strongest assets in his candidacy for reëlection. There is no inconsiderable number of voters in New York who would have gladly cast their ballots for Mayor Gaynor merely on the assurance that he would continue to provide for them the intellectual entertainment which the mayor's letters during the previous three years had afforded from week to week.

One of the chief merits of the commission plan is that no official is so conspicuous that his attention is continually diverted from the business for which he is employed by attention to publicity. In Germany, a bürgermeister sedulously avoids unnecessary personal publicity, and is, in consequence, as a rule infinitely more serviceable as a public official than an American mayor. New York will not receive from any mayor the quality of service of which he is capable, unless it is content to leave him unmolested to pursue the routine of his office. This may never come about until New York follows the example of a host of other American cities, and divides the responsibility of the mayor's office among a group of men.

AN EFFICIENT FINANCE DEPARTMENT

New York's next mayor, despite the inherent difficulties of his position, will have an infinitely better opportunity to succeed than any of his predecessors, for the government which will be placed in the hands of the new mayor on January 1, 1914, will be a completely different institution from the government put into Mr. Gaynor's hands in 1910, or in the hands of Mr. McClellan in 1903. Whoever is elected mayor, he will find in operation an efficient department of finance under a Comptroller thoroughly informed of the details of city business. Both Mr. Metz and Mr. Prendergast, the competing candidates for the comptrollership, will have had four years' experience in the administration of the city's finances by the first of January next. Both Mr. Metz and Mr. Prendergast are thoroughly committed to a businesslike conduct of the city's affairs, for to them belongs the credit of initiating and carrying forward the reorganization of the city's accounting methods, and for developing in the department of finance an agency of business control unequalled in any American city.

During the past four years a momentous program of administrative reorganization has been set on foot in New York City. This program now in progress of execution by city employees, and thoroughly understood by a considerable body of citizens, it is hardly conceivable that any mayor will undertake to check. On the contrary, before the campaign is far advanced, it is probable that each of the candidates will specifically promise to continue such work as salary standardization, supply standardization, centralization of pur-

chasing methods, application of efficiency methods to departmental labor gangs, all of which are now actively under way and are building up in New York City for the first time in any city in America an efficient technique of municipal administration. It is because New York has progressed so far in administrative betterment, in converting political departments into service departments, that the 1913 election will have relatively little effect on the character of administration the city is to receive in the next four years. For New York no longer elects a mayor and then turns its back on city government. Citizens have organized a number of agencies which maintain an active contact with city affairs, and in a measure supply the continuity in improvement which the government itself, because of its quadrennial disruption, does not maintain.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CITY'S BUSINESS METHODS

It will not be possible for New York's next mayor to act in blindness in passing upon appropriations, nor will he be able to dodge responsibility for the manner in which the city's funds are used. The city's $192,000,000 budget is now stated with such clarity that its details are understandable to any intelligent official. Appropriations are binding obligations of expenditure for service instead of as in former years license to misexpenditures.

New York City's system of accounts is equal in efficiency to that of any great public-service corporation. A mayor, if he desires, may have submitted to him currently an exact statement of the financial transactions of every unit of the government.

The present Board of Estimate has established a special efficiency division as a part of its organization, consisting of a corps of engineers who are studying the details of sewer cleaning, pavement construction and road building, in order that to each of these important and costly processes a definite technique may be applied.

The next mayor will find in place of the uncorrelated authorization of bond issues formerly prevailing a definite method of basing authorizations for capital expenditures upon definite consideration of all the city's public improvement needs. The next mayor will find what has never existed in New York or in any American city before, a considerable body of city employees who are themselves actively interested in the inspiring undertaking of converting the loosely constructive administrative machinery of the municipality into a smooth-working mechanism.

A very considerable part of the fundamental work of checking the grosser forms of waste has been accomplished in New York City. In several of the principal departments very skilful and effective attention has been given to reorganization along lines of efficiency. In several of them standards have been established against which a mayor may measure the performance of every department under his direction. Thus, in the offices of the presidents of the boroughs of Manhattan and The Bronx enormous increases in service have been attained during the past four years, with an actual reduction in expenditure below the rates prevailing in 1909. This reduction means stopping the use of city employment for patronage purposes, eliminating favoritism in supply contracts, enforcing specifications on work contracts, and in keeping insistently before departmental employees the fact that their first obligation is to give back to the city adequate service for the compensation they receive.

But if the next mayor does not choose to administer the city as a great public-service institution, if he does not choose to press forward the work of reconstruction so effectively begun, if he has no vision or program and becomes a complacent instrument of a multitude of influences that stand ready to prostitute the whole public service to personal ends, then will come the test of the capacity of the citizenship of New York to take into its own hands the government of the city without the intervention of politics, bosses, citizen committees, and without dependence upon the uncertain leadership of a mayor. No one who knows New York has the slightest doubt that when this is done the metropolis will fulfil its obligation to every other American city by erecting at the gateway of the United States a city which shall be a continuing monument to American civilization.



CLEVELAND'S FEDERATED GIVERS

BY CHARLES WHITING WILLIAMS

"Because I want to help make Cleveland a better place in which to live, to work, and to play, because I want every dollar I give to charity to do the most and the best that it possibly can for the needy, and believing that the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy furthers these ends, I take pleasure in subscribing the sum of $..... to be paid at the times and to be distributed in the manner indicated below."

A BOARD of thirty trustees which represents a city's united benevolences, its coöperating philanthropists, and the general body of citizens in the receiving and distributing of a city's givings is attempting in Cleveland, Ohio, something new in the unification and simplification—incidentally, also, the salvation—of a city's works of good will. The almost daily inquiries—received by wire as well as post—from the leading municipalities of the entire country would indicate that the problem which Cleveland is thus attacking is one of nation-wide proportions.

Doubtless the increased difficulty of capturing the charitable dollar and the rapidly growing unhappiness of the pursued possessors of it are the factors which have brought the problem into view in other cities quite as much as in Cleveland. There the Chamber of Commerce Committee on Benevolent Associations—the first to be connected with a civic or commercial body in the country—began in 1900 to aid the worthy benevolences by endorsing their financial appeals and refusing to endorse those which investigation discovered to be either highly inefficient or frankly fraudulent. Seated in the charity confessional thus created, this committee heard for a number of years two tales that seemed to conflict. From the organizations came complaints of increased difficulty in securing funds, and from the supporters of these organizations the story of the growing overstrain of multitudinous appeals. Evidently something was wrong. In 1907 a city-wide investigation of the problem showed such a surprising situation that it seemed hardly possible. So abnormal was it that action appeared unwise without further investigation. In 1909, accordingly, seventy-three benevolent organizations very kindly again accepted the invitation to submit their lists of donors and donations for further study, with the same surprising showing,—only more so.

Out of a city of over 600,000 people, it was found that the whole charitable enterprise, receiving current contributions of $500,000, was being supported by only 5386 separate contributors of $5 or more,—less than one per cent. of the population! Of these, furthermore, more than 800 were commercial firms and corporations. Moreover, of the 5386 contributors 54 were giving 55 per cent. of the total contributed, while 1066 individuals and firms were contributing 90 per cent. of the total: 3537 were giving over 98 per cent. of all contributed. Nor was this all. While, as between 1907 and 1909, the amount contributed had increased 22 per cent., the number of contributors had decreased 11 per cent!

As explained by the committee's chairman, Mr. Martin A. Marks, the difficulty which the committee had thus discovered was the difficulty which is certain to underly the competitive method of canvassing for funds. This difficulty is that "the education in charity of the general giver and of the non-giver does not increase proportionately with the increase of charity needs. On the contrary, as the difficulty of securing funds increases through the increased number and needs of institutions, each institution finds that the best way out—at least the quickest way—is to carry its troubles to the offices or the drawing-rooms of the few large givers, disregarding the cultivation of the small giver and the general social education of the non-giver. In times of financial strain such cultivation and education are too slow with their results. In prosperous times they seem unnecessary."

FIFTY-THREE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FEDERATION

The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy is the result of the committee's five years of investigation and subsequent planning. As fully constituted, it has been

in active operation since March 1 of the current year. Before that time ten trustees had been chosen by the constituent organizations, ten elected by the city's larger givers, and ten selected to represent the city at large by the president and directors of the Chamber of Commerce. Such organizations are eligible to participation in the Federation "as make to the citizens of Cleveland, without restriction to religious, denominational, or other affiliations, a legitimate appeal for funds with which to further their activities." The legitimacy of an organization's appeal is established by the Chamber's Committee on Benevolent Associations, and only such as receive its endorsement are eligible to membership in the Federation. As to whether its appeal is general or not, each institution is free to decide for itself. Out of fifty-eight endorsed organizations fifty-three have accepted the Federation's invitation, and of the five remaining two make only a restricted appeal and are thus not strictly eligible.

HOW FUNDS ARE SOLICITED

On behalf of these fifty-three, the Federation makes a coördinated appeal, furnishing the amount of current-expense needs of each (as shown) and giving opportunity to each giver either to designate his beneficiaries or to place his gift for distribution at the discretion of the Federation Board. Persons thus making subscriptions through the Federation are freed from any further solicitation for current expenses by any organization in the Federation. Appeals for other than current needs are to be made by an institution only after consultation with the Federation.

The federated subscription blank shows $472,000 as the current needs of the fifty-three constituents, Catholic and Protestant (the Jewish being already in a very successful federation). "To relieve the needy and comfort the friendless," the list shows twelve; "to aid orphaned, sick, crippled and needy children," seventeen; "to insure equal opportunity to all," including social settlements and others, ten. Those "to heal the sick and help the blind" number fourteen.

Between October 1, 1912, and February 3, 1913, when the new organization began receiving gifts under a provisional commission, about $200,000 had been contributed to the various charitable organizations without reference to the Federation. Between February 3 and July 15 over 4000 persons had subscribed on the Federation's subscription blanks a total of over $200,000. Three-fourths of this amount has been specifically designated for not only the fifty-three constituent organizations, but also about forty others in the city. One-fourth has been placed at the Federation's discretion. In a complete year it is expected that these same subscribers will send through the Federation gifts totalling close to $300,000, or two-thirds of the city's benevolent budget. With a fair increase in the number of subscribers, therefore, the prospect is good that the Federation in its next fiscal year, beginning October 1, will handle 85 per cent., at least, of the total.

GIVERS WHO HADN'T KNOWN WHAT THEY WERE GIVING

All the experience of the Federation up to date promises fulfilment of the quadruple aims of the new plan; namely, (1) to secure more dollars for works of good will, (2) to render those dollars more effective, (3) to secure more givers, and (4) to make those givers happier and consequently more socially effective in all ways.

In connection with the first of these aims, the Board of Trustees in its turn was surprised to find that comparatively few givers in the city possessed any idea of the amounts —and, in many cases, of the recipients—of their gifts.

"I enclose a check for $1,000," wrote one of the city's well-known philanthropists. "I presume you can find from the donors' lists of organizations you have on hand how far this will go towards repeating my gifts of last year. If it is more than enough, keep the balance. If too little, send for more."

"How much did I give last year and to what?" came into the office frequently by mail and by 'phone. One inquirer was told that her gifts had totalled $75, divided among eight institutions.

"You don't say! Well, put me down immediately for $400," was the response.

One philanthropist made—for the first time—the amount of his total gifts bear a certain reference to the total of his income, and then divided this sum among his usual beneficiaries. When later he compared this total with that of the previous year as told him—also, for the first time—by his secretary he was amazed to find that he had doubled his regular contribution to his pet philanthropy, had quadrupled all the others, and had furthermore put a generous slice at the Federation's discretion.

The trustees find themselves asked repeatedly by their friends to advise them as to what should be the proper total of their gifts. Probably no city in the country has

ever gone through such a heart-searching in the matter of giving as has Cleveland during the last few months. The reason is that decision as to the amount of a gift through the Federation is very different from the aggregate of decisions upon the various separate appeals as they come along from time to time. As the result of this more comprehensive consideration and decision, a Federation subscriber's gifts have averaged a great deal more than the aggregate of his actual gifts on the older basis, though they are not larger than the aggregate he *supposed* he had been making in response to the rain of appeals. From figures on hand this difference between supposition and actuality is increasing individual gifts between 50 and 75 per cent.

GIFTS INCREASED BY FEDERATION METHODS

The federated method undoubtedly increases gifts, furthermore, by increasing the range of the giver's social interest and the number of organizations to be chosen by him. There is certainly need of this. In 1909 the investigation showed that only thirteen persons and twenty corporations contributed to more than sixteen institutions; 65.7 per cent. of all givers contributed to one institution only. With the one pledge and the single check sent at the most convenient annual or semi-annual, quarterly or even monthly, dates, it is easy for the federated giver to enjoy the pleasure of connection with all that interests him. The two or three to which he has been giving seem a narrow field when he scans the city-broad and humanity-wide needs shown on the list of fifty-three organizations. By means of the aggregate checks at the most convenient times, also the larger gift for the larger number of institutions is handled with much less trouble, time, and postage than before. By one check a large number of individuals and corporations are now helping forty or fifty beneficiaries more effectively than could have been done a year ago with the interchange of over 100 letters. Receiving the various gifts, little or large, from its subscribers, the Federation adds the totals for any one institution and sends with its weekly check the list not only of those who contributed it, but also of all the Federation's subscribers, with the request that these be considered immune from appeals for current expenses, whether they have designated that particular institution or not.

THE GAIN IN EFFICIENCY

Surest result of all is the increase of the dollar's effectiveness. The average cost of collection the investigation of 1909 showed to be about $1000 per institution, or close to 15 per cent.—some organizations in the city are at the present moment paying solicitors a commission of 33 1/3 per cent.! There seems to be little doubt that the Federation's saving of postage, time, and commissions will reduce the charge to less than 5 per cent., thus putting $50,000 more into benevolent work without any increase of gifts. Even more important, the plan ought to revolutionize the responsibilities—and double the effectiveness—of both paid officers and volunteer trustees, most of whose time has up to the present usually been given to the raising of funds. For all institutions, also, the standing Committee on Institutional Efficiency plans to make possible the best administrative methods worked out by any of the fifty-three, besides securing the greatest possible coöperation between organizations working on the same or related problems, and the elimination of needless or duplicated effort. In close coöperation with the efforts of all the boards and committees, a General Auxiliary Committee, consisting of the active officer of each of the constituent organizations, is studying the possibilities of common purchasing, conducting a constant and coöperative canvass for securing new givers, etc. The increased mutual understanding gained by these auxiliary committee meetings (monthly) is in itself worth the cost of the whole plan to date.

ADDING TO THE NUMBER OF GIVERS

More vital, however, than the increase of dollars and their work will be the Federation's prosecution of a city-wide, constant, and constructive program for the purpose of intensifying and broadening the social interest of the community and increasing the number of givers or "social stockholders." In June a canvass for the unique purpose of securing a certain number of givers rather than a certain amount of gifts was conducted on a basis as wide as humanity itself. Three hundred volunteer representatives, consisting of Jews, Protestants, and Catholics working together in the same district groups or teams put upon the list of regular supporters of benevolence 2000 new names. Of these fresh investors in human welfare the social interest will be quite as valuable to the city as their gifts. The constant increase of their number will be the responsibility not only of the Committee on Ways and Means, but quite as particularly the Committee on Research and Publicity. This last, under the leadership of Prof. J. E. Cut-

ler, head of the department of sociology in Western Reserve University, is already working upon a number of investigations such as have not heretofore been feasible elsewhere, and has already enrolled as active coöperators the Cleveland Federation of Protestant Churches, the local university, the newspapers, the city library, and the city schools. A National Advisory Council has also been formed of the country's leading sociologists and economists who believe that the problems involved in the social education of a modern city are nation-wide in character.

Five months of path-finding would seem to show that more dollars, more effective dollars; more givers and more effective givers are all sure to be the result of the Federation's dependence on the information and the live interest of the whole city rather than upon a fifty-fold pressure upon a few. Such a city-wide information and interest can logically be supplied only by such a city-wide and non-partisan organization as the Federation. The Federation, thus, will fail if it does not do what no one of the fifty-three organizations is in a position to do, namely, discover and show to the city the full 100 per cent. of its needs. At the same time, equally interested as it is in the whole circle of social facts, it can be perfectly happy to let every giver choose that particular part of the whole problem which most appeals to him. These two factors of individual and pressureless choice from among the city's complete needs will, so it has been said, revolutionize American philanthropy. They are impossible except in connection with a federated plan.

"I wish I might say," said one of the city's donors not long ago, "that this $30 gift meant three times as much interest as that one of $10. Unfortunately, it simply means that I decided that that particular solicitor would require $30 to leave, while this one could be gotten rid of for $10. I could not possibly take the time either to hear appeals nor yet to refuse."

"Can you send us a list of organizations benefiting girls, so that our employees, who are mostly young women, will join with us in the satisfaction of our gifts?" came recently from a national corporation. A list was sent and the organizations on it were later inspected by the company's visiting nurse, with the result that the corporation made a larger gift than ever before. The possibilities along this line for not only firms, but also individuals, are unlimited. It will also result in curing a glaring defect certain to follow the competitive method of appeal: the dependence, namely, of institutional growth and success upon effective methods of financial appeal rather than upon the intrinsic value of the work itself.

COÖPERATION VERSUS COMPETITION

The Federation has been called "the greatest step in municipal history," chiefly because it represents a city's faith that its people will do more and give more through interest than through pressure; that they do not require to be badgered into benevolence; that the problem of the support of charitable work can be trusted to the good will—the enlightened good will—of the whole people. The reason why the coöperative basis must be tried is because the various organizations, as long as they are in competition with each other, tend to adopt the methods of the least considerate and most aggressive institution—in a way they are *forced* to. The Federation represents their clearer understanding that, after all, they are, inevitably, members one of another; one and all suffer alike for every abuse by any institution of the public fund of good will which constitutes the endowment of all.

In these days, when both wealth and social sympathies are growing faster than ever before, there is undoubtedly enough good will in such a city as Cleveland to furnish an abundant endowment for every form of good works that may be needed—provided the sum is not lessened by the carelessness and selfishness of institutions whose administrative and financial methods take no thought of the needs of other organizations doing work as worthy as their own. The maintenance and development of this fund and its direction into the various fields of community needs according to their real comparative importance are to be the responsibility of the Federation's board, which thus constitutes America's first Civic Council for the Conservation of Good Will.

On January 7, when the Chamber of Commerce authorized the creation of the new organization, the chairman of the Committee on Benevolent Associations expressed the belief that the meeting would be historic in making Cleveland "the first city to organize itself to become the 'City of Good Will.'" All that has transpired since in the direction of setting up the activities and realizing the possibilities of the new civic instrument makes it seem certain that he spoke the truth.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

TOPICS IN THE MAGAZINES

THE accession of Mr. Robert S. Yard to the editorship of the *Century Magazine* is the occasion of a three-page editorial confession of faith in the September number. This is chiefly a reaffirmation of the *credo* enunciated by the first editor of the magazine, Dr. J. G. Holland, nearly forty-three years ago, that the magazine should be conducted in "the free spirit of modern progress and the broadest literary catholicity." The fourth editor freely subscribes to this. The second and third editors, Mr. Richard Watson Gilder and Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, each in his own way, lived up to this ideal in their conduct of the magazine.

Can it be that the *Century* is more interested in politics than formerly? Colonel Roosevelt's history of the Progressive party, in the October number, might be taken to indicate a new departure. However, the magazine has always given space freely to accounts of political movements. In the September number Mr. Charles R. Miller, of the New York *Times*, writes of "The Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuela Dispute," while Mr. Victor Rosewater contributes an account of Oregon's part in the Hayes-Tilden controversy.

In connection with the discussion created by Sir Oliver Lodge's address before the British Association last month, Maurice Maeterlinck's essay on "Life After Death," in the September *Century*, is well worth reading.

A study of the Libyan Desert (illustrated with photographs) by Dr. Daniel T. MacDougal, director of the Carnegie Institute's desert laboratory, appears in the September *Harper's*. Another travel sketch is "Cartagena the Ancient," by William B. Lawrence. In the same number there is an excellent account of European farm credit systems, by John L. Mathews.

The series of articles on animal life contributed by Theodore Roosevelt to *Scribner's* is not to be made up of hunting stories; it will be confined to studies of the life histories of animals, based on Colonel Roosevelt's own observation and in part on the cumulative observations of others. The first article (September) deals with the life history of the African lion. In the October number he describes the elephant, which he compliments for its "wide range of intelligent appreciation."

In the October *Scribner's* appears the first of a series of articles on "The Man Behind the Bars," revealing something of the human side of prison life.

"Mural Painting in America," by Edwin Howland Blashfield, in the September *Scribner's*, is a contribution of permanent value.

Two of the especially thought-provoking contributions to the October *Atlantic* are Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin's article on "Monopoly of Labor" and Mr. H. Fielding-Hall's survey of India's political situation.

The engrossing feature of *McClure's* is the autobiography of the magazine's founder, Mr. Samuel S. McClure, who was born in County Antrim, in the north of Ireland, fifty-six years ago, and came to America as a boy of nine. The things that this immigrant lad has done in the publishing world are matters of current history. The first instalment of his life story appears in the October number.

Captain Scott's diaries carry the story of his Antarctic adventures to its tragic conclusion in *Everybody's* for October. It is a thrilling narrative, made vivid to the reader by the series of photographs taken by Captain Scott himself and by Mr. Pouting.

In the September *Forum* one of the most readable contributions relates sundry "Adventures While Preaching the Gospel of Beauty," being the personal experiences of Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, whose book of poems is reviewed on page 509 of this REVIEW.

Among the political and economic subjects treated in the *North American Review* for September are "Reorganization of the Republican Party," by James A. Fowler; "National Aid to Good Roads," by Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr.; "The Public's Financial Interest in Public Utilities," by Hammond V. Hayes, and "Social Hygiene: the Real Conservation Problem," by Lewis M. Terman. The Rev. Dr. Francis G. Peabody writes on "Nagging the Japanese Abroad" and "Anglo-American" on "American Ambassadors Abroad."

COÖPERATIVE CREDIT FOR FARMERS

IT is probably the fact that thousands of men engaged in business in the great centers of industry, where the legal maximum rate of interest is a moderate one, are totally unaware that farmers in the Northwest, whose abundant crops imply an enviable state of prosperity, have to borrow money or obtain credit, in order to carry on their agricultural operations, at interest rates reaching, in some cases, 20 per cent. This statement is not made on hearsay evidence, but is founded on returns supplied by bankers and implement dealers, as well as by farmers themselves. Mr. Meyer Jacobstein, of the University of North Dakota, recently wrote a series of newspaper articles in which he urged the farmers of that State to organize some form of coöperative credit as a means of lowering the interest on borrowed capital. These articles at once evoked protests from bankers, who stated that the rates were not too high, and that apparently high rates in some localities were due to local conditions.

Farmers' loans, it may be stated, are of two kinds: the long-time loan and the short-time loan. Those of the first kind average about $1500 to $2500, and run for about five years, are secured by farm mortgages, and are obtained for investment purposes—buying new land, erecting buildings, purchasing expensive machinery, etc. Short-time loans run from three months to a year, vary from $100 to $500, are always made on the farmer's personal note, and are sometimes unsecured and sometimes secured by a chattel mortgage. In order to obtain information at first hand, Mr. Jacobstein sent questionnaires to bankers, implement makers, and farmers in North Dakota, inviting replies to the following two questions: (1) What is the prevailing rate of interest? (2) To what extent is the rate affected by local conditions? The replies are summarized in the *American Economic Review*.

LONG-TIME LOANS

Of the 660 banks in the State of North Dakota, 125 sent replies to the questions put to them, and from these replies Mr. Jacobstein compiled the following table:

No. of Banks	No. of Counties	Rate of Interest
15	4	6 to 7
45	16	7 to 8
36	12	8 to 9
13	5	9 to 10
16	8	10 to 11
125	45	

It will be seen that one-half of the banks charge 8 per cent. or more, and that 16 banks (in eight counties) charge 10 to 11 per cent. Further, it is worth noting that the farmer who borrows, say, $1000 at 10 per cent. does not receive $1000. The year's interest, $100, is always deducted, and sometimes a bonus of $50 is exacted, and this also is deducted, so that the net sum handed over to the farmer is only $850. Questionnaires were sent also to 100 representative farmers; and it was found that the rates reported by bankers and by farmers were, as a rule, nearly identical in their respective counties.

SHORT-TIME LOANS

The bankers' replies showed that the average rate was 10.75 per cent., but 36 of them reported a rate of 12 per cent. The average rate reported by the farmers themselves was 11.07 per cent. It was further found that 95 out of the 125 reporting banks charged, on short-time loans, a higher rate to the farmers than to business men in the same locality.

STORE OR BOOK CREDIT

This is a form of short-time loans that is perhaps more important than bank credit. Mr. Jacobstein says of it:

> The North Dakota farmer is rarely denied credit at a country store. To secure information on this form of credit questionnaires were mailed to implement and hardware dealers as well as to farmers. One question asked was, "What percentage of farmers pay cash in buying farm machinery?" The answer from 54 firms was that only 13 per cent. pay cash, 87 per cent buying on time. Out of 29 farmers reporting only 6 pay cash in buying machinery and supplies. These book accounts run anywhere from three months to two years: the average account is carried about one year (12.37 months). The farmer contemplates making payment immediately after his prospective crop is marketed. In case of crop failure, the retailer will carry the account over until the next harvest season. A crop failure in a country where the farmer depends on a single crop, as he does in North Dakota, forces the retailer to carry the book accounts one whole year beyond the first harvest. It is quite common for the dealer to obtain a note from the farmer—the note generally bearing a 10 per cent. interest rate from the date of issue. Often, however, the note does not begin to bear interest until the farmer has failed to make payment at the expected time, that is, immediately following the harvesting season. The 54 implement and hardware dealers reported an average of 10.26 per cent. interest per year on these notes.

Various reasons are assigned for the high

rates charged for interest. A banker in Stark County places the onus on the farmers themselves. He says:

It is our belief that the scarcity of money and the high interest rates are largely due to poor farming. The people having money to loan know well that our farmers here have a very uncertain income, according to their present methods of farming, and would expect a much higher rate commensurate with the risk taken than when they can find people where money can be placed more safely. As conditions are here now, some people have not paid all of their interest for at least three and sometimes four years. . . As soon as our farmers can show that they are safe and will take care of their obligations promptly, they can command the lowest interest rates that may exist. We believe it more necessary to work on better farming methods, encouraging them, than on better interest rates; for the lower interest rates are the natural consequence to better farming.

Another complaint is: "Farmers are careless in not making prompt payment or renewals of obligation." A prominent banker says of the farmers: "They lack a sense of responsibility." Another banker attributes the high rates to the legal restrictions placed on the loaning power of the banks. In 1910 the farm mortgages in the State totalled more than $50,000,000, while the loaning power of all the banks was less than $5,000,000. Some of the banks turn the mortgage loans over to trust companies, collecting a commission from the farmer for placing the mortgage.

As to the remedy for the present plight of the borrowers, Mr. Jacobstein holds that it is to be found in the establishment of co-operative credit associations by the farmer. He says:

Allowing for all these local conditions—the great demand for capital in a new and developing country, the inability to attract sufficient outside capital because of the risky character of investment, the irresponsible character of some elements in the population, the character of farming methods, the commission agent, and the legal restriction handicapping banks—allowing for all these conditions, and because of some of them, it is believed that the farmers by organizing co-operative credit associations could reduce the rate of interest on both long- and short-time loans, and, furthermore, that such coöperative credit facilities would be a means of improving the methods of farming, would encourage stability in population, and would make the farmer feel that he is not being discriminated against in the borrowing and employment of capital.

It remains to be seen whether the farmers will make the experiment. They certainly could lose nothing by giving it a trial.

WANTED: A SET OF BUSINESS RULES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

"TO legislate, or not to legislate," is, of course, the question in every well-ordered senate; but in the United States body bearing that name the rules "are frankly based on the presumption that, as between legislating and not legislating, it is on the whole better not to legislate." Thus writes Mr. Judson C. Welliver in the September *Munsey's* on what he terms "our unbusiness-like Senate," with the further characterization, "a great law-making body whose rules make legislative efficiency impossible." The eccentricities of the rules under which our "greatest legislative body" legislates are such that "most of the legislation doesn't get done."

Bills are introduced by the thousands; a few pass; the vast majority neither pass nor get serious consideration. The Senate is so busy talking without limit, or getting out of trouble with its rules, that it really hasn't time to legislate any more.

It was recently demonstrated by Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, that the Senate is practically unable to do any business except by unanimous consent. One morning a certain Senator rose to introduce a bill. The proceedings that followed are thus described by Mr. Welliver:

"I object!" shouted Jones.

The chamber looked amazed. Jones showed it that under the rules a Senator must "ask leave to introduce a bill," and in case of objection must wait till the next day. He insisted, and the bill waited; the request for consent, however, was duly recorded.

Next day the Senator with the bill rose and introduced it. Ordinarily, by common consent, the procedure is that the bill shall be read a first and second time by title and referred to committee. The clerk proceeded with this formula but again Jones objected.

Again there was amazement. Jones showed that under the rule the bill could be read by title only once on the day of its introduction; then it must wait a day to be read the second time and referred. Again Jones stuck for the literal rule. He demonstrated that it took three days to get a bill introduced and referred; the unanimous consent procedure had required about fifteen seconds.

It was only a few days later that Senator

Jones again "showed up" the Senate's rules, this time in connection with the question of a quorum. We read:

An unimportant detail of business resulted in a call for a division, and thirty-one Senators rose on one side, nobody on the other. There was an ample quorum present, though less than a quorum was disclosed by the count of those rising. Thereupon Jones interjected the demand for a roll-call to secure a quorum.

The rules made it imperative. Even if the whole ninety-six Senators had been in their seats, and if every one had known that all the other ninety-five were on hand, nevertheless, the call for a quorum necessitated a roll-call. That means a waste of ten or fifteen minutes, at best.

Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, president *pro tempore,* was in the chair. He was tired of the filibuster. Instead of ordering the secretary to call the roll, he said:

"The secretary will take note of the presence in their seats of the Senator from California, Mr. Works; of the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. Norris; of the Senator from—"

The secretary was "taking note," when Mr. Works rose and protested that he had stood and been counted on the division. So did Mr. Norris. The presiding officer apologized, and proceeded to enumerate others; but he was stopped.

The storm broke all at once, when the grave and reverend Senate suddenly realized the horror that it had confronted. Its presiding officer had tried to perpetrate the outrageous common sense of counting a quorum! He had presumed to assume that because he could see a quorum with his two eyes, it was there! No more frightful degradation of Senatorial tradition could possibly be imagined.

Years ago, when Tom Reed did the same thing in the House it marked an epoch in American politics; but it had never been attempted in the Senate. The protests were loud and insistent.

Jones got into the proceedings and added to the ignominy by declaring that the presiding officer ought to go ahead. He opined that it was just plain common sense for the presiding officer, if he saw a quorum, to say he saw it, and end the fuss. Jones lectured the Senate a few moments about the foolishness of its rules and sat down.

But the presiding officer bent before the storm. He stopped the effort to count a quorum, thus officially establishing that the Senate does not presume that any man can preside over it who is competent to see or count.

On the rule of unlimited debate, how it works, and how it may be invoked to accomplish both good and bad ends, Mr. Welliver gives several interesting comments, together with some examples which, it must be confessed, can hardly be said to redound to the dignity of the Senate. He cites the case of a car-line franchise grab bill which eight determined Senators "choked off" by informing its sponsors that they were prepared to do nine hours' talking apiece. Senator La Follette's filibuster speech against the Vreeland-Aldrich currency measure of 1908 lasted nearly twenty hours. Several years ago Senator Carmack, of Tennessee, took the floor about twenty-two hours before Congress was due to adjourn and began to discuss the ship-subsidy measure.

It had passed the House, and was certain to get a goodly majority in the Senate if it could only be brought to a vote. The Democrats had decided to talk it to death and for several hours Mr. Carmack poured forth one of the most witty, brilliant, and entertaining addresses that the Senate had ever listened to, before the bill was withdrawn with the agreement that it would not be further pressed.

Similarly Senator Carter, of Montana, talked to death a river and harbor appropriation bill in an address of about ten hours, which was cut short by the fall of the presiding officer's gavel announcing that the session was dead.

Commenting on the merits and demerits of the rule of unlimited debate, Mr. Welliver says:

It has been useful at times beyond cavil. It has killed many an undesirable measure. It has enabled minorities to dictate compromises and conditions. It has stood in the way of majority control. If democracy is yet so imperfect and so dangerous that there is need to give to an insignificant minority the power of veto, then the rule is good and useful. But is it to be admitted that rules should be made with the purpose of preventing bad legislation? To admit that is . . . to charge representative government with hopeless incapacity or utter corruption.

Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, "declares flatly that the argument of preventing bad legislation has no weight with him and should have none with the country." He is determined to have the rule of unlimited debate repealed, and has introduced the following resolution:

That the Senate may at any time, upon motion of a Senator, fix a day and hour for a final vote upon any matter pending in the Senate. *Provided, however,* that this rule shall not be invoked to prevent debate by any Senator who requests opportunity to express his views within a time to be fixed by the Senate.

Any Senator may demand of a Senator making a motion if it be made for dilatory or obstructive purposes; and if the Senator making the motion declines or evades an answer, or concedes the motion to have been made for such purposes, the president of the Senate shall declare such motion out of order.

At present the Senate cannot fix the time to vote upon any measure except by unanimous consent. Any Senator, by objecting, can prevent the agreement; but once the

unanimous consent is secured and recorded it cannot be changed, even by unanimous consent. Mr. Welliver characterizes this as "one of the most ridiculous things about the Senate rules," and cites an instance in which the Senate wasted an hour in untangling a tangle in which it found itself about this very rule.

With our governmental affairs increasing in magnitude and complexity "there is a growing demand for efficiency in dealing with them, and there arises a gathering protest against a system that renders efficiency impossible." But the remarkable thing is that with "legislators frankly recognizing that vacations are bound to be shorter in future; that Congress is doomed to something like nine months of the steady grind year after year; with all the expense and hardship of it, with all the disappointment and futility, and failure to get consideration for measures that deserve it, the Senate thus far sees no reason to give itself a business set of rules."

THE WORLD'S COURT OF JUSTICE

ONE of the most significant and picturesque features of the Temple of Peace dedicated at The Hague on August 28, as noted by the Rev. F. Herbert Stead in the London *Review of Reviews,* is the number of contributions of all kinds received as gifts from the nations of the world.

The granite which forms the base of all the walls is presented by the Governments of Norway and Sweden, and the future of mankind will be well and truly based if it be founded on a love of peace as pure and steadfast as animates these Scandinavian peoples. The fountain which adorns the center of the garden, enclosed by the quadrangle, is a present from Denmark. The marble used so freely in the corridor is a freewill offering of the Italian Government. The grand marble staircase is a gift from the City of The Hague. Argentina presents the group of statuary at the foot of the stairway. Holland has fitly enough supplied the steps by which humanity rises upward. The seven staircase windows, as well as the grounds in which and on which the palace is built, are presented by the Dutch Government.

Great Britain has sent the stained glass which lights the great Court of Law, and every patriot will pray that she may always shed light on the processes of pacific justice. France, true to her artistic mission, sends a great painting to the chief court and a Gobelin to the smaller court. The anteroom to the latter is to be enriched with a vase of jasper, the present of the Russian Czar. Hungary sends six precious vases, Austria six candelabra.

A group of statuary in marble and bronze, to be placed on the first landing of the great staircase, is the gift of the United States. Brazil has made her offering of rosewood and satinwood to panel the Administrative Council Chamber, where China deposits her gift of four vases and Japan places her silken cartoons.

San Salvador has coated the chamber of the assistant secretary with her own rare wood; and the wood for its furniture was given by the black Republic of Haiti. Much of the timber used in doors and panelling is the present of the Dutch colonies. . . . The poor Turk, in the bitterness of his heart, might see in his gift a symbol of his fate. He supplies the carpet for the world's cabinet, "to be trodden underfoot of men." But Rumania, which is certainly no doormat of the powers, supplies four carpets. The clock in the great tower is Switzerland's tribute. Belgium gives the beautiful ironwork door of the main entrance.

Perhaps the most obviously symbolical of all the gifts is that which comes from the government at Berlin. The great front entrance to the grounds, consisting of shapely walls and handsomely-wrought-iron gates, is the present of Germany. Germany, it seems, is to open and shut the iron gates which admit the peoples of the world to the Palace of Peace. May she be a generous and ungrudging janitor! And if she ever stands out and away from the juridic Temple may her only motive be the more safely to guard the approaches to an end that is universally desired!

Mr. Stead also mentions the symbolic statuary which adorns the façade of the second floor. Science, Art, Agriculture, Navigation, Commerce, Industry, Eloquence, Conscience, Will, Force, Authority, Study, Wisdom, Humanity, Constancy, Justice, and Law are represented, and high above all the ideal figure of Peace.

The statuary of the finished palace will not be wholly symbolic, however.

There will certainly be four busts, one of Hugo Grotius, the pioneer of international law, of whom his own Holland and the world is justly proud, presented by the Society of "Vrede door Recht" (peace by law); one of King Edward VII, the Monarch of Peace, presented by the Peace Society; one of Sir Randall Cremer (who with Karl Marx and Mazzini helped to found the once dreaded "International"), the gift of the International Arbitration League; and one of Mr. W. T. Stead. This last is executed by Mr. Toon Dupuis, of The Hague, and is presented by the journalists of Holland. The four busts make a significant combination. The first to find a place in what will, one would hope, become the sculptured Valhalla of the heroes of peace are a jurist, a constitutional monarch, a labor leader, and a journalist.

Although the great Hall of Justice will seat only 300 persons, it is considered large enough to meet all demands.

HOW THE CUBAN RAILWAY WAS BUILT

IT has been said of Sir William Van Horne, former President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that he was always bigger than his job. This characteristic was a mark not only of his achievements of the C. P. R., but of the later splendid achievement in Cuba.

Most people know that Sir William has built a railway in Cuba, but few know how this daring and romantic project was carried out. In a vividly told story in the *Canadian Magazine* for September, C. Lintern Sibley gives us the account.

The great Canadian railroad builder had little notion when he first conceived the idea of building a Cuban railway what a tremendous problem confronted him. It was just after the American war with Spain and Cuba was under the provisional government of the United States. Sir William thought the time was ripe for the development of the island, and believed that his project would be received with open arms. To his astonishment he found that there were five companies already awaiting the opportunity to give a railway to the island, two of them American. Further, to his greater astonishment, "he discovered that neither they nor he could get a charter to build one for the simple reason that there was no competent authority to grant a charter. Spain had forever lost her authority, the island government was not sufficiently advanced in home rule to do so, and the American administration was prohibited from doing so."

For some men who had officially retired from active business life this would have been enough — not so with Sir William Van Horne. He quietly determined to build the railroad without a franchise. At this point we quote Mr. Sibley's graphic account:

Within a few days he had his agents at work, and before anybody knew what was happening, he had bought a strip of land right across the Island. Wherever possible that strip was just wide enough for the right of way of the Island. Where he could not buy a narrow strip of this kind, he bought whole plantations. In one instance he bought 30,000 acres at a clip. He needed no franchise to build a line on his own property. . . . Two great obstacles still remained. The first was this. He had no right to cross the public roads, and could not get it. The second was that the people of Cuba regarded the project with sullen, tacit opposition. They thought he was acting simply as the agent of the United States Government, and was thus beginning to tighten the hold of the United States on their property.



SIR WILLIAM VAN HORNE
(Once president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, who built the line in Cuba without a franchise)

How Sir William finally overcame these obstacles is told by the Canadian writer:

He would build a section at a time. Everybody who could be pressed into service in the locality of that section was hired and paid good wages. The Cubans are as amenable as anybody else to courteous treatment and good wages. The work would be carried along the section until the right of way came to a public road. Then suddenly everybody would be discharged. The work would thus be brought to a sharp and dramatic finish, and the engineers would clear out of the locality. But Sir William took care that agents were left behind to suggest to the people that it was a great pity that a man who was bringing good money into the country, and building them a railway, should have this great work held up by being refused permission to cross the public highways. The same thing happened all the way across the Island.

The City of Camaguey was the worst spot on the whole island to deal with.

The people there were sure Sir William was an agent of the United States Government, and they absolutely refused to sell him any land or allow his railway to come anywhere near the city. But he made friends with one man who had a big block of property running cornerwise into the city, and he managed to secure that block from him. Though he had no right of way on either side of it, he announced that this was where he

intended to plant his workshops. Also he serenely started to build the railway across the property. . . . He issued invitations broadcast to the people to come and witness the ceremony of the turning of the first sod of the Cuban Railway in Camaguey.

The people were sullen and suspicious. Hardly a soul responded. But at the last moment the Mayor and his brother-in-law and the latter's little daughter put in a reluctant appearance. The little girl was personally invited by Sir William to turn the first sod, and in the presence of her father and her uncle, the Mayor, and a crowd of small boys, she performed the ceremony.

Then Sir William went back to Montreal.

In his own house he called a meeting of the president and board of directors of the Cuban Railway, consisting of himself and nobody else, and proposed, seconded and carried unanimously a vote of thanks to the little niece of the Mayor of Camaguey for having so graciously performed the ceremony of turning the first sod of the Cuban Railway.

This he had inscribed on parchment and neatly bound. Then he bought a pretty little gold watch and had the same resolution engraved on this. Both parchment and watch he took with him to Cuba, and went straight to the house of the Mayor of Camaguey.

At the house itself Spanish hospitality asserted itself. They were shown into the best room, and a little crowd gathered outside the house, curious to know what was doing. Sir William put two parcels on the table, and announced that he wished to see the little signorita, the one who had turned the first sod of the Cuban Railway. Off went the womenfolk to hunt her up, and the word went round among the crowd outside. The public curiosity was quickened. The crowd enlarged. Out in the courtyard the visitors could hear the splashing of water. The signorita's face was being hastily washed. Then there was a further period of waiting. The signorita was having her Sunday dress put on.

At last she was brought to Sir William, and the great man, putting his hand on her head as he bent down to kiss her, could feel that her hair was wet around the fringes of the face-washing. Then he took up the two parcels.

"Let's go out into the courtyard," he said.

Now through the fence and over the gateway, all that went on in the courtyard could be observed by hundreds of eyes from the outside. And hundreds of eyes were immediately focused upon the scene. Head rose above head at every 'vantage point. People were climbing over each other to see what was going on. All of which suited Sir William splendidly.

Gravely he opened the first of the parcels, and produced the important looking parchment bearing the resolution which "the president and board of directors" had passed in Montreal. And he read out the document, one of his officials translating it as he went on into his best Spanish. Then the document, in its handsome case, was presented to the signorita.

Next the second parcel was undone, and the gold watch produced. Excited exclamations outside.

Sir William made a little speech, which was also translated, and then he gave the delighted little maiden the gold watch, "as a slight token of the appreciation of the president and board of directors of the Cuban Railway for her gracious act in turning the first sod of the railway."

And again he gave the little girl a kiss, and shook hands with her father and mother.

The quick, warm Latin nature of the outside crowd was touched, and when Sir William looked up at the tier upon tier of faces there were smiles and tears upon scores of them. He had reached the hearts of the people of Camaguey at last.

The next obstacle was the section where highways had to be crossed. Here the people themselves came to his aid. By the thousand they signed petitions calling upon the military governor to grant the Cuban Railway the right to cross the highways of the island. Sir William himself was ready when these petitions were presented to the military governor. The latter admitted the benefit the railway would be to the island, but what could he do? He was expressly forbidden from granting any franchise. "What would you yourself suggest?" he asked Sir William.

Sir William frankly admitted that the situation was too much for him, but he was certain that if the Governor, with his vast experience in statecraft, would take the matter into consideration, he could solve the difficulty within forty-eight hours.

"Suppose you think it over," said Sir William, "and let me know what you suggest?"

"Very good," said the Governor, and the seance terminated.

Sir William at once drove to the Governor's confidant and chief adviser, who happened also to be his own friend.

"The Governor will doubtless send for you to advise him as to whether anything can be done to permit me to link up my railway," he said. "I thought it best not to suggest to him what he might do. But if he asks you, please advise him that he could easily solve the situation by granting a revocable permit. Once I get that I'm mighty certain it will never be revoked."

While he was still speaking a messenger came to the friend to come and see the Governor. "He's acting even quicker than I had hoped for," said Sir William.

A day or two afterwards Sir William was asked to come and see the Governor.

"Well," he said, "did you find a way out?"

"I think so," replied the Governor. "It may not be exactly what you want, but I think it will do. What do you say to a revocable permit?"

Sir William shook his head, argued for a long time against it, and died hard—very hard. But he died.

The Governor, you must understand, was adamant. He would grant that, but nothing more—positively nothing more. Sir William thanked

him, recognizing the delicacy of the situation, and accepted—reluctantly accepted. The revocable permit was granted.

How to get out of the office without making any sign of haste must have demanded one of the greatest acts of self-repression in Sir William's life. But once out, horses could not carry him fast enough to his chief engineer.

Everything was in waiting for the crucial moment. Rails were stacked up at every highway crossing. Laborers were on hand. Everything was waiting for the word "Go," and "Go" was the word.

The railways were rushed across the highways with as near an approach to the action of greased lightning as human ingenuity could conceive in the situation. And before Cuba knew what was happening its first railway was in operation.

It was thus that Sir William beat out his competitors, and achieved what to every one of them was impossible—the building of a railway without a franchise.

PROSPERITY OF THE NEW NEWFOUNDLAND

THREE centuries ago Lord Bacon described the fisheries of Newfoundland as "richer by far than all the gold mines of Peru." For a century before he wrote these words, and almost down to the present day, Newfoundland has banked her all on her marine treasures. In this has been at once her strength and her weakness. Within the past half-decade, however, there has come an awakening. The colony has begun to realize that she has other sources of wealth besides her fish.

Newfoundland's geo-political position in the modern world is so generally unfamiliar to Americans that a few facts should be stated here. Newfoundland (accent always on the last syllable) is an island, the tenth largest in the world, lying a thousand miles a little north of due east of New York City. It is an autonomous British colony with a legislature of its own, independent of the Dominion of Canada, with a separate tariff, coinage, and postal system. It administers also a strip of the mainland known as Labrador. Its area is somewhat less than that of the State of New York. It has a remarkably indented coast line more than 6000 miles long, a few low mountains, and the greater part of its area is south of the latitude of Paris. This last statement is particularly significant in view



LOADING NEWFOUNDLAND PAPER PULP FROM HARMSWORTH'S MILLS AT GRAND FALLS FOR TRANSPORTATION TO ENGLAND

of the opinion, quite erroneous, but generally held in the United States, and largely also in Great Britain, that Newfoundland is an Arctic island, ice and fog-found for most of the year, and barren of all resources except its fisheries. As a matter of fact, the much-dreaded Newfoundland fogs are on the bank, some 200 miles from the coast. The island itself has less fog than England and an average winter scarcely more severe than those experienced in New York.

Newfoundland's three chief industries which, if developed in accordance with modern, progressive methods, will make her rich and perhaps eventually self-sustaining, are: (1) The fisheries; (2) the minerals, particularly the iron ores as already worked in the Bell Island region, and (3) wood pulp and paper manufactures. The last is a new industry, already under full swing at the mills of Lord Northcliffe at Grand Falls. Agriculture also has somewhat of a future in the island and, naturally, lumbering is always likely to be a steady occupation for the Newfoundlanders. Despite her isolation of four centuries, the island has been making rapid strides within the past few years. Capital, largely from English sources, is now coming into the island, and may be expected to work great changes in the near future. The government of Sir Edward Morris, who represents what is known as the People's Party, as opposed to the party of the former Premier, Sir Robert Bond, which is known as Liberal, is anxious to develop agriculture to the furthest extent possible. The Premier recently invited Prof. James Robertson, the eminent Toronto authority, Chairman of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, to examine the soil of the island. He reported that in his opinion Newfoundland was capable of developing a food supply which should be sufficient for the wants of all the people engaged in her industries. The island's agricultural future, he believes, lies in the direction of garden farming, particularly in root crops which grow well, even luxuriantly, in the short summer.

The fisheries of Newfoundland, even as the industry is at present conducted, are the greatest in the world.

For 400 years the "catch" of cod, herring, salmon, halibut, lobster, seal, mackerel and whale, and the byproducts of oil, skin and bone, have been Newfoundland's mainstay. To-day these marine products make up 83 per cent. of the island's total exports. About one-third of the population is engaged in catching and curing fish. The record catch of cod in Newfoundland was made in 1908. It amounted to 1,800,000 quintals (112 pounds each). This was exported (and practically all of the catch is sent abroad) for $8,000,000.

The Daily Consular and Trade Reports, issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, prints, in a recent number, nine pages of statistical and other data supplied by the American consul at St. John's, about "The New Newfoundland," which indicates a steady prosperity. The consul gives the total cod catch for 1912 as 1,295,500 quintals (a quintal is 112 pounds), with a value of more than $8,000,000.

Newfoundland's preëminence in fisheries is due to four causes:

(1) Her proximity to the great fishing grounds, which are at her very door; (2) the advantage of her geographical situation; (3) the quality of her climate, which is peculiarly helpful in curing fish; and (4) the ability and expertness of her people as fishermen. There has, however, been very little progress made in the methods of the industry since the summer of 1610 when old John Guy, the first permanent settler, landed on the island. All the cod (and when the Newfoundlander speaks of fish he always means cod) and most of the herring is preserved by being dried and salted. This is done in the same manner as in the days when the sumptuary laws of Queen Elizabeth (partly as an encouragement for the fish industry, in which the frugal Queen herself was interested) required all British subjects to consume fish at least twice a week. Improvements are now being made.

Very recently, Newfoundland has begun to take stock of her mineral wealth.

Already immense profit has been realized from the excellent iron ore being taken out of Bell Island, under the bed of Conception Bay on the east coast, and smelted and made into steel at the rate of more than a million tons a year at the great steel works at Sydney, Cape Breton Island. It has been estimated that more than forty millions of tons of this ore are within easy reach.

With her vast forest areas of fir, spruce, and hemlock, Newfoundland offers an unequaled field for the manufacture of pulp and paper.

Thanks to the physical configuration of the country, the large rainfall, and small evaporation, there is a great, almost unmeasured, amount of water power in Newfoundland. The spruce timber of the island, moreover, is said to yield more pulp per cord than even the famous Canadian spruce. A singularly successful employment of this water power, and the forests, is Lord Northcliffe's great paper-making plant at Grand Falls. Nearly 3,000 square miles of wooded territory in the interior, including a large lake and several rivers, have been leased by the Harmsworths (headed by Lord Northcliffe) and the tim-

ber is rapidly being converted into paper for the printing of the great London dailies, including the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*, controlled by them.

Of the output of pulp and paper, the consul at St. John's, already quoted, says:

The pulp and paper mill at Grand Falls and the pulp mill at Bishops Falls produced pulp and paper to the full extent of their capacity during 1912, which gave employment to at least 3,000 men, including the woodsmen and those employed in trucking and loading cars and vessels. During the year the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. completed its pulp mill at Grand Falls by the installation of six additional pulp grinders, bringing the total output of mechanical pulp to over 400 tons per day. A third generator was installed in the power house, and the paper mill was extended by the addition of two more fast paper-making machines, which increased the output of paper to over 1,000 tons per week. The exports of pressed ground wood pulp for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1912, amounted to 42,102 tons, valued at $361,149. The exportation of paper (news) during same period totaled 26,821 tons, valued at $1,201,656, all of which went to England.

Grand Falls is a modern town in the making, with churches, schools, and an up-to-date system of sanitation. The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, which operates the paper enterprise, also owns and works two railroad lines, one extending in a northwesterly direction to a port, Botwood, from which shipments of the paper are made direct to England by a chartered line of steamers.

The modern era in Newfoundland may be said to have begun with the building of the Reid transinsular railroad in 1898. The main line extends from the capital, St. John's, on the eastern coast, in a loop around the northern portion of the island, and then in a southwesterly direction to Port-aux-Basques, where a fast ferry steamer makes connection with Sydney, the capital of Cape Breton Island. This present line, with its existing branches, is 635 miles long. Other branches, aggregating 250 miles more, are to be constructed in the near future.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN OF DEATH VALLEY

A FASCINATING story of human service under dramatic circumstances is told by Howard C. Kegley, in the "Interesting People" department in the September *American Magazine*. It is the story of Lou Wescott Beck and his dog Rufus, and is worthy of the annals of the Monks of St. Bernard. This man Beck and Rufus have saved scores of lives during the past ten years. But we will let Mr. Kegley tell the story in his own words.

Time was when Beck was a plain prospector in the Cripple Creek country. He was in on the diggings at Leadville, and he panned around in Montana a while. Likewise he rushed into the Big Horn at the time of the mineral strike there, but he never struck a lead that made him rich. Eventually he drifted down through Nevada and into Death Valley, chasing rainbows. Wild rumors about "Death Valley" Scotty's big find in that section electrified the country, and scores of prospectors rushed into the desert, expecting to make their fortune in a few days. Beck was "among those present."

There were several in Beck's party. They hiked many miles through the mirage land, finding nothing worth while, and worrying constantly lest they exhaust their supply of water. For two days they sought water holes; and when out of water they went for hours with tongues swollen and lips parched from want of moisture. Then when death seemed inevitable they suddenly discovered a tiny stream trickling out of a canyon at the base of the Panamint Mountains.

When Beck returned to civilization he was a changed man. He had seen sands that were strewn with skulls, and that sight had put a big idea into his head.

Came spring, and Beck made another trip through Death Valley. At his side was a Newfoundland dog. The prospector carried a bundle of tin strips. They were signboards to guide the wanderers' steps aright.

Each summer since then the prospector and his dog have made a journey to the land of the purple mist, piling up rocks and attaching signs to them, searching for lost travelers and incidentally keeping a lookout for a piece of precious metal. Once or twice Rufus has led his master to prospectors who, after long suffering from thirst, had fallen upon the burning sands to die. In signboarding the desert Beck has saved a number of thirst-mad rainbow-chasers, and has also, in remote districts, stumbled upon the bleaching bones of dead men who may have found fortunes in the silver sulphuret district but who did not live to tell the world about it. At one time he assisted at the burial of four men who died of thirst within two miles of a spring.

The country that Beck traverses is the most arid section of the American continent—a dreary stretch of hundreds of miles of desert, dotted here and there with foothills, buttes, dry creek beds, chaparral, prickly pear, and sagebrush. Springs are miles upon miles apart. Most of them are bitterly alkali, and some are poison. One finds an occasional coyote well, but they are not numerous, especially when sought.

Very little animal life exists in the desert. Always there is the crafty coyote and the kangaroo mouse. Aside from them, put down the chuckwalla and the side-winder. The side-



THE SIGN POSTER OF DEATH VALLEY
(Lon Wescott Beck and his dog Rufus)

winder is a dusty-looking little snake, scarcely more than a foot long, yet nearly as deadly as his big brother, the diamond-back rattler. As a protection against snake-bite, Beck has his dog wear boots which lace up the legs. Before donning boots the dog was bitten several times and barely escaped with his life.

On an ordinary summer afternoon the thermometer runs up to about 134 degrees in the shade out in Death Valley, and the most unpleasant thing about it is that there is a dearth of shade. When man ventures out upon this trackless expanse, the shimmering heat dazes him, the scarcity of water crazes him, and the mirage—treacherous, lying thing of beauty that it is—looms ever before him, flashing upon the canvas of his mind's eye a verdant valley, gorgeously green with growing things, fresh with flowers, wet with water, and waiting to welcome him. He can see grassy hill-slopes just ahead, and the mirrored lake appears to lie just beyond some beckoning meadow. He follows on and on, ever on; and afterward drains the last drop from his canteen. Then his throat becomes parched, his tongue cleaves to the roof of his mouth, and strange things pass before his eyes. The buzzards begin to soar over him, and the coyotes sit upon their haunkers and watch him chase rainbows until he pitches forward upon his face and closes his eyes upon a world that is too mysterious and merciless for him to linger in longer.

Do you wonder that Beck finds joy in the work he is doing?

ROUSSEAU, TOLSTOY, AND THE PRESENT AGE

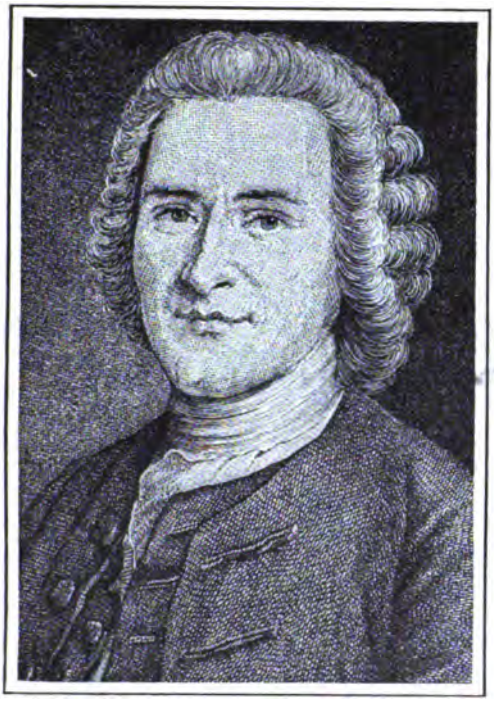
TOLSTOY has been held by some European critics to be the successor of Rousseau. Maxim Kovalevsky, the noted Russian publicist, however, does not share this opinion. In his regular contribution to the *Vyestnik Yevropy* (St. Petersburg), in a recent issue, he draws a parallel between the two thinkers and comes to the conclusion that their only common point is their religious tendency. He says:

To Tolstoy as well as to Rousseau morality is inseparably bound up with religion. To him religion is the relation assumed by mankind toward the universe, and morality is made up of the rules of conduct that follow from that relation. . . Outside of this and the love for the Gospels interpreted in the spirit of the members of the early Christian Church, we cannot discover any direct similarity even in the religious views of Rousseau and Tolstoy. Our philosopher is incomparably broader than the Geneva savant. He is far from the desire to impose upon anybody a civic catechism, or a state creed. . . His religious thought feeds not only on the Gospels, but also on the teachings of Laotze, Buddha, the Bible, the Talmud, the Koran. Of not lesser significance are to him the philosophers, beginning with Socrates and the Stoics and ending with Spinoza, Kant and Schopenhauer."

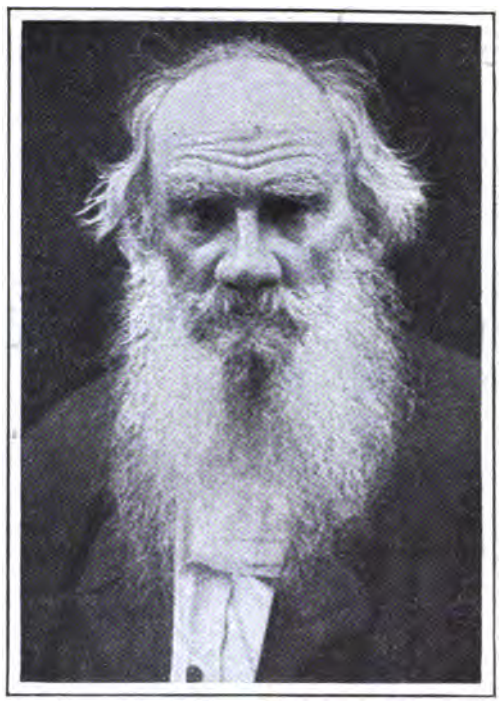
Their attitude toward the state is vastly different, the writer finds. This is the way he contrasts them:

While Rousseau regrets that Christianity, in contrast to Greeko-Roman paganism, does not sufficiently serve the interests of the state, Tolstoy, on the contrary, tries to free Christianity from the alliance with the state which was established during the centuries-long development of the Church, and which . . . did not exist in the times of the Apostles. Among the dogmas of Rousseau's civic catechism we find recognition of the sacredness of social contract and the law (*"la sainteté du contrat social et de la loi"*). And this necessarily implies the performance by the citizens of the duties to the state prescribed by the law. The clause which can be found in the text of the European constitutions; the clause which reads that no one can decline to perform the civic duties because of the faith one professes; the clause directly following from Rousseau's position with regard to the sacredness of social contract and the law, it is clear, could not satisfy the Russian philosopher, who more than once expressed himself in the sense of not doing anything which does not accord with the dictates of conscience. . . Tolstoy, of course, would not agree with Rousseau regarding the delegation by every one of all his rights even though to a collective body, which forms the state. In this respect Tolstoy approaches Spinoza and Locke, who wanted to limit the functions of the state to the protection of the inalienable rights to life and liberty, which would secure to the citizens the possibility of the widest autonomy in questions of religion and morality.

Professor Kovalevsky thinks that the reason some see a close similarity between Tol-



ROUSSEAU



TOLSTOY

(They have been called similar figures but a Russian writer finds many differences between them)

stoy and Rousseau lies in the fact that their views on certain questions concur, which, in his opinion, is merely accidental.

Tolstoy writes about art, and makes it subservient to the interests of mankind. Rousseau lays the foundation of his universal fame by solving in the negative the question, whether science and art have contributed to the good of humanity. Tolstoy raises a number of social questions, not excepting the fundamental one—in what measure private ownership of land is compatible with justice; Rousseau, in his tract "On Inequality," recognizing the evolution of private property as the immediate source of the perversion of the benevolent nature of primitive man, is at the same time reconciled to the necessary evil, as he regards property, and considers that any attempt to remove it threatens a still greater calamity. Tolstoy writes "What is my religion;" Rousseau devotes a great deal of attention to religious questions: he is the author of "Confession of a Savoy Vicar," and devotes a whole chapter of his "Social Contract" to a discourse on religion.

The problem of education has interested both, and in the realm of pedagogy, the writer says, there is the nearest approach to unity between them.

Like Rousseau, he (Tolstoy) is convinced that we must follow nature; like him, he believes in the development of the native abilities in children; in accord with Rousseau, he thinks that the teacher must develop individuality in the child. To compel children to study, seems to him senseless: children have to study at their own inclination. . . Both Tolstoy and Rousseau agree . . . that education must act upon the mind as much as upon the heart, and, therefore, can be entrusted only to a truly moral man. Both writers disagree in particulars rather than in general principles. If Tolstoy agrees with Rousseau that children should be taught some useful trade, they are far from being at one regarding the educational value of the study of history and particularly the deeds of great men. Rousseau, who was brought up on Plutarch, attaches great educational value to historical knowledge; Tolstoy emphatically denies it. But Tolstoy goes much further than the Geneva philosopher in the question of re-educating people in mature age. It would never have occurred to Rousseau to write "Resurrection." The idea that society transforms the man is deeply rooted in him. . . Tolstoy has much greater faith in man's ability to regenerate through the influence of personal effort. He has himself experienced such a change, and thinks it possible alike . . . for the peasant Nikita ("Power of Darkness") and for the light-minded society youth Nekhludov ("Resurrection"). . . A return to the path of rectitude is open, according to him, to every one who is willing to fulfil two conditions: to strive after self-perfection . . . and to renounce violence as a means of combating the existing evils. This last idea would hardly have had the support of Rousseau; he is firmly convinced that one has to struggle for one's rights. . . In this respect he maintains the tradition of those heroes of Greece and Rome whose example served as his mental food in the days of childhood.

Rousseau "feels himself a citizen of a small, autonomous republic." He preaches

pure democracy, and is at the same time "a propagandist of the idea of federating small political units." . . .

Tolstoy lives within the limits of a vast empire, amidst a people-conqueror who created it by a perpetual struggle with his neighbors. The principle of non-resistance of evil, of which Tolstoy is the champion, does not permit him other than a negative attitude toward those who would seek to change the existing order by means of revolution. He is therefore concerned not with the question of political independence of the people, but only with the autonomy of the individual. He wishes to secure for him freedom of inner judgment, the possibility of harmonizing his conduct with it: but it is no more than a means to one ultimate end—to make it possible for man to live on earth in conformity with the demands of eternal salvation. . . Rousseau's ideal is a political ideal, that of Tolstoy is a moral and religious ideal. Both belong to the number of indisputable restorers of mankind. But, having undertaken apparently similar problems, each took an independent course in solving them. . .

The writer concludes by saying that Tolstoy could stand comparison with the sages of all countries and nations, but could in no wise be regarded as a follower of Rousseau. He was himself an original thinker, a product of spontaneous growth.

IS CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION FOR JAPAN? A JAPANESE VIEW

IT is now about half a century since the first Protestant missionary landed in Japan. To-day there are in that Empire some 1600 Christian churches, about 84,000 Protestant members, betwen 600 and 700 native ministers, and about 100,000 children in Christian Sunday schools. Encouraging as these figures at first sight appear to be, the fact that they really represent is that at present there is only one Protestant Christian among every 700 Japanese. Ought Japan to become a Christian nation? This is the question discussed in the *Missionary Review* by Professor Masumi Hino, of Kyoto, dean of the theological department at Doshisha University. In Japan, he says, there are three principal forms of religion.

We have not only the native religion in the form of Shinto, but also the fully naturalized Confucianism and the highly differentiated and improved Buddhism with its thirteen principal sects or denominations. Even Mohammedanism and Mormonism are said to have entered the country at times. With these forms of religion Christianity must live side by side; and its future depends solely upon its own merit to assimilate the spiritual and intellectual status of the people, and especially upon its power to lead and enlighten the nation in the way of truth.

With reference to Shinto, Professor Masumi Hino describes it as "the natural expression of the religious feeling of a simple-minded, primitive people who embodied those natural feelings in temples and festivities and gave the highest expression to hero worship and an ardent loyalty to their ruler." . . . It rests upon simple trust in good human nature. Men of experience, however, fail to credit to Shinto the possible dominance in the future over the hearts of the Japanese people, and for the following three main reasons:

(1) Shinto has no system in his teaching. It is a mixture of many good but crude ideas. . . . One cannot find out one prominent cardinal doctrine by which others may be unified, or to which they may be subordinated. This kind of unsystematized religious teaching and feeling, however they may command the respect of an ordinary people, will certainly not satisfy the highly educated and serious minded.

(2) The most characteristic feature of Shinto, namely, intense patrioism, is certainly good, but it is a question whether it can be the basis of all moral actions.

(3) Shinto stands for polytheism, which in Japan stands side by side with scepticism and religious indifference. If you ask a Shinto priest how many gods there are, he will with no hesitation tell you in an orthodox fashion that there are 8,000,000 of them, whether he really believes it or not. . . . To have many tiny gods is just as bad as to have many women controlling one family. A baby's dress, however handsome and useful it might have been in its day, can no longer be used for a full grown man.

To Confucianism the Professor considers the Japanese people owe much, its insistence on righteousness, its reverence for order in state and society, and its emphasis on the sense of honor and on fidelity to friends being admirable features. Still, there are reasons why Confucianism is not likely to be the ruling force among the Japanese people of the future.

Confucianism is a common-sense morality, teaching fair and square dealings with every man. It nevertheless fails to meet the people's yearning after the eternal values. Man is not satisfied by this world of light, color, sound, measurement and weight alone. This inability of Confucianism to satisfy the transcendental element in human na-

ture will cause it to fail to control the Japanese people.

This writer goes so far as to say that as an institution Confucianism has already gone out of the life of the Japanese people, many of whom consider it "a sort of philosophy rather than a form of religion"; and it is noteworthy that the Japanese Government, in calling the convocation of the ministers of three religions, in February, 1912, did not include Confucianism. They did not recognize it as an organization.

Buddhism, which historians agree is, next to Christianity, the most developed religion in the world, will also, in Mr. Masumi Hino's opinion, fail to be the supreme spiritual force in Japan. He bases his opinion on the following three reasons:

(1) It places insufficient insistence on the ethical life of man. . . . Buddhism teaches ethics, but the chief interest is not there. Ideals and aspirations as well as passions of hate, love, sorrow, joy, are illusions due to the wilful human nature and the working of the Karma. Ordinary morals cannot easily be built upon this kind of world view.

(2) Buddhism's valuation to the individual merges him in the absolute and the whole. You can hardly find a place for him. In fact, the individual will is the root of evil according to the Buddhistic view. So it cannot meet the need of the growing generation that now seems to delight in the assertion of its own will.

(3) There is the lack of vitality in Buddhism. The popular form of this religion teaches the immortality of the soul, not because the present life on this earth is full of life and light, but rather because it is altogether too unsatisfactory to meet the human need. So Buddhism's immortality is based on the pessimistic view of life. Buddhism stands at present in the popular mind for death rather than for life. Buddhist temples are the edifices for dead people. The chief business of the Buddhist priest is supposed to consist in taking care of funeral services and the observance of the anniversary of the dead. Most people in Japan belong to the different Buddhist denominations largely because these care for the dead, and will bury with honor and care for the graves. There is a lack of real life in the effect of Buddhist teaching. If Shinto may be compared to a boy of thirteen, and Confucianism to a soldier, Buddhism may be compared to a disappointed poet creating an ideal world in religion. This poet lacks the vitality and tact to produce it in practice.

The Professor acknowledges that he himself owes much to all three religions, and that each of them has done much in leading the Japanese people along moral and religious lines; but, as he says: "It is not difficult to find good things in any religion that has been devoutly believed in by a large number of people. Human nature is too good not to produce some good when a number of people devoutly bind themselves together for some common purpose, as in any religion." But what is wanted "is not one good here and another good there, but the entire structure good and sound." The question is whether any of these three religions of Japan is able to meet the pressure of twentieth-century life and problems. In this respect it is Christianity (a robust religion) alone that has the promise. Christianity "has proven itself to be life and power. It is able to meet the demands of the coming generation in Japan."

The writer makes an urgent appeal for laborers in the Japanese mission field. He says:

Christian education has not kept pace with secular education. Tokio Imperial University spends every year $650,000, and the Kyoto Imperial University spends nearly as much, while a Christian university like the Doshisha spends but little over $25,000. The Japanese Government expresses its good will towards Christianity, as to all other religions, respecting and protecting the Christian work. . . . The country is wide open. Christians have fair play. The time is ripe for Christianity to make an advance.

Mr. Masumi Hino believes that Christianity will ultimately win the hearts of the Japanese people, and he says that what Christians in England and America do will affect to a very large extent the work on the other side of the globe.

OCCUPATION AND MENTALITY

A GERMAN publicist, Adolf Levenstein, has devoted many years to a systematic and ingeniously planned study of the influence exerted on man's soul life by modern industrial conditions—or rather, by the transformation of the old-time "artisan" to a modern "operative." It is the presence of machinery, interposed between the workman and the raw material, that counts for most to-day.

Before he engaged in his momentous undertaking, Mr. Levenstein was for years in constant communication with workmen of different trades, whom he received as guests in his own home for the purpose of arousing in them an interest in self-development. What struck him very soon was the sharp division of those he met into two classes: one mentally alert and clear, the other mentally

sluggish and vague. And a very little questioning brought him face to face with the inevitable conclusion that the latter class of workers were occupied in some very monotonous trade, while the former were blessed with a work demanding attention and offering variety.

When he began the systematic inquiry, of which the results were published at Munich in 1912—the collection and preliminary arrangement of the material having occupied five years—he turned to certain occupational and geographical groups of workers, whom he regarded as representative. They were the coal miners of the Ruhr and Saar districts and in Silesia; the textile workers of Berlin and Forst; and the metal workers of Berlin, Solingen and Oberstein. He prepared a "questionnaire" carefully covering the field he wanted to investigate, and this he distributed gradually, and with great difficulty, to 8000 workmen. Much of the difficulty encountered came from the bitter resistance offered by trade unions and trade publications—why, is very hard to tell.

But in the end Mr. Levenstein obtained 5040 answers, representing 63 per cent. of the number of "questionnaires" sent out. This first success was followed up by correspondence between Mr. Levenstein and a great number of workmen—he wrote in all 4846 letters while carrying out this part of his scheme. The results, as published by him and as summarized in a recent number of *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm), constitute, on one side, a serious arraignment of modern industrial methods, and, on the other, a very encouraging evidence of the cultural possibilities lying dormant within the laboring classes.

After a series of preliminary questions as to name, age, numbers of working years, occupation, and so forth, the first question aiming straight at the heart of the inquiry was whether the workmen found it possible to think of other things while at work. Among the coal miners and metal workers 25 per cent. declared outright that they had to give their whole attention to the work, not so much because the work demanded it, as because the work prevented them from thinking connectedly of anything else. Many complained that the noises and unpleasant conditions connected with their toil influenced their whole beings. "A coarse work makes the spirit coarse," wrote one.

Among the textile workers, on the other hand, only 15 per cent. found their entire attention demanded by the work, and in general their answers indicated greater mental freedom—although this was balanced by another set of detrimental effects. For while their work could be handled mechanically without danger, it was also the most monotonous of all the kinds investigated. A most remarkable discovery made by Mr. Levenstein was the influence exercised on the weavers by the rhythmical movements of the looms. This seemed to rule and sway the brains of the weavers so that all their thoughts tended to shape themselves metrically. It was found that most of their thinking was imaginative rather than speculative, and not less than 817 poems were submitted by members of this group in answer to Mr. Levenstein's questionings.

That the machinery tended to release mental forces became an inevitable conclusion as Mr. Levenstein's investigations proceeded. Unfortunately he was also compelled to conclude that this result was caused by antipathetic rather than sympathetic reactions: that is to say, the thinking of the workmen was forced on them as a means of mental self-preservation. This was indicated by the fact that so many of the answers revealed undisguised dislike, or even hatred, of the work in hand. And almost invariably monotony was given as the reason for this feeling. The dislike for their own form of work was strongest among the textile workers, of whom no less than 75 per cent. confessed to it. It was least felt among the metal workers, to whom a comparatively high degree of initiative is granted, but even among them 56 per cent. failed to take any interest whatever in their work.

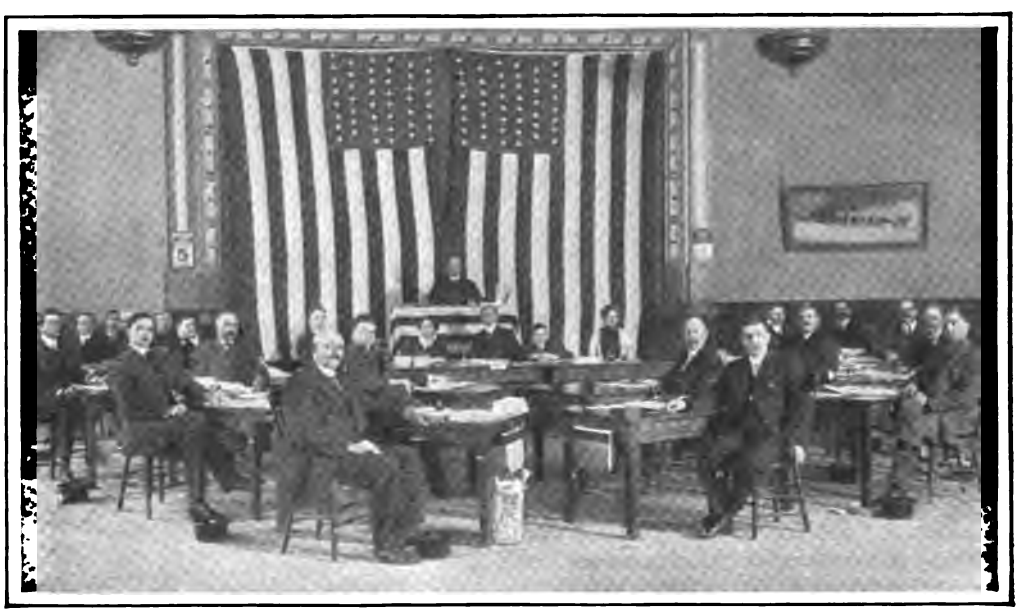
Most characteristic were the answers received in response to the question what kind of work they preferred to do. Only 10 per cent. of the weavers, and a very little larger percentage of the metal workers and coal miners, wanted to continue the work already theirs. Most of the detailed answers indicated above everything else a desire for some kind of work enabling the worker to see the finished product of his toil. To watch, day out and day in, the same infinitesimal detail of a work that in its entirety lay wholly without the ken of the workman, had to many become a source of acute suffering. One man wrote that his only way of overcoming this factor was to change employment every few weeks. Another wrote that through many years of soul-wearing monotony he had been reduced to a state of bestial contentment, where he cared for nothing but eating, drinking, and sleeping.

The investigation of the reading matter appealing to the different classes of workers showed that scientific and other informative literature was read by 27 per cent. of the metal workers, by 14 per cent. of the weavers, and only by 11 per cent. of the coal miners. On the other hand, only 7 per cent. of the metal workers professed a liking for acknowledged "trashy" literature, while not less than 39 per cent. of the coal miners indulged in this kind of mental relaxation. These figures do not include propagandist literature relating to Socialism or the trades union movement. Literature of this latter kind was constantly being read by 43 per cent. of the metal workers and 44 per cent. of the weavers, but only by 19 per cent. among the coal miners. A tendency to a Utopian faith in the future of the working-class movement evidenced itself particularly among the textile workers, one of whom wrote: "I have faith, and my faith in itself is a piece of millennium." Equally striking, however, was the capacity for independent thinking shown by individual workers—as, for instance, by the one who wrote: "The final goal must be man himself, and not any kind of political organization."

Of special interest proved the character of the reading chosen by those turning to serious literature. Schopenhauer was found an unexpected favorite among them. Schiller, Goethe, Kant, and Lessing were others, while more logically, the German materialistic thinker, Brüchner, had attracted a large number of readers among the socialistically inclined workers. As a rule it was found that the works exercising most general attraction were those dealing with the actual life of nature (not geography), the spiritual (rather than political) development of man, and the organization of the universe.

ALASKA'S FIRST LEGISLATURE

EVEN a diligent reader of the daily newspapers might well have failed to note either the assembling or the adjournment of the first legislative assembly of Alaska in the spring of the current year. Yet, as former Governor Walter E. Clark points out in an article contributed by him to the *Sunset Magazine,* this legislative session was surrounded by natural conditions such as have had no counterpart in human history. The territory for which this legislature was elected to pass laws is probably larger than any other political division of the earth's surface presided over by an official other than a president or sovereign. So sparsely settled is this great region that ex-Governor Clark estimates the number of white persons to the square mile of area at only about sixteen. It is, says he, as if the population of Quincy, Ill., were scattered over a land surface equal to that of



ALASKA'S HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

all the States of the Union east of the Mississippi River, excepting New England and New York. Moreover, in this great northern territory there are no such means of quick communication as are familiar in older settled portions of America.

The election of the members of this legislature, which was to make the laws for an area of 600,000 square miles, was held in November last, eight Senators being chosen and sixteen Representatives. The election registers, ballots, and other papers from two of the four great judicial divisions of Alaska had to be transmitted to Juneau, the capital, through the mails overland in midwinter, and complete returns did not reach Juneau until February 12. There they were canvassed by the territorial canvassing board. As Mr. Clark says, if, in the first legislative election, the vote had been so close in certain precincts as to promise contested elections as between two or more candidates, unfortunate results would have followed, for the necessary slowness in making returns to the canvassing board rendered it impossible to issue election certificates until the members apparently elected had arrived in Juneau for the convening of the legislature on March 3. In this case, however, the "face" returns were so conclusive that there was no likelihood of any contest.

The members elected from the north and northwest divisions were obliged to travel over the winter trail. Several of those from the northern (Fairbanks) division traveled about 360 miles in sleighs operated by the stage company over the Fairbanks-Valdez wagon road, but the Senators and Representatives from the northwest (Nome) division traveled with dog teams from points in that division to the head of the stage line at Fairbanks, a distance of from 700 to 900 miles. Then followed the sleigh trip of about 360 miles to Valdez, and a journey by steamer from Valdez to Juneau of about 690 miles One of the Senators from the fourth division walked over the frozen trail during one stage of his journey several hundred miles. On the average, the twenty-three members who actually attended the first session traveled a distance of 2541 miles in order to reach the capital and return to their homes; the six members from the second division traveled, on the average, 5514 miles; the largest one-way mileage of any member was that of Representative Kennedy, 4049. This latter was the "shortest usually traveled route," in returning to his home after the spring break-up of the trail. In coming to Juneau his mileage was 1959, over the winter trails.

Mr. Clark maintains that the personnel of the first Alaskan legislature was not only representative of the present citizenship of the territory, but was intellectually equal to that of most State legislatures, while in probity and sincerity a very high standard was observed. "Throughout the whole work of the session there was no evidence or even rumor of any venal motive or any slightest moral obliquity on the part of any Senator or Representative." Most of the members had made their canvass on non-partisan platforms, and while a majority were Republicans by training, tradition, or by former residence in the States, most of them were elected as non-partisans, and only once or twice did any question of party politics appear in the legislative proceedings.

No government building having as yet been provided for the legislature in Juneau, public halls and anterooms were rented, and the House and Senate organized promptly on the first day of the session, March 3. Mr. L. V. Ray, an attorney, of Seward, was elected President of the Senate, and Ernest B. Collins, a placer mining operator, of Fox, was elected Speaker of the House. The first bill was passed by both houses on March 18, and three days later received the approval of the Governor. Following the example of our State legislatures, the Alaskan law-making body passed nine-tenths of its bills in the last week before final adjournment. Mr. Clark summarizes the more important legislation as follows:

An act revising and making additions to the territorial licenses and taxes, and an act creating a territorial treasury and providing for the appointment of a treasurer; an act making important and comprehensive amendments to the general mining law as applied to Alaska; an employers' liability act; a poll tax law, the poll taxes to be applied exclusively to the construction of wagon-roads; arbitration of labor disputes; a miners' labor-lien law; two acts limiting hours of labor, the first prescribing eight hours in all metalliferous lode mines, and the other placing the same limit on all labor in connection with public works for the territory; regulating banks and banking, and providing for examination; enabling municipal corporations to extend their boundaries; quarantine law and a simple sanitary code; compulsory registration of births, marriages and deaths; compulsory school attendance; providing for incorporated towns of the second class; extending the elective franchise to women. The first two named are the most important of all because of their fundamental nature, but I would not be understood as implying that the measure which I have mentioned last is, in my opinion, of least importance. In respect to the general tax and license measure, the difficulty



SPEAKER ERNEST B. COLLINS OF THE HOUSE



PRESIDENT L. V. RAY OF THE SENATE

was encountered at the beginning of its consideration, of raising revenues in a territory whose population is small and whose developed resources are already taxed under federal laws. The new revenue law is somewhat unequal as to the various taxes imposed, but it is not a vicious or very burdensome measure. It is roughly estimated that it will yield about $240,000 per annum. The appropriations authorized by the legislature amount to about $60,000 per annum for the next two years.

As described by Mr. Clark, the laws enacted by this legislature for the protection of labor are progressive, but not extremely radical. An eight-hour law was made to apply only to workers in lode mines. An employers' liability law, modeled after the federal act of 1908, which applies only to interstate railroads, was enacted, together with a measure providing for the arbitration of labor disputes. Of the eighty laws passed by the legislature, the first to receive the votes of the two houses and the signature of the Governor was the act to extend the franchise to women.

EFFICIENCY METHODS IN THE PUBLISHING BUSINESS

AMONG the various signs of the times in the business world to-day none is more prominent than the activity of the efficiency engineer. In factories, in department stores, in municipal offices (many but not all of them), and in commercial houses generally the cry is "Efficiency, efficiency!" And by the efficiency standard every one in a business establishment, from the highest-priced official down to the humblest worker, is measured and every operation, down to the smallest detail, is tested. There are, of course, many contributing factors to efficiency, but, according to the testimony of efficiency engineers, one of the most important of them, namely, cordiality in the relationship between employers and employees, is unrecognized by many concerns. Mr. Hrolf von Dewitz, in the *Publishers' Guide,* emphasizes the necessity of "furnishing free

play for the human-nature element in business." There is no doubt that, as he remarks, "in only too many establishments the men degenerate into automatons, routine drudges, and gradually assume the proportions of metallic personalities with tickers instead of hearts!" Not every concern, however, makes this mistake. Mr. Dewitz describes the efficiency methods of a well-known New York publishing house whose president "is an intensely human man," and to whom "it is second nature to reject any scheme or system which might turn his men into something resembling machines."

The reason why the president is so well liked by his employees is that he insists on treating them as men and women first, and as workers secondly. He seems to think that the worker must be set absolutely free, and be made comfortable and independent before bothering about any special scheme to make the worker more efficient.

There is, however, no disposition to drive, "boost," or "shake up" the men.

He [the president] surrounds his men with every practical appliance to enable them to achieve maximum efficiency, but he expects them to be "self-starters," to furnish the initiative themselves, to evolve their own methods, to face problems and solve them, to *think efficiently!* The result is that the men come pretty near the 100 per cent. mark in efficiency. They take more interest in their work, and dig up new suggestions for improvement.

In this publishing house there is a large force of female employees. That the president of the concern is popular with these goes without saying when one reads:

He [the president] will bring over some six hundred roses from his estate and scatter them among the female office force. On such occasions he attends personally to the distribution . . . the girls appreciate the flowers and the office is like a florist's shop for that day.

Then, again, on Saturday when some of the girls are working after the closing hour to complete their job, the "boss" may be relied upon to do something in return. Many a time has he taken a string of a dozen girls over to the club and refreshed them with luncheon.

Even the nerves of the workers are considered. Thirty-three perfectly good typewriting machines were discarded because "they made too much noise and noise breaks down the nerves, and people with broken-down nerves are not likely to be efficient." So noiseless typewriters were substituted.

Another thing making for efficiency is the accessibility of those in authority. As Mr. Dewitz says, "sometimes a rope makes a knot in itself, and even the smoothest-running organization will not run itself." This concern realizes this and provides accordingly. The vice-president has his desk right in the center of the office, where "the employees can register their kicks and have their troubles ironed out at any hour of the day."

He [the vice-president] has the reputation of never losing his temper, which explains why he is so well equipped to handle those who are on the point of losing theirs. "I am so busy I haven't time to get mad," is his explanation. . . . He bears about the same relation to the house as a governor to an engine, a court of arbitration to a government, or a good mousing tomcat to a flour mill.

So much for what may be termed the human-nature element. In the various operations incidental to the issue of the five weekly magazines published by the concern the main object is to save time and useless running about. On one floor of 10,000 square feet 200 people work together. Each department is placed in the closest possible touch with its own files and appliances. Among the more notable "time-savers" are the following:

A giant Lamson carrier conveys copy from the make-up department to the composing-room, on the floor below, and returns the proofs, without the aid of a human hand, making about 300 trips a day, serving ten busy desks, and doing the work of a dozen office boys. In the mailing department an electric milling machine opens the mail. An electric machine seals and stamps the letters at the rate of 6,000 an hour. A third machine attends to the copying. No carbon copies are used. A rotary appliance copies each letter on a continuous roll of sensitized tissue which needs no moistening, and cuts the tissue imprints the exact length of the filing drawers. The stenographic department has been discarded and dictating machines substituted. The innovation cost money, but the cost of answering letters has been halved.

Downstairs in the manufacturing department the same adaptation of practical efficiency is evident. The presses on which the five magazines are printed have self-feeders which are all interchangeable, and the paper is all of one size.

A truck receives the printed load at the other end of the press. The trucks are then run under folders with self-feeders similar to those of the presses. After folding, the sheets are squeezed into bundles by machinery, and these bundles are fed by a row of automatic machines, which take the loose sheets, gather them into the complete books, stitch them, glue on the covers, trim them —top, bottom, and sides—and land them on the mailing tables.

In the composing department "each individual frame is designed to give the man on

the job everything he needs *without having to step out of his alley*. Well may the writer say that "the composing-room is an object lesson to every publisher, especially newspaper publishers, who are notoriously behind the times in systematizing their offices." Further, a bonus system enables the men to earn 30 per cent. of any saving suggested by them (amounting in some cases to more than $7 a month), and each compositor is given a week's vacation with full pay each year.

AUGUST BEBEL: HIS CHARACTER AND CAREER

WHEN, on the thirteenth day of August, the famous leader of the German Social Democratic party, August Bebel, laid down that scepter by which he had held sway for nearly half a century over the hearts and minds of many millions of the men and women of his generation, a really great man departed from the earth. He had seen his party grow in little more than four decades from an inchoate handful numbering scarce 25,000 voters and sending but one delegate to the Reichstag into a vast, but well-disciplined army returning 110 members to that august body, and numbering four and a quarter million men at the time of the last elections, in January, 1912. An army so highly organized, so well drilled, and so skilled in political tactics that it was able to do battle royal with such antagonists as Prince Von Bülow and even the Iron Chancellor himself.



AUGUST BEBEL, THE GERMAN SOCIALIST LEADER

To Bebel above all others was due the unity of purpose, the solidarity of structure, and the effectiveness of action which made this possible in a party 99 per cent. of which was composed of working men, even though this leader was not the originator of the principles he so ably advocated.

It is not the purpose here to attempt to appraise the social, political, and ethical value of the theories thus advocated. The task of this article is rather to outline briefly the career and achievements of this remarkable man, the character that underlay career and achievements, and the circumstance and environment which shaped that character and determined its line of effort. Happily we now have at hand the material for such portrayal in his autobiography, the first volume of which has just been translated into English under the title of "My Life."[1] Bebel himself wrote a preface for this, especially addressed to English readers, and the modest but significant words in which he speaks of his life-work are worth quoting:

> I imagine the purpose of memoirs is to make plain to the public the motives and circumstances which influence a man who comes to play an influential part in a certain period and sphere of action, and to contribute a clearer comprehension of certain contemporary events. It is my personal conviction that even the most remarkable and influential of men is more often the thing driven than the driving power; that he can do little more than help into being that which in a given state of society is pressing onward to the

[1] My Life. By Ferdinand August Bebel. University of Chicago Press. 344 pp., por. $2.

realization and recognition which are essentially its due.

Bebel was born in 1840, in the fortress of Deutz, the son of a non-commissioned officer and of a "liberal-minded and intelligent" mother, whose father was a moderately well-to-do farmer. This early environment was doubtless responsible for his superior ability of organization on the one hand, and for his hatred of the military idea on the other. His father, stricken with consumption, died early, and on his death-bed raved against military bondage, exhorting his young wife not to send their two boys to the military orphanage, because of the nine years' service it involved. "If you send them there," he cried deliriously, "I will shoot them both in front of the regiment," forgetting that he would then be dead! Yet when the brave, wise, loving mother died of the same dread malady the 13-year-old boy cherished the idea of an army life. But the frail and meager body that housed his indomitable spirit was not up to the physical standard, probably because he had almost never had enough of the nourishing food a growing lad needs. Thus was he saved to wage his warfare on a wider field.

A mere chance led him to apprentice himself to a wood-turner, and when he had mastered his trade he set forth gaily on his travels as a journeyman. This was an invaluable preparation for the part he was later to play, since he met all manner of men and developed his power of thought and his ability to hold his own in argument. He was especially indebted for his skill in debate to his membership in the various Catholic *Vereins,* where he was hospitably received, though he was not a member of the church, but, on the contrary, a freethinker.

HIS ELECTION TO THE REICHSTAG AND IMPRISONMENT

Meanwhile his business prospered and he married a fit helpmate, to whom he pays a very beautiful tribute in his "Life." His uncommon ability and his wide acquaintance, together with the magnetism of his personality, led to his election to the Reichstag when he was only 27, but it was not long before his independence of thought and freedom of speech led to his trial and imprisonment on a charge of "high treason." He spent about two years in prison and during this time the people triumphantly reëlected him to the Reichstag. In 1872 he was again clapped into prison on a charge of *lèse-majesté.* In all he spent nearly five years in prison, his chief "crime" being opposition to the government by criticism of its military policy, with special objections to the taxing of the people for the Franco-Prussian War. In both terms he had for a companion his friend and colleague, Liebknecht.

On the whole this imprisonment is probably one of the greatest strokes of good fortune he had ever known. In the first place, the combined cares of his business and his political duties had gravely undermined his strength and he had been attacked by the disease which had so early robbed him of his parents. But the regular hours, the abundance of rest with nourishing food and some exercise in the open air, restored his general health and the tuberculosis which had already eaten a great hole in one of his lungs was checked. The abundant leisure, moreover, gave him a chance for self-education which he eagerly embraced. His studies were very extensive, though chiefly along the lines of history and political economy.

It was during this period that he prepared his most famous book, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* ("Woman and Socialism"), the vitality of which is shown by the fact that it recently passed into its fifty-first edition.

HIS CAREER IN THE REICHSTAG

The remainder of Bebel's life was spent in the Reichstag and in building up the Social Democratic ideas and ideals throughout the civilized world by means of "The International." Steadily he advanced from triumph to triumph, giving and taking hard blows, but always intent on the ultimate goal of so educating, training, and unifying the proletariat that it should some day be able to assert its right to take over the reins of government into its own hands.

His personality was one of great individuality and of that potent charm we call magnetism. He was small, slight, stoop-shouldered, and pensive of face, but with a broad brow and a well-modeled head. Neither friends nor foes could doubt the genuine nature of his unaffected simplicity and sincerity. His fame as a public speaker was great and the Reichstag was packed when there was a chance to hear him. Not his, however, were the red fire and the futile rockets of the pyrotechnic orator, but rather the deep-hearted, fruitful glow of the forge and the white sparks from the anvil whereon, with mighty strokes, this master smith forged a sword of the spirit wherewith to smite the adversary and to strike off the shackles of

the bondsmen. A writer in the *Annales* (Paris) thus characterizes him:

With his leonine face, his large eloquence, incisive, and often vehement, but without extravagant eccentricity, and with his incontestable honesty, August Bebel exercised upon the German masses an influence hitherto unknown. He prophesied to them the end of a bourgeois social structure and the coming of the Workingman's State.

And the English *Review of Reviews* for October says penetratingly:

Probably one reason of Bebel's popularity with the masses was that—unlike Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Liebknecht, who were intellectuals who had been nurtured in more favorable circumstances—he was one of themselves; knew from bitter experience the trials of their poverty and their limitations of opportunity; could speak to them in the terms of their own thought and language, and show them their own ideals.

Among the countless tributes to Bebel's memory in all civilized countries we select a few that are typical. One of the best, naturally, is found in the organ of his party, the *Neue Zeit* (Berlin):

The German proletariat, the German nation, the International—each has lost the best man among our contemporaries. The fighting and thinking part of the proletariat forms to-day in all capitalistic countries the most unselfish, the most restlessly aspiring and aggressive part of the nation. Furthermore, the German proletariat has become the exemplar for all proletarians. Finally, the *élite* of this proletariat up to the present time was formed by the generation to which August Bebel belonged. And in this *élite* he was the most powerful personality. All its good qualities [Vorzüge] we find united in him in the highest potency.

A writer in the *Gegenwart* (Berlin) gives less unstinted praise:

August Bebel's political ideals for the future, rest, according to our innermost conviction, upon an error. Upon the error that a human race can be developed which will renounce for the common weal the most natural and primeval of all conceptions of right, the conception of private property. . . . More than one person has seen in this faith of Bebel in the possibility of a practical communism nothing more than peasant-catching on a grand scale. . . . Bebel himself may have been a fanatic but he was never a coldly calculating diplomat. Only one whose own faith in his Messiahship was firm as a rock could so kindle men's souls to belief in the superstition of an error.

The London *Times* says appreciatively of the departed Socialist leader:

Herr Bebel was something more than a politician. He was the leader for nearly two generations of perhaps the most striking movement of our times. . . . He did not create the Socialist cause . . . he was himself a convert of Liebknecht's, but it was Bebel who first made Social Democracy in Germany the fighting power it has become. It was he who rallied the working classes to it, and who marshalled them and disciplined them into the best organized party in Europe.

This is high praise, but the *Times* adds:

We have small sympathy with Bebel's theories: his views . . . were narrow and doctrinaire. Wide aspects of human nature, whole chapters of human history, were beyond his ken. His notorious book, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, is proof enough of that.

To this harsh dictum Sidney Whitman, writing in *Everyman* (London) answers sharply:

Bebel's book on woman may be scientifically worthless, as is asserted by the *Times*. But it should be patent to every dispassionate student that a treatise which deals in a fervent spirit with the welfare of the women of the working classes, inculcates self-respect, and, above all, a higher sense of the responsibilities of motherhood, must be beneficial in its effects, and can only be superseded by works which trend in the same direction, all of which must be considered as rungs in a ladder of upward human development.

To this we may add a final word from the *Gleichheit*, a weekly journal published in Stuttgart in the interests of working-women:

For half a century August Bebel has led the proletariat through the depths and over the heights of its historical evolution. The greatest representative, the faithful Ekkehard, of his class, has closed his eyes. The champion of the rights of woman, of her enfranchisement through socialism, is no more. This is the crushing news.

An editorial in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, on Bebel as an orator, says:

One of the best gifts he had was his good sense. . . . He had a remarkably emphatic manner, with that clear voice of his (the sound of which nobody will forget who has once heard it, and in which a clear thought seemed to find a clear tone), of saying in the confusion of a debate the very thing that not seldom was the only sensible one.

But above all he acted in accordance with the principle, which one of the founders and earlier leaders of his party—his predecessor, Lassalle—formulated: "To say what is." This sounds like a platitude, but it is nothing of the kind; for usually everything is said except "what is." And it is the best rule for the speaker of the Opposition, who can acquire no greater merit than by calling things by their right names, without fear or favor, in the face of all powers and all interests. Moreover, in that way he will ensure the greatest successes, because there are situations in which the man who simply speaks the truth attains the highest oratorical effect.

SALONICA AND THE TRANSFORMED BALKANS

THE partition between the Balkan kingdoms of nearly all the territories of Turkey in Europe is not only a political event of the first importance, it is one of the great economic transformations of our time. M. Y. M. Goblet, in *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales* (Paris), has an interesting article showing the great economic changes which may be expected to follow the change of rulers. Of the old conditions he writes:

Turkey in its decline was *par excellence* the land of economic liberty. This does not mean that political bondage had not deplorable consequences for material prosperity. Anyone traded who chose to do so and as he understood business affairs; and if disputes arose, one settled them according to the laws which pleased best;—few or no imposts for the foreign merchant or for the protégé, and light customs duties because the tariffs were subject to the agreement of the powers. The medal had doubtless its reverse: poverty of the country, progress completely arrested, and anarchy in the state. Thus business, while free, was restricted, activity curtailed, and the economic apparatus almost non-existent.

Conditions so special as these resulted in a commercial organization which was quite unique. Economic specializations were produced, and while political divisions were brought into existence, there was also a division of industry between the ethnic groups. The Osmanli, functionary, warrior, or cultivator, stood aside. The native Christians and the Jews transacted the commerce; and the bulk of business was in the hands of foreigners.

There was, however, no political or commercial security for the natives; and this fact soon incited those who had a plausible pretext for doing so to place themselves under the protection of the Occidentals, first among whom were the French, who until yesterday were the personification of the European West in the Near East. We read further:

Religion was an excellent cause or pretext. The Christian became a French protégé; then France gave instruction to her adopted sons. Thus French influence and the French language became established in the Ottoman empire, and commerce was benefited thereby. Such good results led to imitations; and other powers had their protégés, their consular tribunals, their churches, their schools, and their posts. France, however, kept first place. The Jews, like the Christians, placed themselves under France's protection: the Sephardim eagerly passed from their Judeo-Spanish to French. The Alliance Israelite gave them schools, and, in the words of the lamented Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, opened to them the intellectual access of the modern world.

Thus Turkey reigned but scarcely governed. The empire respected communities protected by the powers. The communities transacted the commercial affairs of the country and the powers were too good lenders not to keep on excellent terms with them. Thus commerce, finance, and the public works had a character quite unique. The struggles were struggles of influence between foreigners which the Turk followed nonchalantly.

As M. Goblet remarks, these times have passed, but for a long time to come the economic life of the old European Turkey will continue to have a considerable influence. In the economic transformation, the question of ports becomes a very important one. The old Turkish empire had three emporiums: Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica; and of these the last named has proved a bone of contention throughout the Balkan war. In the early stages of the decline of the Turkish empire, Salonica herself hoped to become a free town. This was an affair of both sentiment and interest. The greater and the most active and the richest portion of the population is a Judeo-Spanish community which has not attached itself to any Balkan nationality. There was, therefore, an excellent opportunity in this country, where the Jews were the aristocracy, to give political autonomy to a Jewish state. It would also have been possible to create as an international organism a free town and a free port which would become the emporium of the whole of Macedonia, and this would have been regarded with satisfaction by merchants generally. To the inhabitants of Salonica themselves, self-government would have been precious indeed. Bulgarians are fond of saying that the Greeks molest the Jews and would ruin their commerce, and it must be admitted that the experience of the Jewish communities of Patras and Larissa were not very reassuring in this connection. M. Cofinas, however, pays a tribute to the activity of the Jews; and M. Dragoumis, Governor-General of Macedonia, promises to respect their rights, their schools, and their diverse institutions. The Jews, however, seem doomed to disappointment. M. Goblet writes:

The correspondent of the *Times* in April represented the Jews of Salonica as passive and sad before the destiny which seemed to threaten them with complete ruin. If such a ruin should result, it would be a great loss for the East, but no less a loss for France, of which country the Sephardim of Salonica represent the thought and interests, in face of German influence which day by day sustains firmly her Ashkenazic Jews against the Sephardim whom we forget in Europe, just as our Christian protégés are forgotten in Asia.

The situation of Salonica as a port is exceptionally favorable, and her economic rôle extends beyond the limits of the Balkans. The rivers which empty into its gulf bring down the products of the center and the west of the peninsula, making Salonica the point of concentration, and the center of distribution of imported products. A recent Servian publication gives the following statistics of the port for the year 1910:

Total imports, 121,000,000 francs ($24,200,000); imports from Turkey, 11,000,000 francs ($2,200,000); imports from foreign countries, 110,000,000 francs ($22,000,000). The principal countries of origin were: Austria-Hungary, England, Italy, Germany, France, and Belgium, ranging, in the order named, from 24,000,000 francs ($4,800,000) to 5,000,000 francs ($1,000,000).

Exports totalled 35,240,000 francs ($7,048,000). These exports, which consist mainly of products of the soil, have diminished by reason of the war. Dried skins, tobacco, and cereals form the chief items.

Transit forms a very large item in the activities of Salonica, which is the port of exportation for Servia. In 1910 34,038 cattle, valued at 12,300,000 francs ($2,400,000), were thence embarked to their destination, mainly for Sicily.

Speaking of the future of Salonica, M. Goblet says: "No country and no town has been so longed for by the Balkan allies as Salonica. Bulgarians and Greeks alike have desired it from the first, while the Servians have cherished the idea that it was possessed 'not by them, but in their heart.'" It was only the Salonicans themselves who "had the candor to think that their town ought to belong to them, not to others. . . ." As for Bulgaria, she "has always considered Salonica as her future harbor in the Ægean, basing her claim on the ground that Bulgaria possesses two-thirds of the Salonican hinterland, that Bulgaria is the country of the future of the Balkans, and that she has need of a great port on the Ægean where she may become a naval power of the first order."

Salonica, M. Goblet thinks, will very probably be a Greek city, but more probably still a free port, and he describes what has been done with this latter idea in mind:

After much fumbling there have been organized [at Salonica] some warehouses where merchandise can remain under the surveillance of the customs authorities without paying duty. Discussions have been held concerning the establishment of private warehouses "doublelocked," one key being handed to the merchant and the other remaining in the custom-house. It has also been proposed—for the construction of the necessary immense docks will require many millions and many months—to declare city-free a block of warehouses. These, however, are all points of detail. The essential feature is that the principle of Salonica as a free port appears to be definitely accepted; for Salonica can not exist with her natural hinterland Greek. It is necessary for her to have the freest relations with all her natural hinterland, unobstructed by any customs obstacle. The Greeks thoroughly understand this. Moreover, an antiliberal economic policy at Salonica would evoke a similar union against the Greeks: the latter are too prudent to risk such a development.

Political peace and economic liberty will give to the free port of Salonica the importance which Nature herself seems to have designed for it. For, as M. Goblet says, "the maximum of prosperity can only be obtained through a maximum of liberty: liberty of the individual and liberty in business transactions."

THE INTEREST OF THE POLES IN THE BALKAN STRUGGLE

LIKE a specter there appears from time to time before the eyes of Europe in her perplexities the vexed question of Poland. The Balkan crisis would have a different course and a different character, if it were not for this Polish question.

The question of Poland, although one with which the European political circles reluctantly become engaged, has, in spite of everything, excited fear in the cabinets of the continent, and it is troubling them perhaps more to-day than heretofore.

More and more frequently do we meet in such grave French monthlies and weeklies as the *Revue Critique, Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, l'Opinion* and others with articles acquainting the world with the Polish question as an international problem.

It is significant that while the French press had formerly directed its attention exclusively to Prussian Poland, it now no longer ignores Russian Poland, but turns its attention to it especially. This is explained by the disquiet aroused in France by the Polish movement against her ally, Russia.

Recently there appeared in the semi-official *Temps* a bulletin from the "Polish Provisional Commission of the Confederated Par-

ties of Independence," containing a part of the speech against Russia delivered in the Austrian Parliament by the Polish deputy, Dr. Leo. The Provisional Commission, whose bulletin the *Temps* printed, has been occupied for some months in mustering an army and collecting funds for a revolt against Russia, and it has now lodged a memorial with the Conference of Ambassadors at London, calling upon it to exert an energetic pressure on the Russian Government—in the interest of the powers and with a view to "save the Russian States from the cataclysms which menace it and which must rebound upon the neighboring countries"—to grant autonomy to that part of Russian Poland known as "the Kingdom."

The widely circulated *Rappel,* of Paris, recently published two articles under the title "The Polish Question," by A. Milhand. The author demonstrates the unreasonableness of the view that after the termination of the labors of the Balkan Conference in London, and after the liquidation of the Balkan war, there will ensue "positive tranquillity." In his opinion, the Eastern crisis will continue to develop until the subjugated nations, encouraged by the example of Servia, Greece and Bulgaria, retrieve what they lost. Poland, which has been treated as resigned, as reconciled to her lot, began, several months ago, to think of a brighter future, is gathering herself together, is making ready. In all the three divisions of Poland great animation is apparent.

L'Opinion (Paris) recently published an article under the title "The Polish Question" by the distinguished French publicist, André Lichtenberger, written, according to report, in understanding with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this article M. Lichtenberger summarizes and comments on Eugene Starczewski's work, "L'Europe et la Pologne." But the most important part of Lichtenberger's article is the final section, where he establishes the need of reviving Poland under the egis of Russia and summons the Russian politicians to bring about a decisive change of their attitude toward the Poles, in the name of the interests of Russia herself and of the coming hegemony of the Slavs in Europe. What is going on to-day, he declares, is a "political game in the interest of Germany," is "a policy simply suicidal in view of the approaching and inevitable contest between the Slavonic and the Germanic worlds." Lichtenberger declares that

> it is no indiscretion on our [the French] side to give Russia advice in matters of her internal policy. As friends and allies—as ever closer and closer friends and allies—we have so many common great interests, that confidential conversations are sometimes requisite. Nobody in France felt hurt when the Russian journals advised us to restore the three-year service in the army. St. Petersburg also will hardly feel hurt if we shall address ourselves to it with the request that it submit its Polish policy to a careful revision.

Not long ago Mr. de Chessin wrote in the *Revue Contemporaine:*

> The calling of Mr. Delcassé to the post of French Ambassador at St. Petersburg has assumed the proportions of a world event. As an ardent friend of Russia and a famous advocate of the alliance, Mr. Delcassé is endowed more than anyone else for interpreting to the Russian Government, with his peculiar tact and gravity, the need and the gigantic consequences of a Polish-Russian reconciliation, the indispensableness of which is already recognized by the most sagacious intellects in Russia. With the moment when that reconciliation will occur, Germanism will experience in the wake of its Balkan discomfiture, a still more decisive discomfiture in the East.

It is a characteristic fact that at almost the same time as Lichtenberger's article was printed in *l'Opinion,* there appeared in the *Temps,* which expressed the views of the French Government, and for that reason is in a certain contact with some of the Russian governmental and social factors, an article devoted to Polish-Russian relations from its St. Petersburg correspondent, under the title "The Polish Question." Russia, says this writer,

> has steadily sought a pacific solution of all the difficulties raised by Austria. This peaceable temper was evoked, not only by the desire not to becloud through war the splendid results of the economic policy of latter years, but also by the fact that the Russian state is not such a homogeneous force as she could be if the Government should choose to change its tactics towards its subjects. The first of these changes was to have been prepared by Stolypin toward the Poles. That change was nullified by a few reactionists of the Council of State out of regard to a narrow and dangerous nationalism. Does the Government not render an account to itself of how important it is for Russia to win for herself the attachment of the Polish element stretching along her western frontiers and able to play the part of a counterpoise between her and Austria?

The policy of the Government, the correspondent says, finds support in neither the Duma nor the Council of State. The former does not know itself what it wants; the latter is thoroughly reactionary. The result of such a parliamentary situation is "a disorder and a marasmus rendering impossible

an improvement of the internal condition and a strengthening of the power externally." The writer concludes his article with these words:

The Russian nationalists go out upon the streets of St. Petersburg and Moscow to demand of their government that it enjoin a respect for the national and religious rights of the Balkan Slavonians. Through an inconceivable aberration, through a narrow sectionalism, they forget, or pretend to forget, that in their own land they have Slavonians that also desire no more than a respect for those rights. If the nationalists wish to be logical, they ought to make themselves sensible of this. The Russian Government should aid them in that.

RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN ASIA MINOR

AHMED JEVDET BEY is the proprietor and chief editor of the Constantinople Turkish daily, the *Ikdam*, the organ of the sanest Ottoman public opinion. He is now in Europe and in a recent editorial discusses a problem of even greater importance than that of Adrianople, concerning which, since early in July, Ottoman sentiment has been at white heat. "Adrianople is ours, but what next?"

We give a translation, somewhat abridged, of the *Ikdam* article:

A new question of vital importance to us has emerged. It seems we are not to be left masters even of Asiatic Turkey. It is well known that the Ottoman Government regards the carrying out of reforms in Asiatic Turkey as a matter of such vital importance that it will summon to its aid Europeans of ability and experience in civil affairs. Sir Edward Grey has expressed his approval of this resolve. But according to the *Daily Telegraph* Russia will oppose our calling Frenchmen, Germans or Englishmen to our aid, but will insist on our calling Russians; that is, Russia claims the right to share with us the administration of our Asiatic possessions. She will designate who is to come to our aid and where the men are to be located.

But observe that two important facts have been dropped from consideration. First, the European officers that are to come are not sent by Europe, nor does Europe force Turkey to receive them. It is the Ottoman State that calls them and hers is the right to accept or refuse any person proposed. French, German and English officers have for many years served the Ottoman State, and are now doing so. No one of them in any way represents the policy or the interests of the country to which he belongs. They are all Ottoman officers. The present head of the gendarmerie of the province of Adrianople is a Frenchman and the head of the Custom administration is an Englishman. Russia wishes to put Asiatic Turkey on a par with Persia or what was once proposed for Macedonia. We cannot so endanger our Asiatic possessions. We do not interpret the mandate "Reform your administration" to mean "Divide up your possessions."

Secondly, we wish to reform our administration on European models. Even Russians cannot deny that to-day European civilization is exemplified by three nations, *i.e.*, the French, the English, and the Germans. Whatever the Russians have learned they have learned from these three peoples. They are Russia's teachers. It was Europe that waked up Peter the Great to the need of reforms which would give his country a place in civilized Europe. In his employ were many French and German officers, and their sons and grandsons remained in Russia in countless numbers, and became mingled with the Russian people, and contribute greatly to Russian reform. Russian literature also is much indebted to them. Queen Catharine also, and other Russian rulers, employed many foreign officers. We wish to-day to follow Russian example, and employ competent European officers in our administrative reforms, but not to make Asiatic Turkey resemble Persia or Macedonia. Russians cannot deny that the system of Russia differs from that of Europe, *i.e.*, of France, Germany, and England, to which they have not yet been able to conform their own system, as violent controversies among them prove. The bureaucracy of Russia is not paralleled in Turkey. How different it is from the governmental organization of Switzerland, where the least increase in the number of officers is accepted only after prolonged discussion.

The facility of arrest and the entire prison system of Russia I never wish to see introduced into Turkey. In fact, her whole system of internal administration is alien to our purpose. All the knowledge I have of law, justice, and history is against that system. So is the sentiment of all Western Europe. God forbid that officers representative of such a system be called to aid us in the reform of our government administration.

The system we require in the reforms we are to undertake is altogether different from this. The Turk needs no system of violent repression. He is mild, gentle, patient, loves to defend his honor. He is ignorant and poor to the last degree. Find a remedy for his ignorance and his poverty and he is on the road to prosperity and happiness.

It is intimated that the European officers that are to come to our help must not be taken from the great powers, but from the smaller peoples, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland. Very well. These are not inferior to the others in civilization, and in this way political difficulties would be avoided. Naturally, the great countries produce men equal to great affairs,—Lord Cromer, for example, but men from the smaller states can fill our need.

To whomsoever we apply for help, any interference with our affairs is ruled out. Our failures hitherto have been due to interference. It is honest help we want. We need and mean to use the aid of able European officers. But don't let us hear the wail over the hopelessness of reform in Turkey by the Turks, or the necessity on national or religious grounds of outside, forceful interference in our affairs.

SOME OF THE SEASON'S NOVELS

Religion and Life

MR. CHURCHILL, in "The Inside of the Cup,"[1] sets forth his personal view of religion clothed in the clerical habiliments of the Rev. John Hodder. Midway in the progress of the novel this divine preaches a sermon from the text, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Within the scope of a few pages, he interprets the gospel of Christ, which he calls the "universal meaning of life incarnate in the human Jesus." The duty of those who are "re-born" is to show men that the spiritual world is Here and Now—that heavenly citizenship may be assumed at once; and to "inspire individuals to willing service for the cause—the Cause of Democracy—the fellowship of mankind." He sees clearly that down the ages has come an "apostolic succession of personalities—Paul, Augustine, Francis, Dante, Luther, Milton—yes, and Abraham Lincoln and Phillips Brooks, whose authority was that of spirit, whose light had so shone before men that they had glorified the Father which was in heaven; the current of whose power had so radiated, in ever-widening circles, as to make incandescent countless other souls." To lay hold on life with strong hands—to find peace on the battle-field—to emerge re-born to the life of spirit—to that spiritual individualism that can will only good to every human soul—this is the path outlined in bold design for those who would build the new Church and the new democracy. Mr. Churchill applies his doctrines to the problems of modern marriage. As every work of the spirit is a sacrament to those *only* who are married in the spirit, civil marriage and the religious ceremony, to those who are still in the flesh, is simply a "civil permit to live together." True marriage—the union of spirit that justifies the union of flesh—transfigures human life. Mr. Churchill finds the secret in an illuminating sentence of Royce's: "For your cause can only be revealed to you through some presence that first teaches you to love the unity of the spiritual life. . . You must find it in human shape." Some clerics have considered "The Inside of the Cup" to be an attack upon the Anglican Church. It is not an attack upon any particular denomination; it is an arraignment of materialism in the Church, in the home, in our American democracy. A change such as that which came to Thomas Hardy is discernible in this latest work of Mr. Churchill's. He is no longer merely the skilful literary fencer who wields the glittering rapiers of polished sentences for our delight. "The Inside of the Cup" is not "art" solely "for art's sake"; it is art for truth's sake. The novelist has sacrificed his characters to a mission; they are partially obscured by the parts they play in his human drama. Kate Marcy, the repentant Magdalen, is more vivid than the high-minded Alison Parr, perhaps for the reason that she voices no creed, but comes to us quite simply, bearing a "box of precious ointment" for the Master.

[1] The Inside of the Cup. Winston Churchill. Macmillan. 513 pp. $1.50.

Woman in the New Fiction

The number of novels treating of different phases of the eternal woman question in its moral, legal, and economic aspects increases apace. It is impossible to note even the majority of them. A few words about four of the more noteworthy ones issued during the present season will show the scope, courage, and knowledge displaced in the treatment of this tremendous subject by some of the writers of to-day. The novel of the last winter in Paris, which has recently been translated into English, was "L'Ordination," by Julien Benda. The English version appears under the title "The Yoke of Pity."[2] "L'Ordination" lost the coveted Goncourt prize of 1912 by only one vote. It is the story of a duel between the passionate devotion to a career on the part of a self-centered philosopher and the claims of love, pity, and domestic responsibility. This naïve young philosopher permits himself to fall in love with the unhappy wife of a dull bourgeois merchant. There are months of happiness, and then the hero, Felix, awakes "to find himself in prison—in prison to the remnants of a passion that has died and to the yoke of pity for the woman." He finally leaves her because, as he says, "pity is death, and I wish to live." He finds other consolation, and finally marries an intelligent woman who leaves him to himself in his work. Neither she nor the daughter that is born to them are permitted to invade the interior of his existence. He lives "a celibate of philosophy." Then one day his little girl, who has gradually been breathing an unconscious humanity into his soul, falls ill. She develops hip disease and permanent invalidism. Little by little real sentiment takes possession of him. He struggles, and finally yields, "conquering the hardness of his heart and falling into hopeless domesticity." The reading of it leaves a very vivid impression of the hopelessness and helplessness of one sex without the other. All Paris talked about this book for months. The writer, M. Benda, is one of the new intellectuals of the positivist school, that has learned to frown on Bergson. The style in the English translation is fine and smooth. It was done by Gilbert Cannan, the translator, it will be remembered, of Romain Rolland's "Jean-Christophe."

However one may dislike the Revelly family, depicted in Daniel Carson Goodman's "Hagar Revelly,"[3] they have that mysterious something about them that makes us look upon them as real people. Hagar is a beautiful young wage-earner who feels forced by circumstances to sacrifice her purity for the material well-being of her family and herself. The basis of the book is a social problem, not a sexual one. It is an illumination of the question of wages versus virtue, and Mr. Goodman, also author of that other important novel, "Unclothed," writes with a power that reminds us, in places, of Thomas Hardy in "Tess of the

[2] The Yoke of Pity. By Julien Benda. Translated by Gilbert Cannan. Holt. 178 pp. $1.

[3] Hagar Revelly. By Daniel Carson Goodman. Kennerley. 428 pp. $1.35.

D'Urbervilles." Hagar, a pathetic little figure, despite her transgressions, is at heart a pure woman. There is much vigor in the treatment of the situations. The author has written on a high plane, although it must be admitted that the novel is over long.

J. D. Beresford's "A World of Women"[1] is a clever satire on the life of a modern woman, and, incidentally, of all the vanities of modern civilization. It is the story of what would be likely to result if all the men in the world were suddenly exterminated. Mr. Beresford makes a plague kill off most of the males until Europe is practically a woman's world. Woman finds herself mistress of life and its government, all class and sex distinctions are abolished, women work like men, and nobody any longer worships wealth, position or power. Then, having accomplished this great levelling, the sexes start on an equality and build up civilization all over again.

"The Woman Thou Gavest Me,"[2] by Hall Caine, is a novel that protests in consecutive melodramatic situations against the divorce laws of England and the marriage laws of the Catholic Church. It is the voice of Irish Protestantism crying out against Catholic Ireland, fiction limned by the Red Hand of Ulster. Mary O'Neill, a pretty Irish girl, comes out of a convent to marry the last of the "O'Neills," Lord Raa, as unconvincing a villain as ever trod between board covers. The marriage is uncongenial and loveless. Mary, stunned by the disloyalty of her husband, yields to temptation and gives her love to a young and famous Arctic explorer. The explorer goes on another voyage of discovery and the expedition is reported as lost. Mary runs away to London and her child is born in humble lodgings where motherly women care for Mary. Afterwards Mary tries to find work and fails. At last, when starvation faces mother and child, she goes out on the street. Luckily, before harm comes, she runs straight into the arms of the explorer, who was very much alive. Later, Mary dies like a peaceful angel. An emotional novel that will be popular because of its intensity. It is issued simultaneously in over a dozen languages.

"The Old Adam,"[3] by Arnold Bennett, is another novel of the Five Towns. Edward Henry Machin, aged forty-three and possessed of an income of 6,000 pounds per year, wearies of the monotony of the Five Towns and of the unvarying goodness and deadly common sense of his wife, Nellie. He is bored and lethargic; he longs for the exciting emotions of youth and goes down to London in search of sensations. He finds an old flame, one Rose Euclid, a middle-aged emotional actress. He resents her age; she no longer arouses his interest. Carlo Trent, a dramatic poet, and another actress, the beauteous Elsie April, enter his life. He takes over a theater and produces Trent's play, "The Orient Pearl," with Rose Euclid as the star. The play is a success. Still not satisfied, he races across the Atlantic to capture Isabel Joy, the advertising emissary of the Militant Suffragette Society. He finds her, engineers an arrest on shipboard in order to permit her to win a wager, and engages her to appear in a minor part in his theater. Of such nature are the incidents in Edward Henry's career before (after a nervous breakdown) he decides to return to the peaceful monotony of the Five Towns.

Novels that Entertain

A comforting sugar-cookie romance, bubbling with the elixir of youth, is "Laddie,"[4] by Gene Stratton-Porter, a book filled with children, kindly friends and neighbors, make-believe fairies, and sprinklings of magic. Little Sister, the youngest of a family of twelve, tells the story. Laddie is the wonderful big brother. His sweetheart is a lonely English girl whose father is reputed to be an infidel and whose mother is "stuck up." Add to these ingredients a mystery, two weddings, and "they-lived-happily-ever-afterwards" and you have a novel that promises to be the most popular one of the season.

Algernon Blackwood, author of "A Prisoner in Fairyland,"[5] comes from the ageless land of childhood with rich gifts for real children and for older ones who have never grown up:

"Bearing to other children childhood's proper feast,
Whose robes are fluent crystal, crocus-hued,
Whose wings are wind-afire, whose mantles wrought
From spray that falling rainbows shake to air."

The story is woven out of dreams and nature and mystery. A man leaves busy London to spend a holiday with relatives in a French mountain hamlet. Guided by two sprites of children, he finds the way to Fairyland by escaping from his fettering body while the body sleeps. With freed spiritual vision, he sees the flashing radiance of thoughts interlacing over the world, the scaffolding of twilight, all the splendor, the harmony of the actual universe revealed as "One." He perceives that the world is *thinking,* and what the world thinks *it is,* just as what people think *they are.* All these truths are told in childhood's fairy vocabulary. Among the year's novels this is the best choice for young folks and those who want to keep young. Mr. Blackwood is "the artistic realist of the unseen world," a title often applied and amply justified.

"El Dorado,"[6] by the Baroness Orczy, relates further adventures of "The Scarlet Pimpernel," in the same stirring romantic vein and principally concerned with the rescue of the Dauphin from Temple Prison. Stimulating and delightful.

"Murder in Any Degree,"[7] by Owen Johnson, is a collection of brilliant short stories. A few are in the author's early, straightforward manner; others seem imitations of the French stylists. Immensely diverting and entertaining reading; in particular, that subtly humorous skit—"A Comedy for Wives."

An exceptional novel built upon a theme of great exaltation and beauty is "The Kingdom,"[8] by Harold Elsdale Goad. A man finds that the girl

[1] A World of Women. By J. D. Beresford. Macaulay. 306 pp. $1.35.
[2] The Woman Thou Gavest Me. By Hall Caine. Lippincott. 584 pp. $1.35.
[3] The Old Adam. By Arnold Bennett. Doran. 374 pp. $1.35.
[4] Laddie: A True Blue Story. By Gene Stratton-Porter. Doubleday, Page. 602 pp. $1.35.
[5] A Prisoner in Fairyland. By Algernon Blackwood. Macmillan. 506 pp. $1.35.
[6] El Dorado. By Baroness Orczy. Hodder & Stoughton. 435 pp., ill. $1.35.
[7] Murder in Any Degree. By Owen Johnson. Century. 305 pp., ill. $1.30.
[8] The Kingdom. By Harold Elsdale Goad. Stokes. 336 pp. $1.25.

he is about to marry is in love with his friend. He turns to the religious life and becomes a Franciscan friar. The narrative records and interprets the religious thought of modern Italy and the spiritual progress of a devout soul toward paths of peace.

In "Pity the Poor Blind,"[1] H. H. Bashford tells the story of an Anglican priest and two young people who are more or less pagans. The "blind" are those who fail to comprehend the laws of God and Nature.

"The Way of Ambition,"[2] by Robert Hichens, is a dramatic, highly idealistic work, with a return to the author's most fortunate scenario—the Sahara desert. The theme portrays the conflict of a young musical genius who preferred to remain "to Fortune and to Fame unknown" and his ambitious and charming English wife, who wishes to shape her husband's career and urge him on to competition and worldly success. Their progress brings them to America, where much of the action is laid in New York City. The conflict ends with strong, tense scenes in the "Garden of Allah."

In "The Heart of the Desert,"[3] by Honoré Wilsie, the "desert" is the mysterious, colorful mesa of Arizona. A delicate girl is kidnapped by a university-bred Indian who flees before a pursuing posse into the great, open wastes, carrying his captive with him. He treats the girl with respect and every reserve. She finds health in the primitive life, in the daily routine of exercise, and the story leads up to a thrilling climax.

"The Garden Without Walls"[4] is the title of a story by Coningsby Dawson, in which Dante Cardover, a clean-souled Puritan with a "pagan imagination," searches for the Garden without Walls, which is—the garden of Heart's Desire. Three heroines beckon successively, a beautiful American, an Anglo-French girl, and the tropical half-Italian Fiesloe. In the end he remains outside the garden, perhaps because he really did not want to go in after all; perhaps because the gipsy Lilith had made a blood pact with him as a little boy which bound him to the gipsies forever. Objectively the book doesn't seem to get anywhere. Symbolically it reveals life as a way station on the road to eternity.

CRITICISM: THE DRAMA: MISCELLANY

PROFESSOR GEORGE SAINTSBURY, of Edinburgh University, has written a delightful and discursive commentary on the English novel.[5]

The English Novel

He begins far afield with the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" and with Ovid, who was, as we all know, a great story-teller. He has something to say of Lucian and Apuleius, the only two novelists in classical languages, and from this classical period he traces the development of the "story" down to Beowulf and on through the age of romance to Mallory, Chaucer, and Sydney, and thence to the "four wheels of the novel wain"—Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne. Among the types of the later eighteenth-century novel, there emerges "The Children of the Abbey," that sentimental effusion which begins with the exclamation of the languishing heroine, Amanda—"Hail, sweet sojourn of my infancy." Here too we encounter poor Fanny Burney and her "Eveline," and Maria Edgeworth and the estimable Jane Austen. This book of Professor Saintsbury is like a historical pageant. From dusty book-shelves step our beloved heroes and heroines of romance, with their creators holding them in leash. They strut and prance and caper for our edification and then pass on, making way for the next group of immortals. It is good to find in this work a little more about Anthony Trollope and a little less about George Eliot. Professor Saintsbury concedes to the late Sidney Lanier the last word on George Eliot. The reason for the existence and persistence of the novel he finds in its "central cause and essence"—"most keenly and definitely felt by nobler spirits and cultivated intelligences, but also dimly and unconsciously animating very ordinary people—the human delight in humanity."

The publishing house of B. Huebsch offers one of the most important editions of the year—the dramatic works of the Nobel Prize winner, Gerhart Hauptmann.[6]

Hauptmann's Plays

The plays are given in the authorized translation with an able introduction by their editor, Ludwig Lewisohn. They include nearly all the dramatic work of Hauptmann, the plays—"Before Dawn," "The Weavers," "The Beaver Coat," "The Conflagration," "Drayman Henschel," "Rose Bernd" and "The Rats." The life and work of Hauptmann were commented upon in the January number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, but at that time the English version of his plays had not appeared. As a dramatist Hauptmann combines realism and naturalism (German naturalism) with idealism. It is true that you can find in his work anything that you wish to find. Nothing of life has escaped him; he has set it all down. As life is often revolting, so is Hauptmann often revolting. Take for example, one of his latest naturalistic plays, "The Rats." You enter a loft—a garret hung with theatrical odds and ends. Or is it a garret? Is it not the human heart with dusky chambers filled with grotesque masks and forgotten rubbish? Here you watch human vermin spawn, here you find the half-beast, half-man, Bruno, and his brutal murder of Pauline sickens you to despair. Lo, as you turn away with disgust, a long beam

[1] Pity the Poor Blind. By H. H. Bashford. Holt. 316 pp. $1.35.
[2] The Way of Ambition. By Robert Hichens. Stokes. 473 pp. $1.35.
[3] The Heart of the Desert. By Honoré Willsie. Stokes. 313 pp. $1.25.
[4] The Garden Without Walls. By Coningsby Dawson. Stokes. pp. $1.35.
[5] The English Novel. By George Saintsbury. Dutton. 319 pp. $1.50.
[6] The Dramatic Works of Gerhart Hauptmann. Edited by Ludwig Lewisohn. Huebsch. 2 Vols. 535 pp. $3.

of celestial light illumines the rat-hole. Mother John's mad love for her stolen baby, the mother-love that redeems the world, shines down upon the filth and degradation and suddenly you are lifted up to the heights where God sits and judges with righteous judgment both the saint and the sinner. This is the secret of Hauptmann's power. Where Strindberg is so often coldly aloof, where Ibsen so often sneers, Hauptmann has generally listened with his heart. He "has heard the inflections of the human voice, the faltering and fugitive eloquence of the living word not only with his ear but with his soul."

Dr. Edward H. Williams thinks that the public should be completely aware of the methods used in the treatment of the criminal insane. His book, "The Walled City,"[1] describes with fidelity to detail the every-day life of the prisoner in an institution such as Matteawan. While the narrative shows the inevitable grimness of life behind the "walls," it relates humorous incidents sufficient to persuade the reader that this life is not all grey even to the insane, nor is it devoid of cheerful optimism. Considerable information is given concerning the type of insane known as "paranoiacs." The volume is freely illustrated.

Life at Matteawan

The final word on the Panama Canal, if ever the final word can be said, is one written in the new book "The Panama Gateway,"[2] by Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Secretary of the Isthmian Canal Commission. This is the most complete, comprehensive and authoritative statement of the canal from an historical and descriptive standpoint that has yet been issued. It is illustrated copiously with portraits, scenes, diagrams and maps. Mr. Bishop traces the history of the canal idea from the days of Columbus to the present, and finishes with a splendid section on the completed canal.

The Great Canal

A book for young people on the lore of the stars is entitled "The Stars and Their Stories."[3] This has been prepared by Alice Mary Matlock Griffith, with pen sketches that really illustrate by Margaret Boroughs. The book purposes to interest young people in the stars, to tell them the most interesting of the stories, myths, and poems which have grown up around these heavenly bodies.

About the Stars

"The Upholstered Cage,"[4] by Josephine P. Knowles, is a serious attempt to deal with the serious subject of the life of the girl of leisure, living in her parents' home. It is a general survey of present-day conditions, and presents the case not only for the daughter but also for the parents.

The Girl at Home

BIOGRAPHY AND REMINISCENCE

WITH easy intimacy and secure knowledge, the Right Honorable George W. Erskine Russell has sketched his characters in "Half-Lengths."[5] John Henry Newman, Lord Hartington (the eighth Duke of Devonshire), the first Lord Coleridge, Henry Labouchere, Baron Rothschild, the Wilberforces, Joseph Hume, and the Duchess of Buccleuch form the nucleus of his gallery of notables. It is a delightful, invigorating work, filled with politics, personality, and history; its literary style shows the hand that from long experience knows no effort. Mr. Russell analyzes Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy and describes a Jubilee garden party with equal ease; and it is doubtful if anyone has written with as much eloquence of the charm of Oxford and the characteristics that make it totally different in its educative impressions from Cambridge. Mr. Russell has been Under Secretary of State for India and served on the Local Government Board of his home city and on the Churchman's Liberation League, besides many other public activities.

British Notables

The life and teachings of Giordano Bruno,[6] poet, philosopher, and martyr, compiled and written by Coulson Turnbull, will receive a hearty welcome from all who are interested in "the ever new and never old religion, that of spiritual insight." To three great men who died for truth's sake, Socrates, Bruno, Savonarola, we owe perhaps more than to any others, our religious liberty and freedom, writes the author. Giordano Bruno, the "wandering knight of a philosopher," was born in 1548 in the city of Nola, near Naples. He educated himself in a Dominican monastery at Naples for a period of thirteen years, then, forced to leave the monastery by his philosophical beliefs, wandered over Europe from court to court, from university to university, wherever men would listen to his teachings. Shortly after his return to Italy in 1592 he was betrayed to the Inquisition by one Mocenigo, a citizen of Venice, and imprisoned and tortured for a period of eight years. In 1600, he was condemned to be burnt and the date was fixed for February 16th, a time when Pope Clement VIII. was about to hold his jubilee. His reply to his judges on receiving sentence of death is memorable: "You, O Judges, feel perchance more terror in pronouncing this judgment than I do in hearing it." Mr. Coulson's book is illustrated with a portrait of Bruno and a cut of his monument erected in 1889 in the center of the Campo dei Fiori on the spot where Bruno suffered martyrdom.

An Italian Martyr

Mr. James Cooke Mills has written a timely and very readable volume upon Commodore Perry's career and training, and a spirited narrative of the manner in which the Lake Erie fleet was prepared and armed and of the details of the battle.[7] The book has evidently been prepared with particular reference to the centenary celebrations along the shores of Lake Erie and her sister

Perry and Lake Erie

[1] The Walled City: A Story of the Criminal Insane. By Edward H. Williams. Funk & Wagnalls. 263 pp. $1.
[2] The Panama Gateway. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Scribner. 459 pp., ill. $2.50.
[3] The Stars and Their Stories. By Alice Mary Matlock Griffith. Holt. 274 pp., ill. $1.25.
[4] The Upholstered Cage. By Josephine P. Knowles. Doran. 420 pp. $1.50.
[5] Half-Lengths. By George W. Erskine Russell. Duffield.
[6] The Life and Teachings of Giordano Bruno. By Coulson Turnbull. San Diego, Cal.: The Gnostic Press. 100 pp. $1.
[7] Oliver Hazard Perry and the Battle of Lake Erie. By James Cooke Mills. Detroit: John Phelps. 300 pp., ill. $1.50.

lakes, with the resurrected *Niagara,* Perry's flagship, as the focus of interest.

The Tragedy of a Queen

There are not very many books on the life of Mary Queen of Scots—that is, not so many as the dramatic and tragic career of this beautiful, melancholy, historic character would seem to warrant. Henry C. Shelley's new book "The Tragedy of Mary Stuart,"[1] which he calls "the story of the eventful years of the most famous woman in history," is based exclusively on historical documents. Mary Stuart's span of life, says Mr. Shelley, in his preface, was restricted to forty-four years and two months, "but of that period fifteen months sufficed for all those events which were to make her the most perennially fascinating figure in British history." Mr. Shelley has an instinct for the dramatic and he tells his story well.

The Last French Prince

A very sympathetic picture of the French Prince Imperial, the ill-fated heir of Napoleon III., is painted for us by the biography recently finished by his tutor, Augustin Filon.[2] This is the official biography, and has been written with the permission and assistance of the Empress Eugenie. It is not merely a chronicle of events, but a study of the temperament and devotion of the heroic young figure who received his baptism of fire in the Franco-Prussian War, and died in Zululand fighting for the English flag. The volume is very sympathetically written and is well illustrated. It is strange that anyone who made such a good translation as this undoubtedly is should not receive credit on the title page.

A British Empire Builder

A collection of the speeches and addresses of Lord Milner, made during the sixteen years when he was High Commissioner for South Africa, has been published under the title "The Nation and the Empire."[3] Lord Milner has been one of the empire builders of modern Britain, and his lofty, statesmanlike idea of "Imperialism" shines through all these pages.

Mayor Gaynor's Self-Revelation

If there was any one thing for which the late Mayor Gaynor, of New York, made a reputation, in the closing years of his life, outside of his official service, it was letter-writing. Every newspaper reader had become acquainted with the direct, simple, and often homely language in which the Mayor answered his many correspondents on public matters. Always interesting, and frequently illuminating, these letters came to have a wider range of readers than the deliverances of any other man in New York. The true secret of the success of the Mayor's letters was better stated, perhaps, by himself than it can be by anyone else when he said: "The most expressive words are short words. If you want a good vocabulary read the Bible and simple books. But, in the end, good sense is the foundation of good language." Some of the letters written by the Mayor during the four years of his administration have been collected, and, together with a few of his speeches, make up a most entertaining volume.[4] The Gaynor letters really constitute an unconscious character sketch of the writer. The mental attitudes and processes, the human sympathies, and, pervading all, the "uncommon common sense" of a most unusual and distinctive personality are here revealed.

AMONG THE PHILOSOPHERS

Human Personality

"THE Value and Destiny of the Individual,"[5] the Gifford lectures for 1912, by Bernard Bosanquet, comprise ten papers, each one of which is so full of meat that it might easily be elaborated into a separate volume. Beginning with definitions of consciousness and its differentiations, the author leads on to personal feeling and the distinction of persons and launches into two brilliant discussions of the "moulding of souls" which, after all is the chief business of humanity on earth. Professor Bosanquet takes the ground that while "there may be intelligences of sparks of divinity in millions, they are not souls until they acquire identities, till each one is personally conscious of itself." By the medium of experience, by the "medium of a world like this" affected by three materials, viz., intelligence, the human heart ("as distinguished from intelligence, or mind") and "the world, or elemental space," the soul is formed that is "destined to possess the sense of identity." "Character," the author maintains, "is just the habitual will, maintaining the vigilance involved in thought and a relative elevation of look-out point." He quotes among instances the following "Take, for example the history of the coöperative movement in Great Britain. A few workingmen, desiring to get their groceries without a middleman, and therefore to work in the consumers' interest and not to make a trade profit, joined in setting up a shop, and contrived a simple system of dividing the profit among the consumers. From this simple act and plan of coöperation sprang the vast coöperative movement in England and Scotland, an ethical, educative and economic force of the highest importance in the development of British democracy." To do justice to this brilliant work would necessitate quoting it in entirety. It is at once the most original, sparkling, and literary philosophical work of the year. Professor Bosanquet was born in 1848. He is a profound philosophical scholar, the translator of Schömann's "Constitutional History of Athens," and Hegel's "Aesthetic," and the author of several philosophical treatises.

"The Significance of Existence,"[6] by I. Harris, grapples with the subject from the viewpoint of the trained thinker and physiologist. The substratum from which he builds the future existence

[1] The Tragedy of Mary Stuart. By Henry C. Shelley. Little, Brown. 295 pp., ill. $3.
[2] The Prince Imperial. By Augustin Filon. Little, Brown. 248 pp., ill. $4.
[3] The Nation and the Empire. By Lord Milner. Houghton Mifflin. 515 pp. $3.
[4] Mayor Gaynor's Letters and Speeches. New York: Greaves Publishing Company. 320 pp., por. $1.25.
[5] The Value and Destiny and the Individual. By Bernard Bosanquet. Macmillan. 331 pp. $3.25.
[6] The Significance of Existence. By I. Harris. Longmans, Green.

of man is the assertion that "every faculty should be studied" in order to "bring out its inner capabilities" and that whither the activities of our impulses will lead us following this development, is no business of ours to inquire; also that "man will only become himself again when all values are swept out of existence, moral and otherwise." This seems in direct contradiction to our present principles of education and to our Puritan dogma of "precept upon precept." Mr. Harris' doctrine, however, is not as revolutionary as it sounds. It is aimed a little at certain British class distinctions that in kind do not exist in this country; and it is, as the author states, an effort to restore "equilibrium among all branches of human endeavor." One interesting postulate of Mr. Harris contradicts Herbert Spencer's idea, that there is an increasing adjustment between environment and individual existence. The author writes: "On the contrary, the further the distance that divides the environment and a particular existence from their common origin, the more delicate the contrivances for adaptation between the one and the other, and the correspondingly greater risk of disparity between them. Finally such adaptation will become impossible. Probably long before the earth will become uninhabitable by man, man and his civilization will have become extinct." It is Mr. Harris' intention to further elaborate the theories now presented.

Human Development

Seventeen years after the appearance of the original edition, the Macmillan Company has brought out a second one of Henry Osborn Taylor's splendid "Ancient Ideals,"[1] the subtitle of which is: "A study of intellectual and spiritual growth from early times to the establishment of Christianity." It represents an attempt to treat human development from the standpoint of the ideals of the different races, as these ideals disclose themselves in the art and literature, in the philosophy and religion, and in the conduct and political fortunes of each race. It stands for the new form of history toward which we are more and more tending—the history that is evolutionary rather than static, and spiritual rather than material. In his application of such methods, the author is a little hampered by views like those which once made Hegel seek his ultimate synthesis in Prussian autocracy and Lutheran Christianity, but this tendency is counteracted by a broad intellectual tolerance which keeps the work open and acceptable to every clear thinking mind.

"It Is to Laugh"

"The Psychology of Laughter,"[2] by Prof. Boris Sidis, of Harvard, has not only value but charm. If, as seems probable, it has been more or less prompted by Professor Bergson's "Laughter," it has succeeded where most such sequels fail—that is, in surpassing the work meant to be surpassed. Valid and valuable as were the theories worked out by the French philosopher, they fell short of the final explanation of all phenomena connected with laughter. This explanation Professor Sidis has found in his principle that "laughter arises from the consciousness of our superiority," and in the complementary principle that at the basis of all the ludicrous we find present relations of inferiority." To him "laughter comes not out of economy but out of abundance." It means a release of surplus energy. Turning from life to literature, he maintains the equality of comedy with tragedy both esthetically and ethically. "Like tragedy," he says, "comedy sounds the depth of the human personality and reveals sources of human reserve energy of which man in his every-day life remains entirely unaware."

Hindu Philosophy

With the object of interesting English-speaking readers in Hindu religion and philosophy, A. L. Roy, of Lahore, India, has brought out a little booklet entitled "The Inner Man."[3] Mr. Roy is one of those intellectual Hindus who believe that the future of India, like her past, will be more on the intellectual and spiritual planes than on the political and commercial. They believe also, however, that in the evolution of civilization India needs the cooperation of Western science and savants. The Hindu mind, assisted by the Western intellect, this scholar believes, will bring about a union of the East and West which will rest on the deep harmony between philosophy, religion, and science. The little booklet "The Inner Man," written by Scrimat Sachchidananda Swami, a hermit, is really a brief view of Hindu religion and philosophy, and is subtitled "The Gospel of Pity, Peace and Love." It will be freely distributed to all who desire a copy.

A Chinese Sage

"The Inner Life of Tao-Teh-King,"[4] by C. H. A. Bjerregaard, brings before the Western world the mystical precepts of "Tao," the philosophical doctrine of the Chinese Sage, Laotze, who was born about 604 B.C. Tao might be interpreted as the Eternal Principle of Life; Teh, as self-realization; the Tao-Teh-King as the book of self-realization in the union of self with self, of the individual with the cosmic. We do not know much about the actual life of Laotze. It is recorded that he was a keeper of the archives in Cho, a city in southwestern China. Mr. Bjerregaard offers the results of thirty years' study of his philosophy in this volume. It is his desire to point the way toward that perfection of existence which he describes in Goethe's phrase "To live determinedly in the whole, in the good, and in the beautiful." To the student of esoteric doctrines who will pursue the subject with diligence this book will bring rich reward.

[1] Ancient Ideals. By Henry Osborne Taylor. 2 vols. The Macmillan Co. xviii—891. $5.

[2] The Psychology of Laughter. By Boris Sidis. Appleton & Co. xii—300 pp. $1.50.

[3] The Inner Man. By Scrimat Sachchidananda Swami. Lahore, India: A. L. Roy. 83 pp. Distributed free.

[4] The Inner Life and the Tao-Teh-King. By C. H. A. Bierregaard. New York Theosophical Publishing Company. 225 pp. $2.

POETS AND POETRY OF THE DAY

SCRIBNER'S publish "The Works of Francis Thompson,"[1] in three volumes, as edited by Thompson's literary executor, Mr. Wilfred Meynell. Two of the volumes contain poems; the third, essays, articles, and reviews. The reader will agree with Mr. Meynell that the poet's Shelley essay easily stands first among his prose writings; in the second place we put "Health and Holiness," a plea for the redemption of the body, which Thompson discerned as the aim of all sanctity. It would be hard to find a more splendid tract against the frailty of the modern body, or a more exalted vision of the powers of the human will when united with the divine will. It asserts the "regality" of "will over matter," "that Sanctity is medicinal, Holiness a healer, from Virtue goes out Virtue, in the love of God is more than solely ethical sanity. For the feebleness of the world seeking some maternal hand to which it may cling, a wise asceticism is remedial."

Francis Thompson's Poems and Essays

Thompson has been compared to Crashaw and to the Irish poet Mangan. He was a mystic like Blake and soared to aerial heights with his beloved Shelley. To compare his poetry to architecture would be to compare it to the noble Cathedral of Chartres, a triumph of intricate beauty that, aspiring heavenward, gives wings to the soul. His great masterpiece, "The Hound of Heaven," stands alone in solitary literary perfection; it is a litany of a soul that cries magnificently with the psalmist: "Whither shall I go from Thy spirit and whither shall I fly from beyond Thy face? If I rise up to Heaven, Thou art there; if I make Hades my bed Thou are there also." It is a pipe of doom piercing through the music of humanity, not with annihilation but with promise of return to the Bosom of God. What poesy has ever excelled, what poet save Shelley has ever equalled, these lines:

"(For, though I knew His love Who followed,
Yet I was sore adread
Lest having Him, I must have naught beside.)
But if one little casement parted wide,
The gust of His approach would clash it to.
Fear wist not to evade as Love wist to pursue.
Across the margent of the world I fled,
And troubled the gold gateways of the stars,
Smiting for shelter on their clanged bars;
Fretted to dulcet jars
And silvern chatter the pale ports o' the moon."

From Thompson the late William Vaughn Moody might have drawn his imagery of the earth as a ship in his familiar Gloucester Moors, but his conception cannot approach the grandeur of Thompson's "galleon" ponderously riding the aerial seas.

"This laboring, vast Tellurian galleon,
Riding at anchor off the Orient Sun,
Has broken its cable and stood out to space
Down some frore Arctic of aerial ways,
And now back warping from the inclement main,
Its vaporous shroudage drenched with icy rain,
It swung into the azure roads again."

There is a curious likeness between the death-mask of Keats and the life-masks of Francis Thompson, taken in the last years of his life. Both men died of the insidious disease that seems to enhance genius—tuberculosis; both exhibited the identical type of hectic talent that flares like a comet in the intellectual heavens and is suddenly extinguished, leaving a trail of golden dust in its wake. If re-incarnation could be proved, there is sufficient parallelism to maintain that Thompson was Keats reborn. Keats was a drug clerk, but he scorned pharmacy to woo poesy; Thompson tried unsuccessfully to practise medicine, but his poetic "Dæmon" called; the rhythms whirled in his brain and the poet forsook his patients to wander in the streets of London, destitute (at the last drugged with opium), but ever with mind filled with glorious dreams. Of these—his lasting legacy to the world—he has written:

"Love, I fall into the claws of Time:
But lasts within a leaved rhyme,
All that the world of me esteems—
My withered dreams, my withered dreams."

Keats comes to highest perfection in his odes, and after Milton the odes of Francis Thompson are the most stately in the mother tongue; while the lavishness and luxuriance of Keats is only outdone by the the poetic excess of Thompson.

His biography, in brief, is as follows: He was born at Ashton, Lancashire, in 1860; was educated for the medical profession, but failed to take an interest in medicine or surgery. As time went on he became a confessed failure who poured his visions into unpopular verse. In 1893, after years of destitution, during which he had become addicted to the opium habit, his talent was discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Wilfred Meynell, who succored and encouraged him to the end of his life. He was an ardent Roman Catholic and lived much of his broken-down existence at a little Capuchin monastery at Tanlasapt. He died in London, on the 13th of November, 1907.

Mary Ellis Robins' book of verse, "Songs Through the Night,"[2] merited more careful editing than the author gave it. Much could have been elided from the collection to the gain of Miss Robins' literary reputation. Here, a fine sonnet rubs a poetic platitude; there, a powerful stanza leads on to the sing-songy and the bromidic. Much of the collection, however, is of exceptional worth and gives promise of better things to come. The plantation melodies are tuneful. "In Twilight" is a fine sonnet; "A Winter Hearth" is least successful.

"Songs Through the Night"

[1] The Collected Works of Francis Thompson. Edited by Wilfred Meynell. Scribner's. 3 Vols. 744 pp. $5 50.

[2] Songs Through the Night. By Mary Ellis Robins. Woodstock, N. Y.: The Maverick Press. 183 pp.

Nicholas Vachel Lindsay's "Rhymes To Be Traded for Bread,"[1] as an experiment in the valuation of poetic industry, seems to have been entirely successful. The author used the pamphlet as a substitute for money on a trip from Springfield, Ill., through the Western States. Besides the "Rhymes," he distributed a tract, "The Gospel of Beauty," of which the most pertinent part is that: "The things most worth while are one's own hearth and neighborhood. We should make our own home and neighborhood the most democratic, the most beautiful and the holiest in the world." The reason for living should be "that joy in beauty which no wounds can take away, and that joy in the love of God which no crucifixion can end." Mr. Lindsay's stirring poem that throbs with a Covenanter swing, "General Booth Enters Heaven," will be issued, with other poems, by Mitchell Kennerley this month. Here is the poet's thought on "The Legislature":

Poems of Real Value

"Out of the heart of ages comes the law,
The sons will honor what the sires have left:
Their proverb is the father's careless wit;
Their honesty the father's careless theft.
What is our freedom but a chance to give
Posterity a noble house for play?
And will our checked and balanced laws be chains
To hang our children in an evil day?
We say we want the nation to be free,
Yet there's a *clank* in every law we write,
Why should we work at such ill-omened steel?
To-day the forge is loud, the metal white;
To-day mad blows come thick and fast. The steel
Yields well that soon will cool forevermore.
What have our wild blows wrought? What graceless mould
Where men will pour their blood forevermore?"

BOOKS OF RELIGIOUS APPEAL

Jehovah-Jesus. By Thomas Whitelaw. Scribner's. 144 pp. 60 cents.

What Is the Truth About Jesus Christ? By Friedrich Loofs. Scribner's. 241 pp. $1.25.

Social Idealism and the Changing Theology. By Gerald Birney Smith. Macmillan. 251 pp. $1.25.

The Problem of Christianity. 2 Vols. By Josiah Royce. Macmillan. 867 pp. $3.50.

The Church and the Labor Conflict. By Parley Paul Womer. Macmillan. 302 pp. $1.50.

The Apostles' Creed and the New Testament. By Johannes Kunze. Translated by George William Gilmore. Funk & Wagnalls. 176 pp. 75 cents.

The Vital and Victorious Faith of Christ. By George Shipman Payson. Funk & Wagnalls. 247 pp. $1.00.

The New Testament Period and Its Leaders. By Frank T. Lee. Sherman, French. 358 pp. $1.35.

The Reasonableness of the Religion of Jesus. By William Stephen Rainsford. Houghton Mifflin. 262 pp. $1.25.

An Unorthodox Conception of Being. By William Ellsworth Hermance. Putnam. 441 pp. $2.50.

Letters to Unknown Friends. By Lyman Abbott. Doubleday, Page. 167 pp. 60 cents.

Man a Machine. By Julien Offray De La Mettrie. Open Court Publishing Company. 216 pp. $1.50.

A Man's Religion. By William Fraser McDowell. Eaton & Mains. 225 pp. 50 cents.

The Most Beautiful Book Ever Written. By D. A. Hayes. Eaton & Mains. 183 pp. 75 cents.

Religion and Life. By Thomas Cuming Hall. Eaton & Mains. 161 pp. 75 cents.

The Making of To-Morrow. By Shailer Mathews. Eaton & Mains. 193 pp. $1.00.

Christian Science So-Called. By Henry C. Sheldon. Eaton & Mains. 102 pp. 50 cents.

The Men of the Gospels. By Lynn Harold Hough. Eaton & Mains. 98 pp. 50 cents.

Abraham Lincoln the Christian. By William J. Johnson. Eaton & Mains. 228 pp. $1.00.

Wheel-Chair Philosophy. By John Leonard Cole. Eaton & Mains. 154 pp. 75 cents.

Plain Thoughts on Faith and Life. By Wellesley P. Coddington. Eaton & Mains. 225 pp. $1.00.

The Song and the Soil. By W. G. Jordan. Scribner's. 139 pp. 60 cents.

The Higher Powers of the Soul. By George M'Hardy. Scribner's. 134 pp. 60 cents.

The Psalm of Psalms. By James Stalker. Scribner's. 129 pp. 60 cents.

The Man Among the Myrtles. By John Adams. Scribner's. 142 pp. 60 cents.

The Sevenfold "I Am." By Thomas Marjoribanks. Scribner's. 147 pp. 60 cents.

Constructive Natural Theology. By Newman Smyth. Scribner's. 123 pp. $1.00.

The Life Efficient. By George A. Miller. Eaton & Mains. 248 pp. $1.00.

[1] Rhymes To Be Traded for Bread. By Nicholas Vachel Lindsay.



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IMPEACHING THE GOVERNOR OF A GREAT STATE

(Next to the proceedings in the case of President Johnson, the most celebrated impeachment trial in the history of the United States, was that of Governor William Sulzer, of New York. Governor Sulzer, after an investigation by a joint committee of the State Legislature, was impeached by the Assembly, the lower branch of the legislature, on August 13, the charges having chiefly to do with his report of receipts and expenditures as candidate for Governor. The High Court of Impeachment, consisting of the members of the Court of Appeals of the State and the State Senate, convened in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol at Albany on September 18, and continued in session until October 17, when by a vote of 43 to 13 Governor Sulzer was removed from office)

or mortgages are the better investment is almost classic. Dealers in both types of securities never cease to debate the subject, and a complete presentation of the arguments would require many pages. In what is probably the most authoritative text-book on bonds, the author, Lawrence Chamberlain, ends a long and searching discussion of the subject with a paragraph the upshot of which is favorable to bonds, but containing this sentence:

A summary of investment characteristics suggests that both bonds and mortgages satisfactorily fill the essential requirements of time loans as to safety of principal and interest, and as to fair net return.

Mr. Chamberlain does not believe the net return upon real-estate mortgages is much if any greater than upon equally safe bonds because of the many incidental expenses attendant upon mortgage ownership. But he fails to take into account that many of the most successful dealers in mortgages themselves attend to these incidental expenses and still sell mortgages, or bonds based upon them, which return quite or almost 6 per cent. to the investor. As for safety, it is clear that if the right type of dealer is consulted there is little, if any, of the element of risk.

Prejudice on the score of the safety of real-estate mortgages is gradually giving away. But there is still a well-grounded feeling among many investors that mortgages are not salable, convertible, marketable. It is true that mortgages are not easy to sell, except to the dealer from whom they were bought. This is likewise true of many small public-utility bonds. But, on the other hand, there are numerous public-utility and railroad bonds which can be sold to any one of dozens, or perhaps scores, of dealers in New York, Chicago, and other financial centers. And, let it be emphatically stated, this does not take into consideration bonds which are listed on the Stock Exchange,—a privilege the advantages of which are so hotly denied by many.

Of course the reason why so many corporation bonds have an active market among numerous dealers, whereas real-estate mortgages, or bonds based upon them, have no such market, is because the issues of corporation bonds are so much larger than any real-estate mortgage. Many farm-mortgage loans are for $1000 or even less, while the United States Steel Corporation has outstanding $188,000,000 of one issue of bonds. It is easier to create a market for the steel bonds after they have once been sold than for a $1000 farm mortgage.

The ideal mortgage is one that runs for not more than ten years, and possibly for less. In that short period of time the investor does not generally have to sell, and if he buys from a reliable firm which intends to stay in business, he can se'l back to them if necessary. Real-estate mortgages, and bonds based upon them, offer no speculative feature, and do not seem to be available at much lower prices when other securities are down than at any other time. In other words, there are no bargain sales. But conversely they are like all short-term obligations, such as equipment trust certificates and short-term corporation notes, in that there is no decrease in price unless the value of the property itself becomes seriously impaired.

The importance of not having one's investment fluctuate in price is easily overestimated. A good corporation bond is paid off at its full-face value when it matures, the same as a mortgage, and the investor receives a fixed income during its life, no matter if the market price does fall. Perhaps the extremely nervous investor is better off with a mortgage which shows no fluctuation. But the true superiority of a good real-estate mortgage is that by sacrificing instant convertibility and the possibility of an advance in price the investor gets a security which is safe and which in addition pays perhaps half of one per cent. more than equally strong bonds. The ideal plan is to follow the savings banks, which, as a rule, invest about half their deposits in corporation bonds and about half in real-estate mortgages.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 486. A SELECTION OF LISTED BONDS—RAILROAD AND INDUSTRIAL

I have some funds seeking investment, and I look favorably upon bonds. What would you suggest as high grade railroad and industrial bonds—all listed? I should consider putting about $3000 in each issue, and should be glad of a choice of, say, twelve bonds, arranged according to your ideas of security and desirability. I should like to have a record of the highest and lowest quotations of such bonds as you suggest. Further, I should like to have your opinion for present investment of such stocks as Fitchburg preferred, Wheeling & Lake Erie common and preferred, and Atchison. What other railroad and industrial stocks would you recommend as the safest?

We would suggest for an investment of this kind bonds like the following, for which w
the approximate yields at current prices, a
est and lowest quotations to date:

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

AMONG the momentous changes in the financial system of this country, which are contemplated by the currency reform bill now pending in Congress, is a repeal of that provision of the national banking act which forbids country banks loaning upon farm lands. However patriotic or studious any of us may be, we cannot fail to look at current events and tendencies through the glasses of self-interest. The readers of this article presumably are persons who have, or may at some future time have, sums of money, large or small, for safe and profitable investment. Several reasons compel their attention being given at this time to an important class of securities—first mortgages upon real estate, and bonds secured by such mortgages.

The currency bill provides reason enough to consider farm loans, and as for those which are made upon city property, it is customarily the fashion of dealers to call emphatic attention to their stability when corporate stocks and bonds are declining.

At this writing the stock and bond market has shown rather an upward trend since the middle of June. But for a long period prior to June prices had continuously sagged. Falling prices have usually directed attention to certain classes of securities, and the recent period of depression was no exception. Without attempting to include every possible variety of investment it may be noted that for one reason or another these types have had their respective advantages hammered at as a result of the languid state of the securities market:

1. Stocks.
2. Railroad Bonds.
3. Equipment Trust Obligations.
4. Public Utility Bonds.
5. First Mortgage Real Estate Securities.

Many standard railroad stocks have sold at prices to return 6 per cent. on the investment, but stocks are always more or less uncertain and subject to speculative influences. High-grade railroad bonds, legal for savings banks, have sold at relatively low prices, but even the greatest bargains in this class have not fallen much below a 4.70 basis. Many of the debentures and convertibles have sold to return more than 5 per cent., but there are numerous investors who insist upon greater theoretical security. Equipment trust obligations are being more and more appreciated for their high degree of safety, but a trifle over 5 per cent. is about all that can be expected. The increase in output of public utility issues has been rapid, and many new and attractive offerings are being made almost daily. But even here the older and more conservative securities, those which have been tested, yield but little if any over 5 per cent. On the other hand, real-estate mortgage securities may be had to net close to 6 per cent. Listen to what one concern has to say about stocks, and it might speak out in much the same way regarding corporation bonds:

> Stocks have fallen continuously during the present year, the drops varying from 20 to 60 points. This represents a shrinkage of over a thousand million dollars in investments. What of the future? An investor buying any stock becomes a partner in the business—dull times, higher operating costs, federal supervision, and so on. Why not avoid both shrinkage in principal and all business risks by investing in mortgages?

An extreme statement of the case, but one worth thinking about. Wholly safe first mortgages upon farm property, or first-mortgage bonds upon real estate in Middle Western and Western cities are to be had to net 6 per cent., and there is no fluctuation in the quoted price of the principal. Indeed, it may be possible to secure safe mortgages in the Far West or South to return more than 6 per cent., but the investor will do well to confine himself or herself to 6 per cent., unless acting on unusually able advice. For example, the average rate for farm lands in North Dakota is 8 per cent., without taking into consideration the many expenses of abstracting titles, examining the property and recording the mortgage, all of which the borrower pays, in addition, often, to a large bonus. But in certain of the eastern counties, where the population is more stable, and where mixed farming has in a large measure supplanted the bonanza wheat farm, the rates are much lower. A like study of other States would probably show [illegible] in going much above

Discussion as to w[illegible]

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No. 486. A SELECTION OF LISTED BONDS—RAILROAD AND INDUSTRIAL

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We would suggest for an investment of this kind bonds like the following, for which we give the approximate yields at current prices, and highest and lowest quotations to date:

Railroad	*Present Yld.*	*Range*
Chicago & Northwestern gen. 4's	4.25	99½—92
Great Northern 1st & ref. 4¼'s	4.35	101½—97
Baltimore & Ohio prior lien 3½'s	4.50	98¼—85¾
C. B. & Q. joint 4's	4.80	103¼—82¾
Delaware & Hudson conv. 4's	5.17	112⅞—88
Pennsylvania conv. 3½'s	5.20	102⅝—83½
Industrial		
United States Steel s. f. 5's	5.00	108¼—65
Am. Agricultural Chem. 1st conv. 5's	5.05	103½—94
Armour & Company 4½'s	5.10	96½—89¾
Liggett & Myers debenture 5's	5.25	99¼—87½
Du Pont Powder 4½'s	5.75	94¼—84
Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. 5's	5.95	98⅞—50

This list includes two short-term issues, the Delaware & Hudson convertible 4's, which mature in 1916, and the Pennsylvania convertible 3½'s, which mature in 1915. The average yield on the group of railroad issues is about 4.70 per cent., the average yield on the industrials, about 5.35 per cent., so that an equal division of the funds among the bonds of the two groups would give an average yield of slightly more than 5 per cent. We think both Fitchburg preferred and Atchison can be regarded as reasonably attractive purchases at present prices, but the Wheeling & Lake Erie issues could not be recommended for investment purposes. The road has been in the hands of receivers since 1908, and there are no indications as to when it may be taken out, or how much of a burden the stockholders will be called upon to shoulder in reorganization. Among the standard listed railroad and industrial stocks, the following well established dividend payers are still selling at attractive prices: Pennsylvania, Chicago & Northwestern common, Great Northern preferred, Louisville & Nashville, Norfolk & Western, Northern Pacific, General Electric, American Sugar preferred, American Car & Foundry preferred, National Biscuit preferred and common.

No. 487. ABOUT BUYING STOCKS ON BORROWED CAPITAL

I notice that the stock market is down to quite a low level just now, owing, as I see it, to stringency in the money market. Money is not so tight in our section, however, and certain connections that I have with some of our banks enable me to borrow at 5 per cent. I have thought of buying about fifty shares of good dividend paying stocks—ten shares each of, say, Pennsylvania, Southern Pacific, Atchison, Illinois Central and New Haven. At present market prices, these shares would cost me about $5100, and by putting the shares up at the local bank as collateral I could borrow $5000 at 5 per cent. The dividends on the stocks would keep up my interest at the bank, and I could renew my notes from time to time, until the market was up, and then sell the stocks. Now, if there are any objectionable features to this plan, please let me know, or if there are more desirable stocks than I have selected, please indicate them.

First of all, we think it would be unusual if you were able to borrow as closely up to the market value of the stocks. But, even assuming that you were, we should hesitate to venture an opinion about the outcome of the transaction. As a matter of fact, we have never found it possible to give our approval to the buying of stocks on borrowed capital. Such transactions as the one you outline are essentially speculative, and since this is an *investment* bureau, we do not feel justified in undertaking to discuss their possibilities in detail. However, there are one or two suggestions which we may properly offer in regard to the stocks you have under consideration. We think, for instance, that you ought perhaps to proceed with some caution in reference to Illinois Central and New Haven. These two issues are, in our judgment, the most speculative of the five you name, not even excepting Southern Pacific, whose market position is just now a pretty uncertain one, by reason of the distribution of the large holdings of this stock which had remained for so long a time in Union Pacific's treasury. Illinois Central has recently been confronted with the necessity of reducing its dividend from 7 to 5 per cent., while the New Haven has reduced its dividend from 8 to 6 per cent. Present indications are that the Illinois Central will be able to cover the dividend requirements at the new rate by a satisfactory margin, but the long series of misfortunes with which the road has met during the last few years will take time to overcome and restore the stock to the confidence of the market. The New Haven is apparently not earning its dividends, even at the 6 per cent. rate. A new management has just taken hold of this road—a management in which everybody has a great deal of confidence. But it has big problems to solve and the market meanwhile is likely to react a very uncertain position of the stock. There have been rumors recently that a still further reduction in the dividend rate may be made, and while it is not possible to confirm these rumors, we think such action is not entirely beyond the range of possibility. The point of all this is that we think, if you decided to venture into the transaction as you planned it, your position would be a stronger one if you were to substitute stocks like Great Northern preferred and Northern Pacific, or, perhaps, Baltimore & Ohio and Norfolk & Western, for Illinois Central and New Haven.

No. 488. CONVERTIBLES FOR POSSIBLE APPRECIATION

I have some money on deposit in a savings bank drawing 4 per cent. interest which I have been contemplating using to purchase a bond of solid character to yield 4½ to 5 per cent., with a view to realizing something on the cost of the same through appreciation. My attention has been attracted to Baltimore & Ohio 4½ per cent. convertibles due in 1933. Would you consider this bond desirable for me? Also suggest a few others—railroad, municipal or public utility.

Under the circumstances, we should consider an investment in bonds of the type of the Baltimore & Ohio convertibles to be well advised. This particular issue is well secured as to both principal and interest—that is, it is backed up by the credit of a strong company, which is making very satisfactory strides in the development of its earning power. Among other bonds of the same type to which you might give some consideration are Union and Southern Pacific convertible 4's, both of which are, in our opinion, now selling somewhat below intrinsic worth. When it comes to suggesting municipal and public utility bonds we are confronted with some difficulty on account of the fact that both of these two classes of securities are for the most part handled privately by investment bankers who have built up special organizations for the purpose so that relatively few become known in the general market. We think therefore that in investigating the opportunities for investment along these lines, it would be better for you to get in direct touch, first of all, with a few responsible banking firms with reputations for the judicious selection of the securities which they offer to their clients.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York



WONDERFUL CONTROL
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

of the bill, the Senate could not reach a final vote without a period of several weeks spent in serious debate. It seemed not unlikely, therefore, that Congress might conclude to take a recess or an adjournment, so that the members might be allowed a brief opportunity to visit their homes and attend to their own private affairs in the month of November, before beginning the regular long session on December 1.

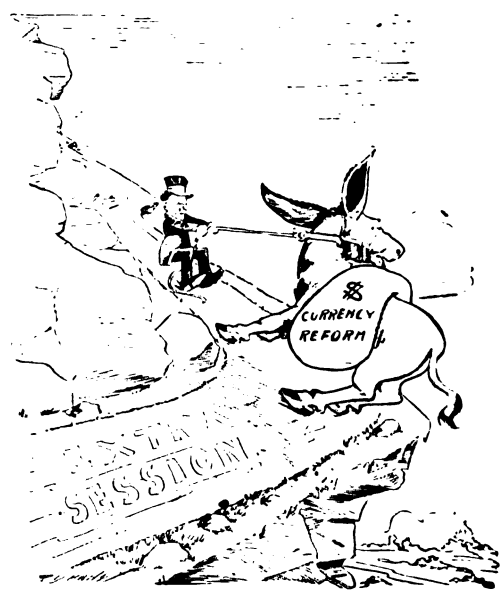
The Sequence of Policies

If such an adjournment were taken, it would be with the understanding that the Senate Banking and Currency Committee would continue to sit and would be prepared to report its bill at the very opening of the new term. This would make it practically certain that the measure would be passed and become a law some time in January. Although President Wilson had quite fixed his mind upon the passage of the banking and currency bill in October or November, he would in any case have virtually gained his point. For it is now reasonably certain that a new banking and monetary system will go into effect within a very few months. And this could not have been possible but for the great influence and effort of President Wilson to bring the subject to a focus during the autumn period. At the moment of signing the tariff bill the President made the following remarks, which express his views upon the currency bill and the motives which have actuated him in his attempt to press it to final passage:

> We have set the business of this country free from those conditions which have made monopoly not only possible but in a sense easy and natural.
>
> But there is no use taking away the conditions of monopoly if we do not take away also the power to create monopoly, and that is a financial rather than a merely circumstantial and economic power.
>
> The power to control and guide and direct the credits of the country is the power to say who shall and who shall not build up the industries of the country, in which direction they shall be built and in which direction they shall not be built.
>
> We are now about to take the second step, which will be the final step in setting the business of this country free. That is what we shall do in the Currency bill.

Protests against the Pending Bill

The plain intimation conveyed in these sentences is the conviction on President Wilson's part that, under our present arrangements, the business of the country is dependent upon a combination of bankers which, centralized in the financial district of New York and the principal banking centers, dominates the industries, commerce, and trade of the country. The object of the pending currency bill, according to the President, is to provide a ready and safe means by which, in times of special need, there may be ample money that can be borrowed for legitimate purposes, and, further, to provide a system which will operate

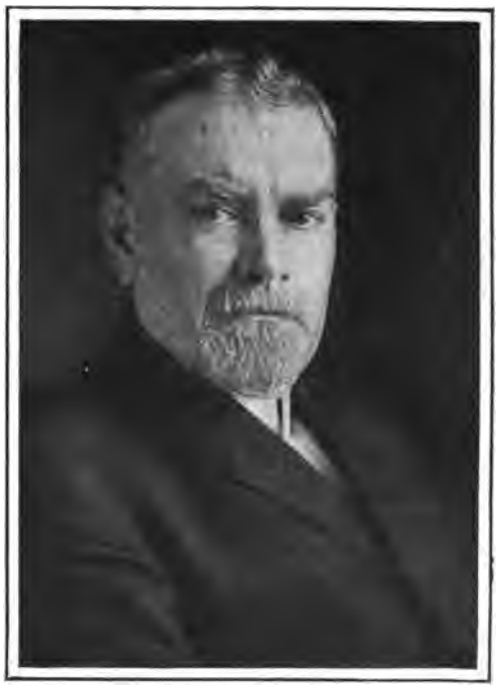


BALKING A LITTLE
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth, Minn.)

in such a manner as to keep the reserve funds available in all parts of the country for current business, rather than to have them largely loaned to promote stock speculation in Wall Street. As the bill seemed to be approaching the point of complete study by the Senate committee, the protests against it were renewed with intensity and remarkable evidence of organization throughout the country. These protests came chiefly from the men engaged in banking as a private money-making pursuit. There were, however, a good many men of unbiased judgment and high public spirit whose great technical knowledge of monetary science and banking led them to criticize certain points in the bill.

Should Bankers Control?

As to certain matters relating to the strictly professional side of their business, the bankers were entitled to the most careful hearing. It does not follow, however, that bankers are any wiser than other trained men of affairs when it comes to the general principles that should be embodied in the banking and currency laws of the country. Congress and the President are supposed to be acting disinterestedly for the general welfare—considering the rights and needs of the bankers quite as much as those of the customers of bankers. When, however, the bankers claim that they ought directly to select several of the members of the central reserve board, they are laboring under a confusion of ideas. If the bank owners are to select members of this board, why should it not follow with equal justice that the bank depositors should select members, and that bank borrowers should also be represented? The idea of the bill as it stands is that the President of the United States can be trusted to appoint members who would have in mind the prosperity and workability of the system as a whole. It is hard to imagine our electing any man President of the United States who would not appoint to such a board men of justice and probity, including men who had practical as well as theoretical knowledge of banking and finance. The bankers are right in wishing to have competent and trustworthy men upon the board; but they do not seem to be sound in proposing that the bankers as a private guild should share with the President the appointing power, and thus become a distinct governing estate in the republic.



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SENATOR O'GORMAN, OF NEW YORK

(Who is a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and stands firmly against the President's demand for immediate action.)



ANXIOUS MOMENTS!
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)

Some Points of Criticism

Nobody has proposed, so far as we are aware, that the railroad companies should select and appoint a part of the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Various bills have been introduced looking to the creation of a board which should grant Federal charters to large industrial corporations, and have oversight of the operation of the anti-trust



WONDERFUL CONTROL
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

of the bill, the Senate could not reach a final vote without a period of several weeks spent in serious debate. It seemed not unlikely, therefore, that Congress might conclude to take a recess or an adjournment, so that the members might be allowed a brief opportunity to visit their homes and attend to their own private affairs in the month of November, before beginning the regular long session on December 1.

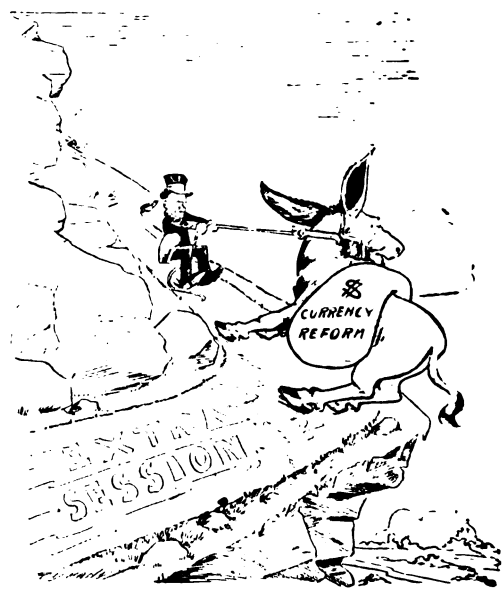
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BALKING A LITTLE
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth, Minn.)

in such a manner as to keep the reserve funds available in all parts of the country for current business, rather than to have them largely loaned to promote stock speculation in Wall Street. As the bill seemed to be approaching the point of complete study by the Senate committee, the protests against it were renewed with intensity and remarkable evidence of organization throughout the country. These protests came chiefly from the men engaged in banking as a private money-making pursuit. There were, however, a good many men of unbiased judgment and high public spirit whose great technical knowledge of monetary science and banking led them to criticize certain points in the bill.

Should Bankers Control?

As to certain matters relating to the strictly professional side of their business, the bankers were entitled to the most careful hearing. It does not follow, however, that bankers are any wiser than other trained men of affairs when it comes to the general principles that should be embodied in the banking and currency laws of the country. Congress and the President are supposed to be acting disinterestedly for the general welfare—considering the rights and needs of the bankers quite as much as those of the customers of bankers. When, however, the bankers claim that they ought directly to select several of the members of the central reserve board, they are laboring under a confusion of ideas. If the bank owners are to select members of this board, why should it not follow with equal justice that the bank depositors should select members, and that bank borrowers should also be represented? The idea of the bill as it stands is that the President of the United States can be trusted to appoint members who would have in mind the prosperity and workability of the system as a whole. It is hard to imagine our electing any man President of the United States who would not appoint to such a board men of justice and probity, including men who had practical as well as theoretical knowledge of banking and finance. The bankers are right in wishing to have competent and trustworthy men upon the board; but they do not seem to be sound in proposing that the bankers as a private guild should share with the President the appointing power, and thus become a distinct governing estate in the republic.



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SENATOR O'GORMAN, OF NEW YORK

(Who is a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and stands firmly against the President's demand for immediate action.)



ANXIOUS MOMENTS!
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)

Some Points of Criticism

Nobody has proposed, so far as we are aware, that the railroad companies should select and appoint a part of the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Various bills have been introduced looking to the creation of a board which should grant Federal charters to large industrial corporations, and have oversight of the operation of the anti-trust



WONDERFUL CONTROL
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

of the bill, the Senate could not reach a final vote without a period of several weeks spent in serious debate. It seemed not unlikely, therefore, that Congress might conclude to take a recess or an adjournment, so that the members might be allowed a brief opportunity to visit their homes and attend to their own private affairs in the month of November, before beginning the regular long session on December 1.

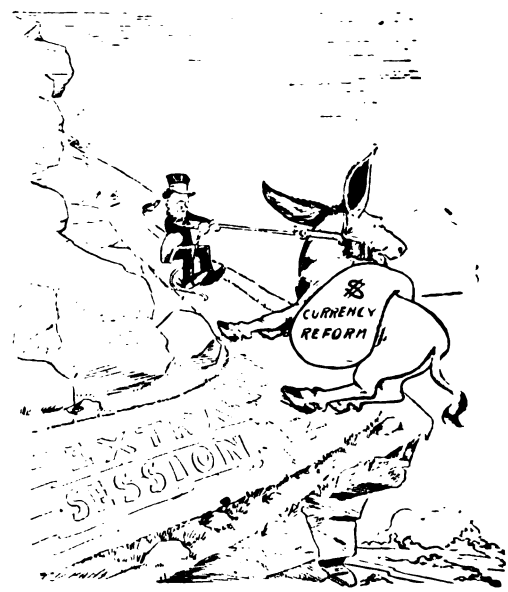
The Sequence of Policies

If such an adjournment were taken, it would be with the understanding that the Senate Banking and Currency Committee would continue to sit and would be prepared to report its bill at the very opening of the new term. This would make it practically certain that the measure would be passed and become a law some time in January. Although President Wilson had quite fixed his mind upon the passage of the banking and currency bill in October or November, he would in any case have virtually gained his point. For it is now reasonably certain that a new banking and monetary system will go into effect within a very few months. And this could not have been possible but for the great influence and effort of President Wilson to bring the subject to a focus during the autumn period. At the moment of signing the tariff bill the President made the following remarks, which express his views upon the currency bill and the motives which have actuated him in his attempt to press it to final passage:

> We have set the business of this country free from those conditions which have made monopoly not only possible but in a sense easy and natural.
>
> But there is no use taking away the conditions of monopoly if we do not take away also the power to create monopoly, and that is a financial rather than a merely circumstantial and economic power.
>
> The power to control and guide and direct the credits of the country is the power to say who shall and who shall not build up the industries of the country, in which direction they shall be built and in which direction they shall not be built.
>
> We are now about to take the second step, which will be the final step in setting the business of this country free. That is what we shall do in the Currency bill.

Protests against the Pending Bill

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Nobody has proposed, so far as we are aware, that the railroad companies should select and appoint a part of the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Various bills have been introduced looking to the creation of a board which should grant Federal charters to large industrial corporations, and have oversight of the operation of the anti-trust

laws. But nobody has proposed that the corporations themselves should have the power to appoint some of the members of such a board on the ground that the President of the United States could not be trusted to exercise his appointing power in this particular field. The great packers and the other manufacturers of food articles have not proposed that they, rather than the President, should exercise appointing power in the selection of those who should have to do with administering the pure-food laws. The bankers are quite right in urging their views upon such a question as the desirability of having the number of regional reserve banks reduced from twelve (as in the bill) to seven, or to five. The country bankers are well within their rights in begging to be allowed to continue their present lucrative practice of collecting fees for cashing people's checks. The large banks of the East are on practical and conservative ground when they raise questions about compulsory rediscounting, and express fear lest some parts of the country may not be so careful as other parts in the acceptance of commercial paper.

Make the Bill Broad and Sound!

Above all, in our opinion, the bankers are right in demanding that no change in the laws should cause them to lose money upon the 2 per cent. bonds which the Government had encouraged them to take as a basis for the circulation of bank-notes. The simplest way to deal with the 2 per cent. bonds would be to pay them all off at par. The opportunity should now be seized to reduce our heterogeneous system of greenbacks, bank-notes, gold certificates, and silver certificates to some uniform and well-protected basis, with an ample gold reserve in the background. There are many ways in which the pending bill could be improved. The Aldrich Commission did a great and a memorable work in leading the country towards the adoption of a banking and money system as good as those of other leading nations. President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo, Chairman Glass, Chairman Owen, and others in both houses of Congress have also been doing a notable and patriotic work in taking up the question and carrying it still farther towards solution. President Wilson and the Democratic Congress will have full credit for their achievement if they give us a sound banking and currency law. But they will have a finer and higher credit if they will be brave enough not to try to put the Democratic party label upon such a measure. These questions do not belong in the domain of passionate party politics. The Republicans, on their part, ought not to try to trip up the party in power, any more than the Democrats should try to cloak and hide all that they really owe to the Aldrich Commission for its important preliminary work. The people of the country, regardless of parties, are anxious to have a good, workable banking system, and a sound, healthy, elastic volume of currency, all under the safe domination and control of the national government. There is no real difference of opinion among intelligent business men North, South, East, or West, on these points. But there are many technical questions involved which must be worked out by experts, and which could never be properly settled by men assuming the attitude of partisans and trying to create popular prejudice against their opponents.

Currency as a Popular Issue

Everyone ought to remember that ours is the only country in the world in which problems having to do with the standard of value, the monetary system, and the intricacies of central banking have ever been dealt with as



RECONCILED
From the *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis)

partisan and popular issues. There was, indeed, some slight attempt at one period to carry the silver question into the open arena in certain European countries as a popular affair. But nothing even faintly resembling Bryan's notable Presidential campaign based upon the technical conditions under which bullion ratios should be maintained in coinage has ever been known in any other great country. Nor has anything like our great struggles after the war, over greenbackism, fiat money, and the resumption of specie payments, ever been known elsewhere. England, France, Germany, and many another country have reformed their banking and monetary systems upon the careful study and advice of statesmen and experts, without bringing such questions into the domain of partisanship or popular agitation. The rising tide of social democracy in Germany seeks to establish better conditions for the plain people in many directions; but it does not delude itself into supposing that it can do the working men any good by upsetting a sound metallic money basis and a scientific banking system. And the same thing may be said of popular movements and agitations in other countries.

Bankers and Their Motives

As for the American bankers and the "money trust" that they are supposed to have malevolently created, is it not the simple truth that for many years past the leading bankers are the persons who have besought Congress to take up the question of banking and monetary reform and find a good solution for it? If these bankers had been so desirous to maintain the alleged monopoly which our bad banking laws have thrown into their hands, why should have they tried to get the system opened up and changed, thus running the obvious risk of having their monopoly exposed and suppressed? In our opinion, the position of the leading bankers of the United States, whether of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Boston, or smaller cities, has been creditable to their good faith and their public spirit. The arguments of such bankers as Mr. A. Barton Hepburn and Mr. Frank Vanderlip, of New York, and Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Forgan, of Chicago, have shown not only a high intelligence but also a devotion to the principles of sound business and just citizenship. It is a good thing for the country that its current financial operations pass under the eyes of men of such exceptional value as citizens and publicists as are these men, and many other members of the banking fraternity. It is buncombe and foolishness for politicians and newspapers to try to make prejudice against men of so high an order of character and intelligence.

Let Wisdom Be Heard

It does not follow that the country must adopt all of their recommendations. But the country would be depriving itself of its best available wisdom if it had not sense enough to listen to the advice that such men are competent to give upon public questions that they know so much about. These men are not seeking to have the country's liquid capital all drawn



THE LIFTING FOG
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

into channels of unhealthy stock-gambling, or any other kind of immoderate and dangerous speculation. It is not true, so far as we can judge, that these best-known bankers are trying to give advice to the country from the mere standpoint of their private membership in the bankers' guild. They see the problem in its large bearings, and do not for a moment suppose that the country's money and banking laws should be designed merely to promote the private profit of men who own or control shares of the capital stock of banks. The bankers of the country seem inclined to accept the main features of the pending bills, and it ought to be easy for President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo, and the best authorities in both houses of Congress to accept modifications that all the banking authorities of the country would agree in recommending as desirable, even if not strictly necessary. It would be a pity if certain ex-

tremists and so-called "radicals" in Congress should be so ill-advised as to block the course of banking and currency reform unless they can have their own way in all particulars.

"Trusts" Come Next on the Program

President Wilson has allowed it to be known that with the completion of the tariff measure and the prospective adoption of a currency law he will be ready to take up the great problem of the better adjustment of the Government's relationship with industrial corporations. His expression upon this subject was in the form of a letter to Hon. Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, who is chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House. The recent death of Senator Johnston of Alabama had left vacant a seat in the Senate for which three very prominent public men of that State had decided to become rival candidates, all three of them being members of the House. These three were Chairman Underwood, of the Ways and Means Committee; Chairman Clayton, of the Judiciary Committee, and Mr. Richmond P. Hobson, who is serving his fourth term in Congress, is prominent as a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and has been the most indefatigable advocate of a large navy, ever since his heroic action as a young naval officer in the war with Spain. The President, on October 10, wrote a letter to Chairman Clayton, of which the following is a part:

> I am a great deal concerned at the thought of losing you from the working force of the House of Representatives. As the chief direction of affairs in the present session has lain in the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Banking and Currency, I foresee the chief responsibilities of the regular session will lie with the Committee on Judiciary, of which you are chairman. I was looking forward with great satisfaction to working with you and having your experience, counsel, and assistance in the work that is before you. It seems to me, indeed, indispensable in the carrying out of our party's program.

The Policy and the Law

This letter resulted in Mr. Clayton's withdrawal from the contest in Alabama, and left Mr. Underwood and Mr. Hobson the two contestants. Mr. Hobson is said to be supported by the radical and prohibition elements, while Mr. Underwood has the support of the more conservative Democrats of the State. Apart from the bearing of Mr. Wilson's letter upon the Alabama situation, it points significantly to the plans of the Administration for the approaching regular session of Congress. The currency bill will be unfinished business in the Senate, if, as seems probable, it should have failed of passage in the special session. But the House will be free to take up the next great problem, having passed the tariff and currency bills already. And the President tells Mr. Clayton, in effect, that the trust question will come next upon the program. It is understood that Attorney-General McReynolds has both convictions and definite ideas upon this subject, and we may reasonably expect a strong statement of the Administration's plans in the President's message of December 1. Meanwhile, the Department of Justice has gone forward with a policy of inquiries, negotiations, and prosecutions. The proposal to bring action against the New Haven railroad system, under the antitrust law, was followed last month by somewhat sweeping plans for decentralization on the part of the board of directors over which Mr. Howard Elliott presides. And it was deemed fairly probable that plans could be worked out which would meet with the approval of the Department of Justice and obviate legal action under the antitrust law. The suit against the United States Steel Corporation, brought by Messrs. Taft and Wickersham,



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HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON
(Representative from Alabama, who is a candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate and is making a contest with Mr. Underwood)

is going on quietly, in the stage of hearings before a United States Commissioner.

The Need of Certainty

Precisely what recommendations for further legislation President Wilson may decide to make are not as yet matters of public knowledge. It is not so important what policy is proposed or adopted as that we have some kind of law dealing with industrial corporations, by virtue of which an honest business man may know whether or not he is in danger of being assailed by the Government and subjected to the disaster of prosecution. Sometime it is to be hoped that we may have men possessing at once the requisite knowledge and the fine courage to write a true history of the amazing uses and abuses of the anti-trust law at the hands of the last administration. At this moment there is no apparent danger that the wide opportunity for discrimination and persecution that rests in the power of the administration and the Department of Justice will be abused. But the American business man has a right to know where he stands as regards such law; and he cannot possibly know as matters now stand.



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HON. HENRY D. CLAYTON, OF ALABAMA

(Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, who has been persuaded by President Wilson not to be a candidate for the Senate but to remain and assist in the prospective work of antitrust legislation)

Our Policy in the Philippines

The question what the new Democratic administration would do about the Philippine Islands has been partly answered in the news of the past month. An administration in which Mr. Bryan is Secretary of State was expected by the ambitious men who have come forward among the Filipinos to denounce American sovereignty over the islands and to bring about almost immediate independence. An element in Congress, led by the Hon. William A. Jones, of Virginia, has felt that the Democratic party was pledged to secure our prompt withdrawal from the Philippine Islands, and has been pressing hard to secure the passage of a bill fixing a



"HEREAFTER, ALL LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS WILL BE DISCHARGED AT THE WHITE HOUSE"
(Is it coming to this?)
From the *Sun* (New York)

imate election in a single voting precinct in the entire republic. Nor did anyone suppose that if a few votes were honestly cast there could be any way to have them counted or returned. In short, *votes* do not govern Mexico, have never governed it in the past, and are not likely to govern it for a long time to come.

"Votes" Versus Dictators

That is the difference between a country like Mexico and a country like ours. It was votes, freely and honestly cast and faithfully counted and returned, that elected President Wilson and the members of the present Congress at Washington. The results of the election were accepted with perfect good faith by the supporters of opposing candidates and by the entire country. Canada and England are also governed in the fullest sense by votes. The Philippine Islands, on the other hand, would not be governed by votes if we withdrew and left the people to themselves. It is exceedingly hard work for Cuba to govern herself by votes, although she is trying more or less successfully to accomplish this high end with the moral help we afford her through the power for good that lurks in the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution. The Cubans know that if they relapse into civil strife and anarchy, destroying the property of foreigners and dishonoring their obligations, Uncle Sam will go down with battleships and regiments, not to bully them or oppress them, but to help the decent and peaceable Cubans to reëstablish order and protect human society from its enemies. What Mexico needs is firm government, everyday justice, and the assurance of personal security and civil order. Under such conditions, with education for the children, a new and prosperous Mexico, capable of real self-government, might be developed in fifty years, or at most within a century. President Diaz carried on a veiled dictatorship, under the nominal forms of a representative republic, for a long time. He maintained a considerable measure of civil order and personal security. But he did not build up rapidly enough an intelligent body of capable citizens. Huerta has made so bad a start—his dictatorship is so stained with shocking crime—that there seems no possibility of his continuance or success even from the standpoint of a dictator, much less from that of a patriot.



MEXICAN FOOTBALL
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)

A Remedy as Yet Unsought

The simple millions of Mexico's people are greatly to be pitied. The foreigners, who have invested many hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexico, are also entitled to sympathy. Unfortunately, no practicable remedy is in sight. There is, indeed, one theoretical remedy, but it cannot be considered, because nobody is in favor of it. That theoretical remedy would be the voluntary union of Mexico with the United States. We cannot now invade Mexico and try to establish civil order there on our own motion and against the wishes of the Mexican people. The people of Mexico do not desire annexation to the United States, nor do the people of the United States desire it. This country would probably be powerful enough to maintain a guaranty of republican institutions and civil liberty in Mexico. But there is at present no way by which such a guaranty can be sought on the one hand or granted on the other. These people are our neighbors, we have long felt a friendly interest in their affairs, and we would like to help them out of their troubles. But the fact of large American investments of money in Mexico gives us no sufficient right to intervene with armed force; and there are no atrocities against women and children of a nature so appalling that the world demands our interference in the name of humanity.

Our Attitude Justified

The United States occupied Cuba because we had a duty to perform in the interest of the suffering and the weak. A war that was devastating the island had been going on for three years, with increasing atrocities. We

relieved a deadlocked situation in a very few days, established peace in Cuba, allowed 200,000 young Spanish soldiers to go back to their homes, and conferred a blessing upon the people of Spain as well as upon those of Cuba. President Wilson has tried to confer a blessing upon the people of Mexico by offering neighborly and disinterested counsel. He has tried to induce the opposing factions to accept our Government as their friend and unite upon some honorable way to restore order and peace. But the factional leaders are selfish and headstrong, and those who overthrew and assassinated Madero have gone too far to talk in unselfish terms about the welfare of their country. What will happen, therefore, nobody knows; and yet the patient, restrained, moderate course and tone of President Wilson and his agents have strengthened rather than weakened the ultimate power of the United States to be of practical service to the people of Mexico. The opportunity will present itself in some form, but what that form may be does not as yet appear.

Monroe Doctrine Freshly Examined

Many situations, including the Mexican troubles and the approaching completion of the Panama Canal, have brought fundamental policies into fresh discussion and have led men to ask about the Monroe Doctrine and its further validity and meaning. The Monroe Doctrine fifty years ago meant, in one of its practical applications, that we would not permit certain European powers to conquer Mexico and set up an Austrian noble as emperor. With Mexico at the present time trying to settle her own affairs, we should not consider it permissible for one of the great naval powers of Europe to make war upon the country and annex it as a part of its colonial empire upon any pretext whatsoever. Yet when Italy quite recently landed an armed expedition in Tripoli, against the protest of the natives and of Turkey, and added it to the Italian empire, we made no objection of any kind, although we might not have admired Italy's mode of procedure. If anybody asks, then, what we mean by the Monroe Doctrine to-day, a practical answer is that we have nothing to say when Austria annexes Bosnia, when Italy takes Tripoli, or when England dismantles small Dutch republics in South Africa, but that we should have much to say if one of these powers should try to seize and hold Mexico or Nicaragua or Venezuela.

A Scoffer at the Monroe Doctrine

A very brilliant and accomplished traveler in South America, Prof. Hiram Bingham, of Yale, whose explorations as an archeologist give us pride, has just now published a little book in which he ridicules the Monroe Doctrine, assumes that our public men like Secretary Olney have not known the ordinary facts of geography, and arraigns us with a long list of our blunders and our bumptious errors in the name of an American policy promulgated by John Quincy Adams and Mr. Monroe about ninety years ago. Any good citizen who loves honor and righteousness does well when he deals faithfully with his nation's history and points out faults of arrogance and tactlessness. Professor Bingham has said much that Americans ought to read and take to heart. But there is a great truth that stands to our credit and honor through almost a century of our history. Our national feeling, in the main, toward other countries has been neighborly. We have believed that we were serving the best interests of justice and liberty in the world by helping to protect the turbulent South American republics through the period when they were growing into stability. The Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Chile no longer need protection from us, although they would be mistaken in supposing that our neighborly friendship was not desirable.

A Western Hemisphere Policy

The European powers have vast standing armies, and continue to be upon a military and naval footing. We have believed that the republics of the Western Hemisphere ought not to need large armies, ought to settle their differences peaceably, and ought to stand united against being embroiled in the European situation. Canada is the only Western-Hemisphere country that to-day, in the face of a century of experience and enlightenment, is deliberately proposing to become an integral part of the military and naval system of the Old World. The Monroe Doctrine should not be stretched beyond its reasonable applications. Nobody ever supposed it to be a part of international law—except in a very loose way of referring to what after all is a vague and imperfect code. The Monroe Doctrine is merely a declaration of what attitude we should be likely to hold toward certain possible acts. Brazil or the Argentine Republic is at perfect liberty to announce a doctrine or a policy of its own. Mr. Charles H. Sherrill, recently our Minister at Buenos Aires and excep-

keep an upper hand over the Filipinos. The simple truth is that the Philippine Archipelago is inhabited by eight millions of people, a few of whom are highly civilized and the majority of whom are untrained. The mass of people are of different tribes, speaking different languages, and having different religions. The members of the Commission are in any case appointive, and selected by our President and Secretary of War with or without the advice of the Governor-General. It would seem best, therefore, that the men chosen should represent as directly as possible the intentions and purposes of the President of the United States in the carrying out of our trusteeship, on behalf of the inhabitants of the islands and the international commercial interests that are established in the archipelago. If President Wilson can administer the educational department better through a native Filipino than through a trained American educator of some Philippine experience, he should by all means appoint the Filipino. But otherwise it would seem as if he ought to appoint the American, for the sake of the work to be accomplished.

A Matter of Experience

Quite regardless of the controversy between the retiring Governor, Mr. Forbes, and Representative Jones, of Virginia, there is ample testimony that the American Government in the Philippine Islands has done a great deal to improve general conditions. It is doubtful whether promising in advance to give the Filipinos a majority in the Commission will do much to satisfy the demands of the Filipino leaders and politicians on the one hand, or of the American anti-imperialists on the other. The Governor-General has no veto over legislation, but the American Commission has heretofore been able to act as a safeguard against the inexperience or unwisdom of the native Assembly. There is, however, a veto power lodged by law in the hands of the Secretary of War at Washington. It might be wiser to maintain a government in the Philippines that could settle questions at issue without the probability of an appeal to Washington. It may be that the great mass of Filipino people would rather be governed by native-born members of a commission selected by President Wilson than by American members, but this point is not quite clear. Experience will show, and it is hard to see how any harm can come from the experiment.

Would Independence Be Valuable?

The theoretical point raised in President Wilson's message to the Filipino people is that of ultimate independence. The deep question is whether in promising those people independence we are proposing something that would be valuable to them or suggesting something that would be injurious. For the common people of the islands, our presence there has meant a remarkable effort, put forth in a spirit at least partly altruistic, to give them civil order and security in their daily lives, to protect them against extortionate taxation, to educate their children, to stamp out epidemic diseases, and to promote their economic prosperity. A time may come when these people, through the processes of self-government, may be able to provide for their own security and future progress. But to leave them to themselves just now would, in the opinion of some observers, be to deliver them over to every kind of evil and danger. There is no such thing, so far as we can learn, as a great Filipino nation seeking independence and a position among the sovereign peoples of the earth.

American Obligations

The Treaty of Paris did not merely put us in a position of legal authority at Manila, but it also imposed upon us serious obligations to the people of the islands and to all nations having interests in the Pacific. It might have been unwise statesmanship that brought this responsibility upon us; but it must be the most deliberate and careful statesmanship that can find an honorable way to permit our relinquishment of the obligations we have assumed. If we were ever touched at all with the imperialistic craze, we are well over it. It is no longer with the American people a question of "possessions," or of keeping what is "ours," or of "hauling down the flag"; but it is merely a question of the wisest and best way to proceed in view of all facts and obligations. We can get along very well without the Philippines, but it remains doubtful whether the Filipinos could get along very well without us—even though a thousand ambitious natives out of eight millions might naturally like to take over full control, and have the unrestricted collection and expenditure of public revenues and the ramified power that goes with administration in a country where the majority of the people are not highly civilized and a considerable part of them are still in the wild or savage state.

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A very brilliant and accomplished traveler in South America, Prof. Hiram Bingham, of Yale, whose explorations as an archeologist give us pride, has just now published a little book in which he ridicules the Monroe Doctrine, assumes that our public men like Secretary Olney have not known the ordinary facts of geography, and arraigns us with a long list of our blunders and our bumptious errors in the name of an American policy promulgated by John Quincy Adams and Mr. Monroe about ninety years ago. Any good citizen who loves honor and righteousness does well when he deals faithfully with his nation's history and points out faults of arrogance and tactlessness. Professor Bingham has said much that Americans ought to read and take to heart. But there is a great truth that stands to our credit and honor through almost a century of our history. Our national feeling, in the main, toward other countries has been neighborly. We have believed that we were serving the best interests of justice and liberty in the world by helping to protect the turbulent South American republics through the period when they were growing into stability. The Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Chile no longer need protection from us, although they would be mistaken in supposing that our neighborly friendship was not desirable.

A Western Hemisphere Policy

The European powers have vast standing armies, and continue to be upon a military and naval footing. We have believed that the republics of the Western Hemisphere ought not to need large armies, ought to settle their differences peaceably, and ought to stand united against being embroiled in the European situation. Canada is the only Western-Hemisphere country that to-day, in the face of a century of experience and enlightenment, is deliberately proposing to become an integral part of the military and naval system of the Old World. The Monroe Doctrine should not be stretched beyond its reasonable applications. Nobody ever supposed it to be a part of international law—except in a very loose way of referring to what after all is a vague and imperfect code. The Monroe Doctrine is merely a declaration of what attitude we should be likely to hold toward certain possible acts. Brazil or the Argentine Republic is at perfect liberty to announce a doctrine or a policy of its own. Mr. Charles H. Sherrill, recently our Minister at Buenos Aires and excep-

imate election in a single voting precinct in the entire republic. Nor did anyone suppose that if a few votes were honestly cast there could be any way to have them counted or returned. In short, *votes* do not govern Mexico, have never governed it in the past, and are not likely to govern it for a long time to come.

"Votes" Versus Dictators

That is the difference between a country like Mexico and a country like ours. It was votes, freely and honestly cast and faithfully counted and returned, that elected President Wilson and the members of the present Congress at Washington. The results of the election were accepted with perfect good faith by the supporters of opposing candidates and by the entire country. Canada and England are also governed in the fullest sense by votes. The Philippine Islands, on the other hand, would not be governed by votes if we withdrew and left the people to themselves. It is exceedingly hard work for Cuba to govern herself by votes, although she is trying more or less successfully to accomplish this high end with the moral help we afford her through the power for good that lurks in the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution. The Cubans know that if they relapse into civil strife and anarchy, destroying the property of foreigners and dishonoring their obligations, Uncle Sam will go down with battleships and regiments, not to bully them or oppress them, but to help the decent and peaceable Cubans to reëstablish order and protect human society from its enemies. What



MEXICAN FOOTBALL
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)

Mexico needs is firm government, everyday justice, and the assurance of personal security and civil order. Under such conditions, with education for the children, a new and prosperous Mexico, capable of real self-government, might be developed in fifty years, or at most within a century. President Diaz carried on a veiled dictatorship, under the nominal forms of a representative republic, for a long time. He maintained a considerable measure of civil order and personal security. But he did not build up rapidly enough an intelligent body of capable citizens. Huerta has made so bad a start—his dictatorship is so stained with shocking crime—that there seems no possibility of his continuance or success even from the standpoint of a dictator, much less from that of a patriot.

A Remedy as Yet Unsought

The simple millions of Mexico's people are greatly to be pitied. The foreigners, who have invested many hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexico, are also entitled to sympathy. Unfortunately, no practicable remedy is in sight. There is, indeed, one theoretical remedy, but it cannot be considered, because nobody is in favor of it. That theoretical remedy would be the voluntary union of Mexico with the United States. We cannot now invade Mexico and try to establish civil order there on our own motion and against the wishes of the Mexican people. The people of Mexico do not desire annexation to the United States, nor do the people of the United States desire it. This country would probably be powerful enough to maintain a guaranty of republican institutions and civil liberty in Mexico. But there is at present no way by which such a guaranty can be sought on the one hand or granted on the other. These people are our neighbors, we have long felt a friendly interest in their affairs, and we would like to help them out of their troubles. But the fact of large American investments of money in Mexico gives us no sufficient right to intervene with armed force; and there are no atrocities against women and children of a nature so appalling that the world demands our interference in the name of humanity.

Our Attitude Justified

The United States occupied Cuba because we had a duty to perform in the interest of the suffering and the weak. A war that was devastating the island had been going on for three years, with increasing atrocities

relieved a deadlocked situation in a very few days, established peace in Cuba, allowed 200,000 young Spanish soldiers to go back to their homes, and conferred a blessing upon the people of Spain as well as upon those of Cuba. President Wilson has tried to confer a blessing upon the people of Mexico by offering neighborly and disinterested counsel. He has tried to induce the opposing factions to accept our Government as their friend and unite upon some honorable way to restore order and peace. But the factional leaders are selfish and headstrong, and those who overthrew and assassinated Madero have gone too far to talk in unselfish terms about the welfare of their country. What will happen, therefore, nobody knows; and yet the patient, restrained, moderate course and tone of President Wilson and his agents have strengthened rather than weakened the ultimate power of the United States to be of practical service to the people of Mexico. The opportunity will present itself in some form, but what that form may be does not as yet appear.

Monroe Doctrine Freshly Examined

Many situations, including the Mexican troubles and the approaching completion of the Panama Canal, have brought fundamental policies into fresh discussion and have led men to ask about the Monroe Doctrine and its further validity and meaning. The Monroe Doctrine fifty years ago meant, in one of its practical applications, that we would not permit certain European powers to conquer Mexico and set up an Austrian noble as emperor. With Mexico at the present time trying to settle her own affairs, we should not consider it permissible for one of the great naval powers of Europe to make war upon the country and annex it as a part of its colonial empire upon any pretext whatsoever. Yet when Italy quite recently landed an armed expedition in Tripoli, against the protest of the natives and of Turkey, and added it to the Italian empire, we made no objection of any kind, although we might not have admired Italy's mode of procedure. If anybody asks, then, what we mean by the Monroe Doctrine to-day, a practical answer is that we have nothing to say when Austria annexes Bosnia, when Italy takes Tripoli, or when England dismantles small Dutch republics in South Africa, but would have much to say if any one of these powers should try to conquer Mexico or Nicaragua or

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COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS HE LOOKED ON THE DAY OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR SOUTH AMERICA

(The photograph is unusual, because of the absence of the glasses that the Colonel usually wears)

tionally familiar with South American sentiment, advocates the plan of inviting Brazil or Argentina, or some other of the Southern republics, to join with us in every case of the need of some practical application of the Monroe Doctrine. And his points are well taken.

Colonel Roosevelt In South America

On October 4 Colonel Roosevelt set sail for South America, to be gone until next spring. Most of his time is to be given to the kind of exploration and study of animal and vegetable life that Mr. Roosevelt as a naturalist so keenly enjoys. This work is in association with the American Museum of Natural History. But before plunging into the great expanses of the interior, Mr. Roosevelt was under engagement to give several addresses in the three principal republics, his first speeches being in Brazil, and the next in Argentina and Chile. His opening address was to be upon the American republics and the Monroe Doctrine, and was to be given soon after his arrival, on or about October 20. His expressions in this speech, it may be stated, were of a broad and generous nature, and entirely free from any tone or spirit of North-American assertiveness. Mr. Roosevelt, through his long service at Washington, came to know a large number of South American statesmen and diplomats, and his visit could not fail to be full of gratification and interest to him from every standpoint.

The "Chief" of the Progressives

On the eve of his departure there was a popular dinner in honor of Colonel Roosevelt, attended for the most part by adherents of the Progressive party, who look upon him as their commander-in-chief. It has been natural enough that Republican leaders should have been trying to make it appear that the Progressive party was an affair improvised to meet the exigencies of 1912, and that it has already gone to pieces. All over the country it has been passed from mouth to mouth that Colonel Roosevelt is to be the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1916. This rumor has disquieted some of the local leaders of the Progressive party, who wonder what is to become of them if their chief goes back to his old associations. Before he sailed he was asked to say whether he would or would not accept a Republican endorsement of a Progressive nomination. His tone remains militantly Progressive, but he has not answered hypothetical questions. Whether or not the Progressive party is to be permanent, and to represent the forward movement in this country of that great mass of good citizens who believe that government should be both efficient and an instrument of social welfare, cannot be settled before 1916. Meanwhile Colonel Roosevelt has not been wholly absorbed by politics. He has been writing his reminiscences ("Chapters of a Possible Autobiography"), and

these grow more interesting and important as they reach the Presidential period. He has, furthermore, been writing most entertainingly in the *Outlook* regarding his recent experiences in the Arizona desert, while to another periodical (*Scribner's*) he has been contributing admirable papers upon the life history of animals. Among the new books of the month is his volume of essays bearing the title "History as Literature," which includes, with other papers, the three important addresses delivered in Europe in 1910. In the October number of the *Century Magazine* appears an article from his pen upon the future of the Progressive party. It may doubtless be taken as representing his present views, although he wrote it several months ago.

A Cloud in the Democratic Sky

At the present moment the Democratic party, by virtue of President Wilson's firm and skilful leadership, holds the strongest position it has occupied for more than half a century. But no party can ever afford to be boastful of its security. The Republican party had overwhelming prestige and strength in Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency, and went to wreck through the bad leadership that followed. The Democrats will have their own troubles at no distant day. Their most dangerous enemy is within their own camp. If they do not cast out Tammany Hall, they will have a discordant and broken party within four years. From its historic position of evil in New York City, Tammany has reached out to control and debauch the great State of New York, and through alliances in other States it will continue to seek a wider power in pursuance of the methods and objects that it disclosed at Baltimore when it tried to prevent Mr. Wilson's nomination and was challenged by Mr. Bryan. In his campaign for the mayoralty of New York City, Mr. John Purroy Mitchel has not alone been serving the cause of the Fusionists who have put him in nomination, but he has also been serving the cause of the national Democratic party by his direct attacks upon Tammany.

Tammany and the Sulzer Case

Fortunately, the country as a whole has not failed to understand the Sulzer case at Albany. In the estimation of the public, it has not been Governor Sulzer who was on trial, but his accusers and his judges. The Legislature belonged to Tammany, and obeyed the mandate which ordered the deposition of a stubbornly honest and upright Governor. The



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NEW YORK REPUBLICAN LEADERS AT THE STATE CONVENTION IN CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 23

(From left to right, State Senator Brown, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, Mr. Job Hedges, Mr. Henry L. Stimson, President Schurman of Cornell, and William Barnes, Jr.
The State Republican Convention had certain judicial nominations to make, but its most interesting action was its resolution in favor of the calling of a national Republican convention to change the plan of apportioning delegates, the basis being the actual Republican votes cast in the preceding Presidential election)



should have been held as sufficient ground for impeaching a Governor is ridiculous. If Governor Sulzer had been willing to do even a part of the things Mr. Murphy desired, there would have been no thought of impeaching him.

The Real Animus

Yet the things that Mr. Murphy desired were of the sort that would have given true ground for impeachment if Governor Sulzer had yielded to the demands of the boss. In short, he was impeached because he tried to be true to his oath of office. William Sulzer has gone through a terrible ordeal, but thoughtful men honor him for submitting to exposure and disgrace rather than "play the game" with Tammany. He is better entitled to respect now than he was through the comfortable years when he was living in the sunlight of the popularity that is so agreeable to politicians. Lawyers of ability were arrayed upon both sides. Messrs. D-Cady Herrick, Harvey D. Hinman, Austen G. Fox, Louis Marshall, and Elihu Root, Jr., were of those who appeared on behalf of Governor Sulzer. Leading counsel for the Governor's accusers were Messrs. Alton B. Parker, John B. Stanchfield, and



MESSRS. JOHN B. STANCHFIELD AND ALTON B. PARKER

Edgar T. Brackett. These gentlemen spoke ably, and some of them went deeply into legal precedents and political philosophy. But they were not dealing with a real case, where a Governor had been guilty of malfeasance in office, and where it had become the reluctant duty of a high-minded legislature, with clean hands and honest hearts, to impeach the elected head of the State. The whole proceeding was more disgraceful and more tainted with moral obliquity than was the treacherous removal of President Madero, of Mexico, last spring, by his former associates. For they at least had the excuse of military necessity in a time of civil war and social chaos. It has been Tammany Hall and the Tammany system on trial from the start, with the fate of Mr. Sulzer a mere incident.



HON. D-CADY HERRICK
(Chief counsel for Governor Sulzer)

Division of the Court

When the vote was taken on the first article of impeachment,—charging the Governor with making a false statement of campaign receipts and payments,—it was found that the Judges of the Court of Appeals were divided, four of them, including Chief Judge Cullen, holding that the offenses proven were not impeachable, while the other five voted with thirty-four Senators to convict. As only fourteen Senators voted against impeachment on this count, there was a two-thirds majority against the Governor, but in weight of authority it is probably fair to say that the four judges who voted with the minority,—Judges Cullen, Bartlett, Chase, and Werner,—fully offset the five who voted with the majority. The whole trial had centered on the charges involved in this first article, having to do with Mr. Sulzer's actions before he became Governor. Judge Cullen believed that those actions were culpable, but denied that they constituted ground for impeachment. In this opinion Judges Bartlett, Chase, and Werner concurred, holding that such a widening of the impeaching power would be a dangerous innovation. As Judge Cullen pointed out, men have committed serious offenses and later attained high public position. If the Senators had followed the division of the judges on this question, Governor Sulzer's acquittal would have resulted. As it was, he was convicted on three of the articles and acquitted on five. His removal from the Governorship was decreed by a vote of 43 to 12, but he was not disqualified from holding office in the future.



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MR. LOUIS MARSHALL
(One of the principal lawyers for Governor Sulzer)



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HON. CHARLES S. BIRD
(Progressive candidate for Governor of Massachusetts)

Foss, Walsh, Gardner, and Bird

In these pages last month allusion was made to political situations in Massachusetts and New Jersey. Since then the three great parties have chosen their candidates, in open primaries, and the campaigns have been carried on with vigor. In Massachusetts, where a Governor is elected annually, there are four prominent candidates. Governor Foss is seeking a fourth term, as an independent. Originally a Republican, recently a Democrat, and admittedly a "progressive," the Governor expects to receive support from members of all three parties, besides getting the independent vote and retaining the "Foss vote." The Democratic nominee is the Hon. David I. Walsh, the present Lieutenant-Governor, who was unopposed in the primary. Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, who carried the Republican primary, has made a plea for Progressive support by urging a minimum wage for women and other principles which his party had rejected in convention. Mr. Charles S. Bird had agreed to run again as the candidate of the Progressive party, and he is repeating the lively campaign which attracted so much attention last year. While the issues are mainly of local bearing, the election in Massachusetts may afford an indication of the way in which the new Democratic tariff appeals to the ordinary citizen in a manufacturing State.

Stokes, Fielder, and Colby

In New Jersey the campaign is being waged mainly upon a variety of State issues, although the Democrats have naturally seen fit to point with pride not only to their own legislative record under the leadership of Governor Wilson, but also to the record of the party in national affairs under the direction of President Wilson. Acting-Governor James F. Fielder, with the support of his predecessor, carried the Democratic primary on September 23. Although there were four candidates in the Republican primary, ex-Governor Edward C. Stokes obtained a clear majority of all the votes cast. He is a very strong candidate, and it is believed by many that he will bring New Jersey back into the Republican fold, although the party last year, with Mr. Taft as its leading candidate, polled something like 110,000 votes less than its previous average. The State is a hotbed of progressivism, and while the two old parties have recognized this tendency in selecting their candidates and adopting their platforms, the Progressive party is sure to receive strong support at the polls. Mr.



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HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER
(Republican candidate for Governor of Massachusetts)



HON. JAMES F. FIELDER
(Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey)



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HON. EDWARD C. STOKES
(Republican candidate for Governor of New Jersey)

Everett Colby, its choice for Governor, has long been a leading political reformer in the State, was a prominent figure in the national Progressive party last year, and has



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SECRETARY GARRISON AND MR. TUMULTY VOTING IN THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARY

(These leading members of the Administration, like President Wilson, showed their interest by coming from Washington in order to take part, on behalf of Mr. Fielder, in the primary election in their home State)



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HON. EVERETT COLBY
(Progressive candidate for Governor of New Jersey)



Photograph by Foster, Richmond

HON. HENRY C. STUART
(Who will be the next Governor of Virginia)

recently served in the State Senate. He is in the front rank of American leaders in the cause of good government.

Stuart for Virginia's Governor

Virginia is the only other State where a Governor is to be chosen this year, but it presents an entirely different situation from those of Massachusetts and New Jersey. In Virginia, as in all the States of the South, the Democratic nomination is usually equivalent to election, and the contests are waged in the party primary. This year, however, no Democrat opposed the candidacy of the Hon. Henry C. Stuart in the primary; and the Republican and Progressive parties have seen fit not to contest his election. We have, therefore, the unique spectacle of a man announced by his friends as their preference for Governor of Virginia for the next four years, and being chosen to that office without opposition of any kind. Mr. Stuart has long been prominent as a stockman and banker in the Western part of the State, and has filled public offices very acceptably. Although its manufacturing industries are increasing at a rapid rate, Virginia is still essentially an agricultural community, more than three-fourths of the population being rural. The new administration will devote its best energies to problems associated with farm life and prosperity.

Pennsylvania Reformers in Action

Pennsylvania politics this year have centered around the election of mayors in Pittsburgh and Scranton, on a non-partisan ballot, and the choice of a district-attorney, a city treasurer, a receiver of taxes, and members of the Select and Common Councils in Philadelphia. Mayor Blankenburg, who was elected two years ago by a fusion of the so-called "Keystone" party with the Democrats, has been hampered somewhat in carrying out his reform policies by Councils still under the domination of the old Republican "machine." A Public Service Committee of 100, composed of business men of all parties, has organized a fusion movement again this year, the combination taking the form of Progressives (called the "Washington" party in Pennsylvania) and Democrats, against Republicans. The interest in Philadelphia has been as intense as if Mayor Blankenburg himself was appealing for reëlection on his record. The next mayors of Pittsburgh and Scranton will be chosen on ballots without party names or emblems. In Pittsburgh, Congressman Stephen G. Porter (a Progressive Republican) and Joseph G. Armstrong (candidate of the Oliver-Penrose organization) eliminated four other candidates in a non-partisan primary. Back of the mayoralty contest lies the prestige of leadership, and the ambition of William Flinn to succeed Mr. Penrose in the United States Senate.

Cleveland Choosing a Mayor

There is no State election in Ohio, but all the cities have had to choose mayors. In Cleveland, the largest city, the choice will lie between Mayor Newton D. Baker and Mr. Harry L. Davis. Party organizations are supposed not to figure in Cleveland's municipal politics, under its new charter, there being no party names or emblems on the ballot to guide or mislead the voter. The difference between the plan of Cleveland and that of Pittsburgh is that the Ohio city has no preliminary primary for the elimination of weaker candidates. Mayor Baker, who was elected as a Democrat, and Mr. Davis, who

has always been a Republican, both were advocates of this non-partisan method.

Cincinnati's Line-up for Progress

The present Mayor of Cincinnati, the Hon. Henry T. Hunt, was elected two years ago when the citizens rose up and smote the Republican machine. He had won prominence as the Democratic District-Attorney, in which capacity he had seen fit to bring the "boss" himself into court. Under his administration as Mayor, the city of Cincinnati has carried out comprehensive plans for civic betterment that have attracted the attention of serious-minded people from one end of the country to the other; and the platform upon which he appeals for reëlection promises a continuance of the good work. Opposition to Mayor Hunt's candidacy comes mostly from those who criticize him in this or that particular, and who seem blind to the larger achievements. His Republican opponent is Judge Frederick S. Spiegel, a very reputable candidate; but back of Judge Spiegel, it is charged, is the old Republican machine, desirous of being returned to power.

Elsewhere in Ohio and Indiana

Mayor Karb, of Columbus, is opposed for reëlection by Mr. George S. Marshall, his Republican predecessor, and by Mr. L. B. Tussing, running on a non-partisan ticket and endorsed by the Progressives. Mayor Brand Whitlock, of Toledo, has refused all importunities that he seek a fifth term, and is said at Washington to be slated for a diplomatic post. His successor on the Independent ticket is Mr. Cornell Schreiber, the City Solicitor, who bears the Democratic and Progressive endorsements. Mr. Carl H. Keller is again the Republican nominee. Indiana politics focus upon the selection of a successor to the famous Mayor Shank of Indianapolis. The Democratic candidate is Mr. Joseph E. Bell, a lawyer; the Republican is Mr. Charles A. Bookwalter, a former Mayor, and the Progressive is Dr. William H. Johnson, a leading member of the Council. Dr. Charles S. Woods leads a "Citizens'" ticket, and Dr. Albert Stanley is the Prohibition candidate.

Mr. Folk in the State Department

As we have had occasion to remark more than once during recent months, President Wilson shows tact and wisdom in selecting for places in the Administration one man after another who brings not only personal strength but party influence. Thus it has been a fortunate thing that so valuable a member of the Democratic party as the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, should now have been brought to Washington and added to the corps of responsible public servants. He has been made Solicitor of the State Department, and is helping to strengthen the organization of Secretary Bryan's office. Mr. Folk has behind him the record of a very distinguished service as an official of St. Louis and a Governor of his State. There has been much current criticism of Secretary Bryan for having made a few speeches and delivered several lectures. It would probably have been wiser if Mr. Bryan had, for at least his first year in the Secretary's office, completely given up his work as a lyceum lecturer. But, on the other hand, much of the criticism has been wholly unfair. Mr. Bryan has not relinquished the right to be the judge of propriety in his own case, and it is to be remembered that he is responsible solely to the President.



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HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK, OF MISSOURI
(Who has become an official in the State Department at Washington)



Photograph by Foster, Richmond

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HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK, OF MISSOURI
(Who has become an official in the State Department at Washington)

Democratic party as the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, should now have been brought to Washington and added to the corps of responsible public servants. He has been made Solicitor of the State Department and is helping to strengthen the organization of Secretary Bryan's office. Mr. Folk has behind him the record of a very [illegible], and [illegible] St. Louis and a Governor of the State. [illegible] Secretary Bryan [illegible] ing [illegible] era[illegible] wise[illegible] year [illegible] up [illegible] the [illegible] been [illegible] line [illegible] pre[illegible] here[illegible] President

Progress of the Panama Fair

It does not now seem likely that the great exposition at San Francisco, which will mark the opening of the Panama Canal, will suffer very much from lack of representation from either British or German industries. A movement of British merchants and manufacturers, similar to that engineered in Germany by Herr Ballin, of the Hamburg-American steamship line, to which we referred last month, has now been set on foot in England. The League of Industrialists, Germany's foremost organization of manufacturers, at its annual convention in Leipsic, late in September, unanimously decided to support a private movement for German exhibition in San Francisco. Official acceptances of invitation to participate have now been received from France, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, China, Japan, Canada, Mexico, and practically all the other Latin-American republics. The work on the exposition proper is progressing. According to reports it is even ahead of time. Building sites have now been dedicated by twenty-two states and three territories, and others are expected to follow soon. Appropriations by legislatures range from $35,000 in North Dakota to $700,000 in New York, making a total of appropriations by State legislatures of more than $8,000,000. Among the many interesting new features will be the working out of a color scheme of the famous artist and illustrator, Jules Guérin. There will be no white at the exposition. Instead there will be vermilion, yellow, and orange in various shadings. There will be no purple or blue. The sea and the sky will furnish these. Moreover, the predominant color in the buildings will be the artistic blend of pink and yellow which made the Roman Parthenon and the Greek Acropolis so impressive.

Cuba and the "Ports Company"

When General Mario Menocal became President of Cuba (in May last) he found the finances of the island in a completely disorganized condition. He found also that, during the preceding administration, a great many concessions had been made to foreign contractors for various schemes of alleged public improvement which involved the credit of the country and bound the government to pay out vast sums of money for projects of very doubtful benefit. Recently the American newspapers have been publishing many conflicting reports about the action of President Menocal in annulling the concession granted by former President Gomez to the Cuban Ports Company. This was a corporation originally authorized by a bill introduced in the Cuban Senate, in June, 1910, directing the President to set aside, for a period of four years, the sum of half a million dollars annually for dredging work needed in Havana harbor. A few months later the "Compañia de los Puertos de Cuba" was organized—on paper. Various reorganizations, issuances of stock, and recapitalizations brought the alleged capital of this concern up to something like $9,000,000. The concessión was authorized by President Gomez in February, 1911, and then appraised as being worth $25,000,000.

Menocal Annuls the Concession

President Menocal and his Cabinet, after investigation, characterized the contract as "iniquitous, illegal, unjust, and disastrous in its final results." Then, on August 4, a decree was issued annulling the contract. The Ports Company appealed from the decree to the supreme court of the republic. The tribunal, however, in a decision handed down on October 3, sustained the President. The bondholders then decided to sue the government for damages in the civil courts. From all reliable accounts it is safe to assume that in his action President Menocal was considering the public interest. During recent years there have been a great many attempts, on the part of irresponsible adventurers, chiefly Americans, to grow rich at the expense of the Cuban people. Unfortunately, such adventurers have often found corruption in public office in Cuba helpful to their schemes, and they have not lacked support from the commercial greed of their own countrymen. Early last month President Menocal summoned the Congress to meet in extra session to authorize a loan for administrative expenses. The opposition members, however, refused to attend and it seemed unlikely that a quorum could be obtained until the regular session which begins on November 3.

Huerta's Coup d'etat

It seemed last month that a radical, a real crisis had come in the affairs of Mexico. While the solemn make-believe of an election campaign was going on for a chief magistrate to succeed Provisional President Huerta, that personage was carrying out what Europe is accustomed to call a *coup d'état*. Either because General Huerta had convinced himself that he possessed the ability and force of a Diaz and meant henceforth to rule Mexico by the strong arm, or because he be-



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FEDERICO GAMBOA MANUEL CALERO FELIX DIAZ

THREE EMINENT MEXICANS WHO WERE CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY LAST MONTH

lieved his case well-nigh hopeless and had determined to take desperate measures, the fact is that, after arresting a large number of the members of the Chamber of Deputies, and practically dissolving the Congress, Huerta became dictator. On October 10 he ordered the Chamber of Deputies surrounded by Federal troops, who then arrested 110 of the members for making attacks upon his administration. They were accused, further, of conspiring with the rebels in the north. One of the members of the upper house, Senator Dominguez, had attacked the administration and accused it of illegal acts. A few days after his speech, Senator Dominguez and his family disappeared, and reports were current, late last month, that he had been subjected to "the law of the fugitive" which was invoked to justify the shooting of former President Madero and Vice-President Suarez last February.

Suppressing a Congress

This high-handed action on the part of Huerta called forth a warning from the State Department at Washington. On October 13 instructions were sent to Special Agent Lind, at Vera Cruz, and Chargé d'Affaires Nelson O'Shaughnessy, at Mexico City, to inform the Huerta Government that any injury or violence to the imprisoned deputies would "have a painful effect in the United States." In the language of diplomacy this is the way a warning is conveyed. Huerta's action was taken to indicate that while he did not intend to appear as a candidate at the election, set for the 26th of last month, a full and fair election, in the way Americans understand it, would not be possible with Huerta dominating the capital as a dictator. One of his lieutenants announced, on October 14, that the election would be "regular and fair," that the imprisoned deputies would be tried "for the various offences of which they are accused," and that their successors would be "appointed" by President Huerta. On the same day Secretary Bryan warned Huerta that, "in view of President Huerta's assumption of the rôle of dictator of the republic, this Government would be unable to recognize as legal and constitutional the election of President and members of Congress set for October 26."

The Election Campaign

By the first of last month four candidates had been nominated for the Presidency of Mexico. Señor Federico Gamboa, General Huerta's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was named by the Catholic party, on September 24, for president, with General Eugenio Rascon as his second. General Felix Diaz was named by a convention of the Labor party, held on September 28, and with General Requena for vice-president. On September 30 a number of Liberal leaders persuaded Manuel Calero and Jesus Flores Magon to run as Liberal candidates. At about the same time the so-called Republican Liberals nominated David de la Fuente, recently a member of the



THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA, DR. JOSÉ VICENTE CONCHA
(Who will take office next summer when Señor Restrepo's term expires)

Cabinet, and Dr. Mendizibal. On the same date General Venustiano Carranza, the leader of the Constitutionalists, who are in rebellion in the North, issued a statement to the effect that "under present conditions no election can legally be held in Mexico. An attempt to do so would only be a ruse to fool the United States. Whoever is elected," continued the statement of General Carranza, "will be a traitor to his country, and when captured will be shot without trial." Señor Gamboa was at first reported to be Huerta's choice. Later, however, it was reported that Felix Diaz was more acceptable to the Provisional President. Señor Gamboa's public record as a civilian and diplomat shows much in his favor. Señor Calero was Ambassador to the United States under Madero, and at the time of his nomination was a senator from the State of Mexico.

Rebel Successes in the North

On October 8 the Constitutionalists captured the important city of Torreon. This was regarded as a severe blow to the Federalist cause. Torreon is an important city in the North, the seat of many industries. The Constitutionalists disgraced their cause by executing without trial one of the Federal generals, his whole staff, and one hundred and twenty-five soldiers, and massacring a number of American and German residents. The rebel successes in the North and the high-handed actions of Huerta himself in the capital city would indicate that there was not much basis for his claims that he had "most of the country under control."

The New Era in Colombia

Consular reports from Colombia indicate that the year 1912 was one of great commercial and industrial prosperity for that republic. These reports were confirmed and supplemented by the statements being made in this country during recent weeks by ex-President Rafael Reyes. At the present time, this statesman reminds us, Colombia has nearly 5,000,000 inhabitants and an area sufficiently large and productive to provide for ten times that number. General Reyes believes that the period of revolution and internal political dissension is over in his country. The completion of the Panama Canal, he asserts, will be of an importance to the Colombian Republic that cannot be exaggerated. During the presidency of Señor Restrepo, who has been in office since July, 1910, much progress has been made in the arts of peace and commerce. Late in August the National Assembly at Bogotá, that is, the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the custom of the country, chose by unanimous vote, Dr. José Vicente Concha, Conservative candidate, to be President of the Republic. Dr. Concha will take office in August next, when the constitutional term of Señor Restrepo expires. The next president of Colombia is one of the most intellectual of her sons, an unusually progressive modern statesman.

Industrial Unrest in Great Britain

The industrial outlook in Great Britain is, to quote the words of Sir George Askwith (Chief Industrial Commissioner and chairman of the Fair Wages Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade), "gloomy and fraught with dangerous uncertainty." British commerce, according to the reports in blue books and official documents, is in a very flourishing condition. The wages of the working classes also have increased materially in recent years. There is, however, throughout all classes in Great Britain, a growing distrust and sus-



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

DUBLIN STRIKERS WATCHING THE LANDING OF A FOOD-SHIP

(During the strike of Dublin transportation workers—see paragraph on following page—the strikers suffered great hardship and were even at the point of starvation for a time. This photograph shows a group of the strikers on the Dublin docks. In the center, with the cap, is Larkin, the strike leader)

picion of the efficiency of political methods in bringing about social and economic reforms. It is not denied by the opposition party or the conservative classes generally that the present government, which owes its power to the Liberal-Labor-Irish Nationalist coalition, has been very largely successful in carrying out its social reform program for the benefit of the working classes. Even his enemies will admit the surprising effectiveness of Lloyd-George in social legislation—a summary of which we present on another page this month. The Asquith Government has curtailed the power of the Lords, has enacted laws providing for old age pensions and unemployment insurance, has already partially modernized the franchise, and has undertaken, with fair promise of carrying through, what is perhaps the most difficult of all political tasks in England—a reform of the land laws.

Upsetting British Respect for Law

Despite these radical and almost revolutionary achievements, however, the direct, immediate benefits to the working classes have not been so great as was expected, and there has been a growing disposition among English labor leaders to resort to what is known as "direct action." Originating in France, some years ago, this policy of "direct action," known more familiarly as Syndicalism (the counterpart of which in the United States is the propaganda of the I. W. W.) is now becoming popular in England. British trade unionism, up to within very recent years, has been solid and conservative and free from attacks on life and property. Now violence is being preached. Moreover, certain lawless tendencies in other phases of British public life, as shown by the depredations of the militant suffragettes and the incitement to rebellion in Ulster against "wrongs" not yet committed, have gone a great way lately toward upsetting the balance of things in Great Britain.

The Bitter Industrial War

During recent weeks a number of strikes with significant new features have taken place in Great Britain. Almost all of them have been spontaneous on the part of the men without authorization of the union leaders, showing a restlessness at the foundations. In South Wales in September several thousand miners struck and tied up a large section of the coal industry. Sir George Askwith has been able to mediate successfully in the motor omnibus strike in London, the men generally winning their case. The English postmen have recently organized a militant union and threatened to strike for increased pay. Transport workers in Dublin carried



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QUEEN WILHELMINA'S NEW MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JONKEER JOHN LOUDON
(The former Dutch Minister at Washington, whose wife is an American lady, brings to his new post an intimate knowledge of American affairs)

on a particularly bitter strike for some weeks, many of the farm laborers about the Irish capital joining "for sympathy" and rioting against the police. The strike in Dublin is responsible for a new word in English social politics—"Larkinism," from the name of the leader. "Larkinism" is now taken to connote British Syndicalism. This development of the labor movement in England has had the effect of instigating the employers of labor to organize a "trade union" of their own. Strange and sinister as it may seem, the war cry of this organization, which is to be known as the United Kingdom Employers' Defence Association, is "to consolidate the resources of the employers of labor against the working man, and to protect their rights and their freedom to bargain individually with free workers or in connection with trade unions." The "war fund" is to be $250,000,000. It would seem that the idea of an inevitable violent conflict between labor and capital had become an article of belief with British industrialism.

The Ulster Revolt against Home Rule

Unless all signs fail, there will be a general election in Great Britain before many months. The apparent certainty that the Irish Home Rule bill will become a law in the near future, regardless of the opposition of the House of Lords, balanced by the apparently irreconcilable attitude of Ulster, would seem to indicate that nothing short of an appeal to the British electorate on the specific issue of autonomy for Ireland would settle the question. As the bill has been proceeding through the House of Commons on its second round, the revolt at Ulster has been growing. Under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, member of Parliament for the University of Dublin, and one of the leaders of the Unionist opposition to the Asquith Government, the Ulster men who are opposed to the provisions of the Home Rule bill (because they assume that a Dublin parliament would discriminate against the Protestant North in favor of the Catholic South) have been going through all the motions of preparing to fight. On September 24, in a convention at Belfast attended by more than 500 delegates, they organized what they call a "Provisional Government" for the four northeastern provinces of Ulster when the Home Rule bill becomes law. This assembly made an appeal for a "war fund" of £1,000,000 ($5,000,000) to indemnify the families of volunteers who might be killed or wounded in the coming rebellion.

The Government Unmoved

Meanwhile the Premier and the Ministry at London are firm in their intention of carrying through the Home Rule bill. The enunciation of government policy is clear and unmistakable, but not provocative. Mr. Winston Churchill (First Lord of the Admiralty) in a speech at Dundee, on October 8, said: "The claim of northeast Ulster to special consideration if put forward with sincerity cannot be brushed aside." However, "we intend to create and set up an Irish parliament subordinate to the Imperial parliament with a responsible executive for the conduct of purely Irish affairs." The Right Honorable Herbert Samuels, the British Postmaster General, in a speech at Ottawa, Canada, a few days later, reminded his hearers of the fact that the province of Ulster itself now sends to Westminster a majority in favor of Home Rule. Moreover, the bill specifically provides "in the most absolute terms" that the Irish parliament shall be "debarred from enacting any legislation which would, in any degree, touch the religious rights and liberties of any citizen of Ireland." Lord Loreburn, a Liberal peer, wrote a letter to the London *Times*, on September 11, proposing "a conference between

representatives of the conflicting interests," on the subject of Home Rule. This proposal aroused a good deal of discussion and even received commendation from more than one Liberal speaker in the House of Commons.

Are the British Becoming Lawless?

Commenting, however, on Sir Edward Carson's remarks and Lord Loreburn's idea, Mr. Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalists, speaking at a Home Rule demonstration at Limerick, on October 12, declared that any suggestion for the exemption of Ulster from the working of the Home Rule law was "impracticable." The Liberals and Nationalists, he said, "have always favored giving every safeguard that Ulster desires. But Ireland must remain a nation." The preaching of resistance to law is a new and sinister phase of British politics. There is probably not in the world a more law-abiding democracy at heart than the British, but with the militant suffragettes breaking law and destroying property, and a member of parliament, representing a great university, inciting his constituents to military rebellion against a law not yet passed, which they insist—despite assurances to the contrary—will discriminate against them, a very unfortunate example is set to the incendiary elements among the different classes of the British social structure presumably less enlightened than Sir Edward Carson and his Ulster Unionist cohorts.

Opening the Dutch States-General

Queen Wilhelmina opened the Dutch States-General on September 16. In the speech from the throne promise was made of the early introduction of bills for universal suffrage, including "Votes for Women" and old age pensions. The revival of the scheme for draining the Zuider Zee was also foreshadowed. Queen Wilhelmina asked the support of the States-General for the new Premier, Dr. Cort van der Linden. In the elections on June 17 and 25, it will be remembered, the Dutch Liberals, in a coalition with the Socialists, won a victory at the polls, thus ending the Heemskerk Ministry, which had been in power since 1908. The Queen then summoned David Troelstra, the Socialist leader, and asked him to form a cabinet. According to the traditions of his party, he refused, and the Queen called upon Dr. Kirk Bos, the Democratic Liberal leader. Dr. Bos offered three places out of the nine in the cabinet to the Socialists. These facts we set forth in our pages for September.



Photograph by American Press Association, New York

THE LEADER OF THE ULSTER OPPOSITION TO HOME RULE, SIR EDWARD CARSON

("The Honorable Member of Parliament for Dublin University" addressing a meeting of anti-Home Rule Unionists at Ballyclare last month)

The Socialists and the Premier

Then arose the interesting situation which had already split the Socialist party in France: "whether the Socialists should participate in a bourgeois government." Mynheer Troelstra could not take office in any non-Socialist government. That would violate one of the cherished dogmas of his party. But to refuse involved the risk of losing the issues upon which the election had been won, especially universal suffrage and old age pensions. The question was referred to the Socialist party, which held a Congress at Zwolle on August 12. By a substantial majority vote the Congress, "warned by the experience of France with Briand," defeated a resolution to permit any of its members to enter a coalition cabinet. Dr. Bos, having failed, the Queen called upon Dr. Cort van der Linden, a moderate Liberal, to make up a cabinet from public men outside of parliament. After weeks of effort the new Premier succeeded in forming a ministry made up of a few former ministers, several university professors, two diplomats, and some army officers.



THE QUEEN OPENING THE DUTCH STATES-GENERAL AT THE HAGUE ON SEPTEMBER 16

(The Dutch Queen, it will be noted, presides on state occasions without the elaborate costume usually associated with royalty. Seated at her left may be seen the Prince Consort, her husband)

Draining the Zuider Zee Again

Minister of Public Works Lely, who served in two former Liberal cabinets, retains this office. It will be his great work to take up the engineering project approved by the Dutch government in 1901, but since suspended, the draining of the Zuider Zee. In the new measure before the States-General the completion of this great work is outlined, and the money necessary, aggregating about $46,000,000, is provided for. When completed, this reclamation project will add nearly 2,000 square miles to the available land and the soil won back from the sea will form a new province of the Netherlands. Jonkeer John Loudon, for the past five years the Dutch Minister at Washington, has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is expected that one of the first important questions that will engage the attention of Mr. Loudon will be the arrangement of a treaty between Holland and the United States to forever safeguard Dutch possessions in the East Indies, from "anything worse than purchase by the American government."

The Endless Shift in the Balkans

An agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey by which the Bulgars give up Adrianople and much of the surrounding territory to their enemies during the late war, strained relations verging on open hostilities between Turkey and Greece, and a virtual state of war between Servia and the new Albania—these have been the developments in the Balkan situation during the past few weeks. The fruits of the jealousy of the so-called Great Powers are now visible to the whole world. If the rival groups of European nations, the Triple Alliance, of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the Triple Entente, Great Britain, Russia, and France, had honestly desired the peaceful development of Balkan states, in commerce, industry, the development of communications, in firm establishment of order and of security for life and property, they would have a years ago to banish the Turks, or at least force them to execute the long promised sorely needed reforms in Macedonia. course of the powers, however, has characterized by mutual jealousy, suspicion and impotence.

Shame of the "Great Powers"

First, the so-called concert of Europe tried to restrain the Balkan alliance and the Turks the maintenance of the status When the allies—Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro—braved Europe and attacked and defeated the Turks powers by compelling the Montenegrins give up Scutari, and insisting on the of an autonomous Albania, prevent



THE DUTCH WOMAN WINS BY A SISTER

ENGLISH LADY MILITANT: "I

From the *Journal* (

negro and Servia from reaping the fruits of their victories. Next Bulgaria was encouraged to wage war against the allies, or, at least, not deterred from so doing, in the hope that Servia would be further crippled, and thus Austrian designs furthered. None of the problems of the situation have been solved. The Near Eastern question is probably worse to-day than it ever has been. All the original elements of unrest have been aggravated. Macedonia, far from being liberated, has been transferred to a new bondage. The "equilibrium of the Balkans" about which so much has been solemnly written, has been attained, first, by nearly doubling the area of Greece (which did the least during the war), by adding 75 per cent. to the area of Servia (which had the second easiest time), while leaving to Bulgaria (which did most of the fighting) only about 10 per cent. According to the agreement regarding "autonomous Albania" the tribe of the Malissories, who hate the Montenegrins with a murderous bitterness, are to be transferred to the government of King Nicholas. Rumania, which did no fighting in the first war and practically none in the second, has obtained a valuable strip of territory at the expense of Bulgaria. Turkey and Greece are at swords' points metaphorically, and may be so literally before these pages reach our readers. The Turk has not been expelled from Europe. According to the agreement between the Bulgarian and Turkish representatives signed at Constantinople, on September 18, a large proportion of the territory taken from the Turks by the Bulgarians is restored to them.



THE GERMAN KAISER AND THE HELLENIC KING ON A MIMIC BATTLEFIELD

(King Constantine, while on a visit to Germany during September, attended the annual military maneuvers in Silesia. This picture is based on a photograph taken by the artist of the London *Graphic*)



TURKEY: "I NEVER THOUGHT MY HINTERLAND WOULD GROW AGAIN LIKE THIS."

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London) Nov.—3

No Settlement, Only More Bitterness

As to the general situation in Europe, it is the same—only worse than before the allies attacked Turkey, and were prevented by the Great Powers from finishing their task. The first effect of the Balkan victories was to upset the general European equilibrium. The victories on the plains of Thrace gave a tremendous impetus to the growth of armaments throughout Europe. We have already, in these pages, noted the additions to the armies of Germany and France, the augmentation of the military establishments of Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland, and the intensified bitterness of the Anglo-German naval rivalry. Finally, Russian intrigue and Anglo-German jealousy in Asiatic Turkey have revived in that portion of the Sultan's domain almost forgotten animosities and



THE NEW TURKEY AS DECIDED BY THE CONSTANTINOPLE CONFERENCE

(Showing the places won by Bulgaria in the war and given back to the Turks at the conference)

complications. King Constantine of Greece has been traveling over western Europe telling the German Emperor and the French Premier how much Greece owes to both French and German civilizations. Meanwhile the Bulgarians are working despite enormous odds to bring about an understanding with Turkey which shall enable them to renew the conflict with Servia and Greece. If it had not been for the jealousy of these so-called Great Powers a Balkan federation on modern lines might have been formed, based on justifiable national aspirations, religious liberty, and freedom of commerce within a territory that would form a dignified European state. As it stands to-day there is hardly a frontier in the whole Balkan region across which hatred and jealousy are not likely to look at each other for many a year to come.

Still Russifying the Finns

Despite the unsparing process of the Russification of Finland, which is being conducted with unabated energy, the elections to the Finnish Diet, held recently, show a steady increase of the liberal elements of that country. The newly elected Chamber consists of 90 Socialists, 38 Old Finns, 29 Young Finns, 25 members of the Swedish Party, and 18 Agrarians. The Socialists have gained 4 seats and the Young Finns 1. Their gains would probably have been greater, had not a large number of citizens abstained from voting, the total vote cast being 700,000 as against 800,000 at the preceding election. The conservative Russian press points to this as evidence that the Finns are becoming reconciled to their fate. But the reasons for such indifference on the part of that highly patriotic people should probably be looked for in another direction. The Russian Government has been holding up all important legislation recently enacted by the Diet, and the Finns, of course, realize the futility of electing deputies whose legislative acts will afterwards be annulled by the Czar. The latest phases of Russification is the annexation of two districts, the Vyborg provinces, and their incorporation in the empire. The protests of the Finns were of no avail and some of the protestants are now lodged in prisons at St. Petersburg.

"Ritual Murder" in Russia

The civilized world has been watching with interest the progress of the trial, at Kiev, Russia, of the young Hebrew, Mendel Beiliss, accused of the murder, "for ritual purposes," of a Christian boy, one Andrew Yushtchinsky. The body of the boy was found in a cave in the suburbs of Kiev, more than two years ago, and the numerous stab wounds on it evidently suggested to the reactionaries the possibility of charging the Jews with the crime. According to superstitious belief, the Jews use Christian blood in the making of their Easter bread. Beiliss, a workman at a near-by brickyard, who is admitted even by his enemies to be honest, was apprehended. As is not uncommon in Russia, some necessary evidence was manufactured with the aid of the police and members of the "Black Hundred" society, which is always eager to incite an attack on the Jews. But it seems that the combined efforts of his enemies have not been sufficient to incriminate an innocent man. After nearly two years of activity in collecting alleged evidence, during which time the accused man was kept in solitary confinement, and denied



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE LINER VOLTURNO BURNING IN MID-ATLANTIC LAST MONTH

even the privilege of consulting his lawyers, the "proof" offered at the trial was of such a flimsy nature that even the reactionary anti-Semitic local journal, the *Kievlyanian,* protested editorially against the farcical proceedings. For this it was duly suppressed by the authorities. That the Russian Government favors the "ritual" murder theory can be seen from the fact that the former chief of the secret police at Kiev, who has been conducting an independent investigation and came very near discovering the real perpetrators of the crime and laying bare the motives of the conspirators, has been suspended from office, tried on some trumped-up charges, and imprisoned. But, perceiving how this attempt to revive a long-forgotten superstition and incite the ignorant mob to violence against the Jews has impressed the entire thinking world, the saner elements among the Russian reactionaries have been trying to minimize the significance of the case, and have urged the necessity of its speedy disposal with a semblance of legality.

Yuan Shih-kai Permanent President of China

After three ballots had been cast for twenty different candidates, the National Assembly of China, the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives, on October 6, at Peking, elected Provisional President Yuan Shih-kai permanent president of the Chinese Republic for a term of five years. The next day Li Yuan-heng was elected Vice-President. While the Assembly was deliberating and voting, the constitutional convention in session at the capital was steadily at work formulating the constitution for the nation. This convention has been in session for some months. It is evident from the debates on the various clauses of the new organic law that many of the members have devoted careful study to the systems of government of western nations. American and English precedents seem to be the dominating influence. The presidential term has been fixed at five years, and only one reëlection is permitted. Immediately upon the election of a permanent president and vice-president representatives of the powers at Peking sent notes to President Yuan Shih-kai formally recognizing the republic. The Chinese Foreign Office had already guaranteed that the new government under the permanent president would observe all treaties and contracts made by the Manchu government and also would maintain established customs until regularly and legally changed by parliamentary and diplomatic methods.

"Wireless" Again Mitigates a Sea Horror

A new tribute to the splendid effectiveness of wireless telegraphy was furnished by the rescue of the majority of the passengers of the liner *Volturno,* which burned in mid-Atlantic on October 9. It was two days after the disaster before the news reached Europe and the United States that another shuddering ocean horror had taken place. The *Volturno,* bound from Rotterdam for Halifax and New York, caught fire during a terrific storm. The crew fought the flames bravely, while the wireless apparatus sent out the call of distress. Ten vessels rushed to the rescue — four British, two German, one French, one Russian, one Belgian, and one American. Out of a total of 657 passengers and crew, 521 were taken off by the rescuing ships. 136 were lost, either when the small boats were crushed by the waves or by jumping into the sea. Among the rescuers were two tank steamers carrying oil, which they turned upon the waters and smoothed the path of rescue. Passengers and crew behaved themselves nobly. All during the following week the survivors kept coming in small batches into New York on the rescuing steamers, and the universality of human sympathy was again demonstrated by the tender care and sympathy which was given them. It is the universal testimony of the officers of the *Volturno* and all the rescuing ships that but for the wireless not a soul would have been saved. The British Government will investigate.



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BENJAMIN ALTMAN, THE NEW YORK MERCHANT

A Great Art Bequest

One of the most eminent merchants of New York City, Mr. Benjamin Altman, died last month. When the terms of his will were made known it appeared that he had given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art his entire collection of paintings, sculptures, and other art objects, valued at from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000. The importance of Mr. Altman's collection had long been known to experts, and it was understood that no purchase for it had ever been made except on the recommendation of the best-qualified judges whose opinion could be obtained. It contains thirteen Rembrandts and the world-famous "Holy Family," by Mantegna, besides the works of many of the modern French and Dutch painters, and porcelains, enamels, tapestries, and rugs from every part of the world where such articles have been produced with exceptional skill. The reception of this magnificent gift places the Metropolitan at once among the great art museums of the world. The funds at the institution's disposal could never by any possibility have duplicated the treasures of this collection, which will now become available to the humblest, man, woman, or child of the metropolis. It was truly a high order of public spirit which dictated so generous a bequest to the native city of the donor.



Photograph by Paul Thompson

CELEBRATING THE ONE THOUSANDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CITY OF CASSEL

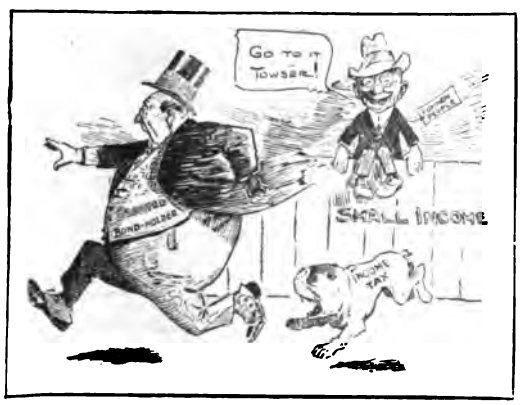
(In this millennial celebration of an old German city, the life and historic events of ten centuries were reproduced. In the above picture is shown King Conrad the First entering Cassel in the year 913)

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



"SHE'S MAKING GOOD!"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

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SOME OF US ARE NOT BOTHERED
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



MAKING IT EASY FOR HIM
(Some "currency reform" candy with his tariff medicine)
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE LATE TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF

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RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(*From September 17 to October 15, 1913*)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 17.—In the House, an amendment to the Currency bill is incorporated, reaffirming the Gold Standard act of 1900.

September 18.—The Senate receives the Currency bill from the House, and refers it to the Committee on Banking and Currency. . . . The House adopts the Administration's Currency bill by vote of 285 to 85; three Democrats vote against the measure, and thirty-three Republicans and Progressives vote for it.

September 19.—In the conference committee on the Tariff bill, the Senate recedes from its amendments increasing duties on works of art.

September 20.—In the conference committee on the Tariff bill, the Senate amendment placing a tax on bananas is dropped.

September 24.—The tariff conferees vote to report a disagreement on the Senate amendment imposing a tax on cotton "futures."

September 26.—The Democratic members of the conference committee reach a final agreement on the tariff measure.

September 29.—The conference report on the Tariff bill is voted upon by the full committee, and the measure is reported back to the House.

September 30.—The House adopts the conference report upon the Tariff bill, by a vote of 254 to 103.

October 1.—The Senate Democrats, in caucus, agree to the report of the conference committee, by vote of 33 to 6.

October 2.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Tariff bill, by a vote of 36 to 17, after receding from its amendment placing a tax on cotton "futures."

October 4.—The Senate passes the Urgent Deficiency appropriation bill.

October 7.—In the Senate, final action on the Hetch-Hetchy bill is postponed until the regular session.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

September 18.—The trial of William Sulzer, Governor of New York, by the High Court of Impeachment—composed of members of the State Senate and judges of the Court of Appeals—is begun at Albany.

September 22.—Counsel for Governor Sulzer in the impeachment trial are overruled in their contention that the Legislature in special session could not constitutionally vote to impeach.

September 23.—Governor Sulzer relinquishes his office pending the termination of his trial. . . . The Massachusetts primaries result in the selection of Congressman Augustus P. Gardner for the Republican nomination for Governor; David I. Walsh (Democrat) and Charles S. Bird (Progressive) are the unopposed choice of their parties. . . . The New Jersey primaries are carried by Acting-Governor Fielder (Democrat), ex-Governor Edward C. Stokes (Republican), and Everett Colby (Progressive).



Photographs copyrighted by Davis & Sanford, New York

MISS JESSIE WILSON AND MR. FRANCIS B. SAYRE

(Whose wedding, at the White House, will occur on November 25. Miss Wilson is the President's second daughter, and Mr. Sayre has recently taken up his duties as Assistant to the President of Williams College)

September 24.—Mr. Jacob H. Schiff and Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the first witnesses examined in the Sulzer impeachment trial, testify that their contributions during Mr. Sulzer's campaign were not limited to campaign purposes. . . . The Industrial Welfare Commission of Oregon adopts a ruling which fixes a minimum wage of $9.25 per week for adult women clerks who are not apprentices, and sets fifty hours as the maximum week's work.

September 30.—Governor Hooper calls a second extraordinary session of the Tennessee Legislature to consider prohibition-law enforcement bills.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

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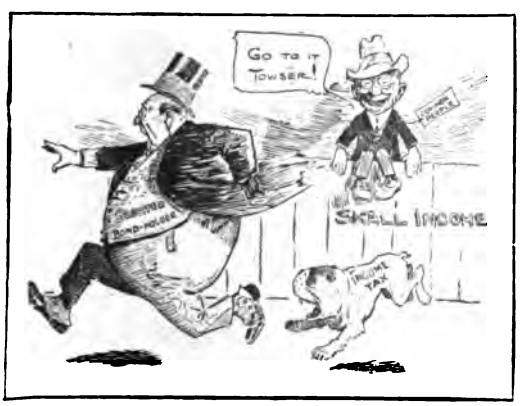
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FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE
From the *Journal* (Jersey City)



"OUR HOPES TRIUMPHANT O'ER OUR FEARS"
From the *Times-Star* (Cincinnati)

The supporters of the new tariff are, of course, enthusiastic over the measure, while there are not wanting those, particularly outside of the Democratic party, who have expressed with some emphasis their skepticism regarding the benefits to be conferred on the country by the new schedules. The general attitude of the great body of the American people, however, will doubtless be one of fair-minded patience, with the idea of withholding judgment until the tariff has had a fair trial.



HARD HIT (?)
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)

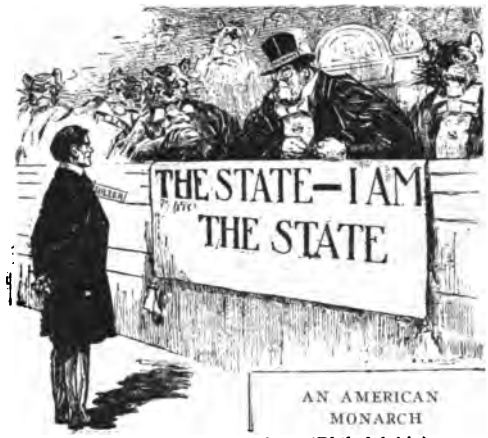


"WE DON'T KNOW WHERE WE'RE GOING, BUT WE'RE ON OUR WAY"
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



SEE WHAT THE CAT BROUGHT IN?
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)

The trial of Governor Sulzer, of New York, has called forth a great many cartoons in newspapers in every section of the country. The vast majority of these are decidedly pro-Sulzer in character, and express in a forcible manner the view that the Governor has simply been the victim of the vengeance of Tammany Hall.



From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



BY THE WAY, WHY IS IT THAT ONLY ONE OF THEM IS BLAMED?
From the *News* (Chicago)



BOSS MURPHY'S WAY OF DRIVING
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)



MURPHY, TO CANDIDATE M'CALL
"Now, promise me, Edward, if elected you'll be your own boss"
From the *Tribune* (New York)



THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA
UNCLE SAM: "They will only grow when some one waters them!" From *Hojos Selectas* (Barcelona)

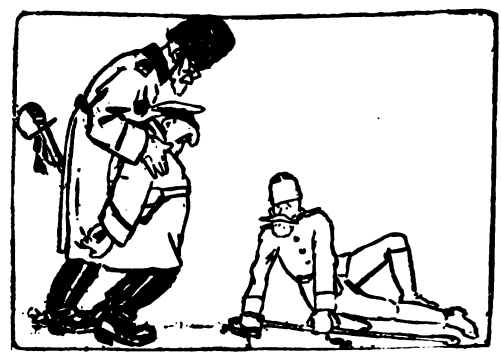
The cartoons on this page refer to Colonel Roosevelt's departure for South America, and Uncle Sam's interest in the same quarter, as well as his winning of a number of sporting trophies from John Bull, and his epochal achievement of the Panama Canal.



1513—ACHIEVEMENT—1913
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)



"T. R.'S" DEPARTURE FOR SOUTH AMERICA
From the *Star* (Washington)



RUSSIA DISAPPOINTED?
THE CZAR (to Ferdinand, of Bulgaria, as the Turk recovers from his beating): "But you told me you would kill him!" From the *Jeune-Turc* (Constantinople)



UNCLE SAM: WHAT OTHER GAMES HAVE YOU?
From the *Tribune* (New York)



ANOTHER "BEST EVER"
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

THE UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF

(SECOND ARTICLE)

BY N. I. STONE
(Formerly Statistician of the Tariff Board)

FOUR years ago, as the Payne-Aldrich tariff was about to go into effect, the custom-house of New York, through which two-thirds of the country's imports are entered, was besieged by a frantic mob of customs-brokers, importers, and representatives of manufacturers who import direct their raw materials, anxious to enter their goods before the midnight hour, when the new tariff rates were to go into effect. Ships laden with goods to the bursting-point were straining every nerve in a mad race across the Atlantic to get into port before the fatal hour; their captains, with declarations in hand, were met by anxious owners of imported merchandise at the entrance to the harbor, taken on swift harbor craft, and rushed to the custom-house to get the entry registered in time to secure the benefit of the old Dingley rates—the very rates which American people had found too high, and for the downward revision of which they had given a mandate to President Taft and the Republican party a few short months before. This mad scramble to get in under the old rates furnished the most telling ocular refutation of the sophisticated claims of the authors of the Payne-Aldrich act that the new law was a revision downward.

The travail of producing the new tariff this year has been marked by striking contrast to what occurred four years ago: no frantic crowds trying to break into the custom-house; no racing of ships across the ocean; no burning of midnight oil at the custom-house to accommodate desperate merchants. Instead, everybody holding imports down to the level of immediate needs; goods either held back on the other side or stored in bonded warehouses waiting to be released after the tariff was to go into effect.

Hence a decline in imports at the port of New York during the three months of June, July, and August of twenty-one million dollars as compared with the imports for the same months last year, in the face of a normal increase of imports from year to year. Hence also an increase in the value of merchandise stored in bonded warehouses on the eve of the enactment of the new law (to avoid pay-

ment of duty until released for consumption) of twenty million dollars over the same period last year, thus making a total decline of imports for consumption for three months of $41,000,000.

THE NATION BENT ON DOWNWARD REVISION

The four years that followed the enactment of the Payne-Aldrich law were marked by more attempts to revise the tariff than any period of equal duration since the Civil War. President Taft, anxious to propitiate the people for their Payne-Aldrich disappointment, negotiated a reciprocity treaty with Canada, which cut the duties in favor of that country so radically that it required the solid support of the Democratic representation in Congress to overcome the opposition of his own party to that measure. But in securing the coöperation of his political opponents the President opened a veritable Pandora's box; for no sooner were the spirits of commercial freedom released from their long confinement than they proceeded with the work of removing the shackles beyond the bounds set for them by the genial man who called them forth from their retirement. In the struggle for tariff revision downward, which ensued between the Democratic-Progressive-Republican Congress on the one hand and the President ruthlessly using his power of veto on the other, the American people had no means of taking a direct part until the elections of last year gave it an opportunity to send to Washington a Congress so overwhelmingly Democratic, so clearly pledged to downward revision, as to leave no doubt on the subject in the mind of anyone who cared to read the signs of the times.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LEADERSHIP

In the light of past experience, it was feared that the Democratic Congress would succumb to selfish influences in its own party and carry out the work of tariff revision in a half-hearted manner. But the splendid leadership of President Wilson made full use of an awakened public consciousness, skilfully focusing its fierce light upon every dark corner in which sinister forces gathered, and has successfully piloted his wabbling ship Democracy to the port of Downward Revision, where it is to be hoped it will be made fast for some time to come, so as to give the industries of the country a chance to adjust themselves to the new conditions and that the people may reap the fruits of a freer commercial era in a reduced cost of living.

IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE NEW TARIFF

In last month's article the changed industrial conditions were pointed out which made the present tariff revision possible and the return to high duties improbable. The changes in rates will now be analyzed with as much detail as can be done without making the discussion too technical. As far as possible the order adopted in the analysis of the Payne-Aldrich act in the September, 1909, issue of this REVIEW will be followed now, to facilitate comparison.

The most important schedules of the tariff from the standpoint of the consumer are those dealing with articles entering into the direct consumption of the people. Among the large number of reductions and total removals of duty, several affect raw materials, such as iron ore, pig-iron, hides and leather, etc., or manufactured goods, like boot-making and sugar-making machinery, textile machinery, chemicals, etc., to compensate manufacturers for the diminished protection to their own products. These reductions would not necessarily lower the cost of living, unless accompanied by reductions of duty on the finished products used by the ultimate consumer. From this point of view the schedules of greatest interest are the four textile schedules, dealing with cotton, woolen, linen, and silk goods, respectively, the agricultural schedule dealing with foodstuffs, the sugar schedule, and, finally, the tobacco and spirits schedules, which, however opinions may differ as to the necessity or usefulness of the products they deal with, affect a large share of national consumption.

THE COTTON SCHEDULE

The cotton schedule formed the center of the attack on the Payne-Aldrich tariff. It was in this schedule, more than any other, that advances of duty were effected in ways so devious that Senators Aldrich and Smoot could stoutly insist on the floor of the Senate that no substantial changes in rates had been made, although, as a matter of fact, they were increased all the way from about 10 to 100 per cent. This was done by substituting specific for ad valorem rates, by introducing intricate classifications of cotton cloth, and by inserting "jokers" in out-of-the-way parts of the law.

To the authors of the new tariff belongs the credit of having eliminated these defects. The system of ad valorem rates which prevailed in the Dingley law has been restored and extended throughout the cotton schedule. In this they followed the precedent set in

the bill of Congressman Hill, introduced in the last Congress, which he prepared in collaboration with the experts of the Tariff Board on the basis of its report on the cotton industry. Unfortunately, the Democratic leaders, hailing from Southern States, have laid themselves open to accusations of yielding to protectionist demands of their constituents by making the rates considerably higher than the avowedly protectionist Hill bill.

Thus the duties on yarn in the new tariff vary from 5 to 27½ per cent. ad valorem, as against 15 to 54 per cent. under the Payne act, and only 7½ to 20 per cent. in the Hill bill. On cotton cloth, the new rates range from 7½ to 30 per cent., as against 17½ to 68 per cent. under the Payne law, and only 5 to 25 per cent. under the Hill bill. In fixing the rates higher than the bill of Mr. Hill, the Democrats ignored the findings of the Tariff Board, which demonstrated that in many grades of these products our manufacturers were able to undersell British mills and successfully compete with them in foreign markets. These products of Southern mills also furnished some of the exceptions to the rule, which was largely followed by the Conference Committee of the two houses, of adopting the lower rate of the two; for in each instance the higher Senate rate on yarns and cloths was finally adopted. Of course, it was stoutly denied that any considerations of protection to Southern mills governed the conferees in this case, who claimed to be guided by a desire to secure sufficient revenue. It is unfortunate that the very Senators who opposed an increase of 3 per cent. (from 7 per cent. to 10 per cent.) in the tax on incomes of a million dollars and over, as proposed by the progressive Senators, on the ground that it would be a punitive tax on wealth, found it more equitable to add 5 per cent. to the highest Hill rate on the one class of commodities which enter more than any other into the clothing of the great masses of the people.

Taking some of the other important commodities in the cotton schedule, hosiery has been made dutiable at 30 and 50 per cent. ad valorem, as against 30 per cent. to 93½ per cent. under the Payne law and 20 to 60 per cent. under the Hill bill. The Tariff Board investigation showed that in the cheaper grades of hosiery, known commercially as seamless, we excel the world. This kind of hosiery is being manufactured in the South in rapidly growing quantities at extremely low cost. The Hill bill fixed the duty at 20 per cent. as an amply protective rate. The Underwood bill provided a rate twice as high, but it was reduced in the Senate to 30 per cent., which is still 50 per cent. higher than the Hill rate.

Knit underwear has been made dutiable at 30 per cent., as against rates ranging from 50 to nearly 64 per cent. under the Payne law, and at from 20 to 45 per cent. in the Hill bill. While the Hill rates appear to range higher than the Underwood, it should be noted that they are much lower on the cheaper grades, exceeding the Underwood rates only on higher-priced garments. This is more just considering the greater ability of the well-to-do consumer to bear the burden of taxation. It is also more scientific, since American mills are in a better position to compete with foreign underwear on the cheaper grades than they are on the more expensive. Although the Hill rates never received the sanction of law, they have been cited here as furnishing a fair standard of comparison between a carefully balanced scientific schedule, based upon ascertained facts, and one which is roughly shaped, ill-balanced, allowing extra protection where none is needed, and failing to provide for it where it might be justified; all because of a stubborn refusal to consider the facts in order to be able to cling to a contention that a scientific study of facts need not precede tariff legislation, and, incidentally, to be free to yield to political pressure when necessary.

After all has been said, however, the salient fact stands out that the Payne rates have been reduced throughout the cotton schedule, with the exception of the duties on laces and embroideries, the average rate for the entire schedule having been cut about one-third, viz., from more than 45 per cent., under the Payne law, to about 30 per cent. in the new tariff.

"SCHEDULE K"

The fame of Schedule K has been heralded so far and wide that there is barely a person who reads a daily paper that is not familiar with it. Though declared "indefensible" by President Taft, it emerged from the ordeal of revision in the Payne-Aldrich tariff in practically the same shape in which it has remained for nearly half a century. The chief points of indictment against that schedule in the Tariff Board report were:

(1) The specific duty of 11 cents a pound on practically all clothing wools in their raw condition: this amounted to less than 25 per cent. ad valorem on fine light wools used for

expensive cloths and all the way from about 40 to 500 per cent. on the coarse dirt and grease-laden wools used for the poor man's clothes.

(2) Coupled with this discrimination against the poor man was the discrimination against the woolen industry in favor of the worsted, since the former uses the coarse cheaper wools.

(3) The compound duties on cloths, consisting of a combination of specific and ad valorem rates allowed an excessive "compensation" to the manufacturer of worsted goods in the shape of a duty of 44 cents per pound of cloth (in addition to a protective duty of 50 to 55 per cent. ad valorem) on the theory that it takes four pounds of wool to make one pound of cloth.

(4) The compensatory duty of 44 cents a pound applied under the old law not only to all-wool cloths, but in the language of the tariff to all cloths "made wholly or in part of wool," even cloths made almost entirely of cotton with a modicum of wool or shoddy thrown in, thus making the compound duty amount to as much as 150 per cent. and over.

All of these evils, together with many others which sprang from them, have been swept off the statute-books by the new law. The straight ad valorem rate of 15 per cent. on all clothing wools originally provided in the Underwood bill would have removed the discrimination against the woolen goods industry in favor of the worsted. But it is the far-sighted wisdom and unswerving courage of President Wilson that the country is indebted to for the blessing of free wool. If the report of the Tariff Board on raw wool prepared directly by men closely connected with the raw wool industry is any guide to the situation, the abolition of all duties on raw wool will not only prove a boon to the manufacturing industry, but also should result in the adoption of modern methods throughout the wool-growing States, which will make that industry as independent of tariffs as it has been made in those parts of the country where these methods have been adopted.

By removing the duty on wool, the framers of the tariff were able to make a radical cut in the duties on cloths which have been fixed at a uniform rate of 35 per cent. ad valorem as against 90 to 152 per cent. under the Payne law; on clothing the duties have likewise been fixed at 35 per cent. as compared with 75 per cent. under the old tariff; on flannels at 25 to 30 per cent. as against 75 to 110 per cent. under the old law; on hosiery and knitted underwear, at 30 to 40 per cent. ad valorem as against 93 to 100 per cent., the former rate; on carpets, at 20 to 35 per cent., as against 50 to nearly 70 per cent. under the Payne tariff; on fine rugs the duty of 50 per cent. is but slightly less than it was under the old tariff; while on blankets the old rates ranging from 68 per cent. to more than 200 per cent. have been reduced to 25 per cent.

A far-reaching change in the phraseology of the law, one which the progressives vainly contended for when the Payne bill was under consideration in Congress, is the elimination of the phrase "made wholly or *in part* of wool" and the substitution in its place of the expression "wholly or *in chief value* of wool" which will make a cloth made three-fourth of cotton and only one-fourth of wool in value, dutiable under the cotton schedule.

It is regrettable that the list of these splendid achievements cannot be closed without reference to sectional favoritism shown at first in the House to mohair, a Texas product of the Angora goat variety, on which the duty was fixed at 20 per cent., with a proportionate increase of rates on its manufactures. The Senate eliminated these duties, and once more was the rule of adopting the lower rate of the two houses broken in favor of a Southern product, the conference adopting a rate of 15 per cent. on mohair and 45 per cent. on its most highly finished product.

Like the cotton schedule, Schedule K is ill-balanced, allowing on the one hand higher protection on intermediate products, like tops, than was done in Republican bills based on the Tariff Board report, and on the other allowing insufficient duties on more advanced products, like yarns. On the whole, the Democratic party has more than redeemed its pre-election pledge to the people to reform Schedule K, subjecting it to a more drastic, perhaps too sudden, a change than any other schedule of the tariff.

The silk schedule has been regarded by the tariff makers as one dealing with luxuries and the reductions of duty, so far as made at all, have not been as large as elsewhere. To the credit of Mr. Underwood be it said, the House bill simplified the schedule greatly, completely doing away with the bewildering classification first embodied in the tariff through the Payne bill, and substituted ad valorem rates for specific. The Senate, however, restored largely the old classification along with specific rates, in some cases pro-

hibitive. In practically every instance the conference restored the House classification and rates which will result in a reduction of about 5 to 10 per cent. ad valorem from the Payne duties.

SCHEDULE J—FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE PRODUCTS

In this schedule the House and Senate reversed the roles they played in the case of the silk schedule. The old rates on flax and hemp ranging from $20 to $67.20 per ton were even more indefensible from either a protective or revenue standpoint than the duties on raw wool. The House bill reduced those rates. The Senate took a blue pencil and struck every one of the raw products from the dutiable list. The duties on the manufactured products were still further reduced. The conference followed its usual course and adopted the lower rates throughout the schedule along with the free-listing of the raw materials. The rates adopted will be the lowest since the Civil War. Linen cloth will be dutiable at 30 per cent., a reduction of about 40 per cent. from the old rates; jute fabrics, at 40 per cent., a reduction of one-third of the old rates; linen handkerchiefs, at 35 per cent. to 40 per cent., a reduction of about one-third from the old rates; linoleum and oil cloth, at 20 per cent. to 30 per cent., a reduction of 25 to 50 per cent.; upholstery goods, at 35 per cent., a reduction of nearly a fourth.

SCHEDULE G—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

True to their promise to reduce the cost of things that go into the market basket, the Democrats reduced the duty on practically every article of food and, in addition, have placed a number of important commodities under this schedule on the free list; in the case of some of these products the effect of their free admission will probably remain imperceptible for many years, while others have been imported in considerable quantities even when dutiable under the old tariff. Among the latter are fresh, salted, smoked, and similarly preserved fish which were imported in 1912 to the extent of eight and one-half million dollars' worth at duties ranging from less than 7 to more than 21 per cent. ad valorem; meats and meat products of all kinds, of which more than a million dollars' worth was imported last year subject to an average duty of about 23 per cent. ad valorem; milk and cream of which we imported nearly a million dollars' worth last year, in spite of a duty of 5 cents a gallon on cream and 2 cents on milk; wheat of which nearly a million dollars' worth was imported under a rate of 25 cents per bushel; and, last, but not least, potatoes which are so much more expensive in this country as compared with some crowded and land-hungry countries of Europe and of which we imported more than seven million dollars' worth last year in spite of a heavy duty of 25 cents per bushel, which amounted to 50 per cent. ad valorem.

All of these quantities, while fairly large in themselves, sink into insignificance when compared with the volume of domestic production and do not justify the absurd fear that foreign produce will put our farmers out of business; but the mere fact that they can be imported free of duty may have a beneficial effect on prices charged to consumers by produce dealers in the cities near the Canadian border and along the sea coast. To the list of products ready for consumption, the Senate added, as a measure of compensating justice to the farmer, the free admission of all food animals. This should prove of great value to our cattle and sheep growers and will enable them to take their herds for fattening into the rich pastures of Mexico and Canada, reserving our more valuable lands for the more profitable products of the soil. Last year, in spite of a duty of 27½ per cent. ad valorem, nearly four and one half million dollars' worth of cattle was imported.

A condition has been attached to the free admission of wheat, flour and potatoes which will greatly reduce its possibilities: the law, as finally passed, provides for the free admission of these products only from such countries as admit the same products free of duty from the United States. This will shut out the countries from which most of the imports could be expected, such as Canada, Australia and Argentina. Russia happens to have no tariff on these products and will, therefore, be entitled to preferential treatment until these countries reform their tariff in that regard, which is very probable. The total value of the imports in 1912 of the agricultural products now made free of duty was about twenty-five million dollars, and the average duty for the entire schedule has been reduced from nearly 29 per cent. under the old tariff to about 15 per cent. ad valorem under the new.

SUGAR

No change in the tariff will have a more radical effect on the Government revenue

than the repeal of the duty on sugar, which furnished more than fifty million dollars in duties to the National Treasury under the old tariff, being the most prolific single source of revenue in the entire tariff.

While the combined efforts of the Louisiana cane-growers and Western beet-sugar refiners to retain sugar on the dutiable list proved ineffective against the steadfast purpose of the President, nevertheless Southern influence was strong enough to secure a concession which the wool-growing States of the West vainly sought: the free admission of sugar is not to take effect until May 1, 1916, the industry thus getting a respite of nearly three years in which to adjust itself to the new conditions. All efforts to postpone the reform until after the Presidential election of 1916 failed. In the meantime the duty on sugar is reduced nearly one-half after next March. To the Progressive Republicans in the Senate, and to Senator Bristow in particular, belongs the credit of having forced the immediate elimination of the Dutch standard test, which should put within reach of American confectioners and fruit canners, as well as housewives, the cheap brown sugars which are just as wholesome as the white. Another change which takes effect immediately is the free admission of sugar from the Philippine Islands, without restriction as to quantity which existed under the Payne Tariff.

TOBACCO, SPIRITS, AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Schedule F, covering tobacco and its manufactures, has been left practically unchanged, and will continue to furnish an annual revenue of more than $25,000,000, in addition to more than $70,000,000 derived from internal taxation of the weed.

Schedule H has been left unchanged, so far as alcoholic beverages are concerned, while the duty on ginger-ale and soda water has been reduced by one-third, and on mineral waters of all kinds has been cut in two. The revenue derived from this schedule exceeded $17,000,000 last year and may be expected to continue to increase at a moderate rate in the light of past experience.

SCHEDULE B—EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE

Practically everything in this schedule has been reduced, the reductions being more or less proportional to the extent to which the articles are used by the people. Thus, common yellow and brown earthenware is made dutiable at 15 to 20 per cent. ad valorem, which is a reduction of from 40 to 50 per cent. from the old rates; Rockingham earthenware at 30 per cent., a reduction of one-fourth from the old rate; while the duty of 60 per cent. on fine porcelain has been reduced only to 55 per cent. The old duty of 60 per cent. on glass goblets has been cut in two, and on glass bottles to 45 per cent. The duty on common window glass has been reduced from one-third to one-half of the old rates. As the latter varied from 38 to 118 per cent. ad valorem, the new rates will not be very low. Similar reductions have been made on other manufactures of glass, such as eyeglasses, microscopes, surveying instruments, etc. The consumer will not be alone to benefit by the reduced rates, for everything under this schedule used in the arts and industries has been either reduced in duty or placed on the free list. Among the latter are cement, asphaltum, bitumen, granite, and other varieties of stone not used for building or ornamental purposes, while among the articles on which duties have been reduced are bricks, tiles, lime, fuller's earth, clay, and all crude materials entering into the manufacture of earthenware; crucibles, carbons for electric lighting purposes are reduced in duty from 10 to 50 per cent. of the old rates. The average rate for the entire schedule is reduced, according to the Senate estimate, to 32 per cent., as against 50 per cent. under the old tariff.

CHEMICALS AND METALS

Schedules A (chemicals) and C (metals) are taken here together, because both deal largely with products which are used by the manufacturers and farmers.

A large number of products have been placed on the free list. How far-reaching this change has been will be appreciated from the fact that the imports of these articles last year, while they were subject to the payment of duty, exceeded, at least, fifteen million dollars. The removal of duty on some of these will have no effect, since they are produced exclusively or chiefly in the United States. Among these are such highly finished articles as typewriters, cash registers, typesetting machines, and sewing machines. Others, like sulphuric acid, cannot be imported on account of difficulties in transportation. But the reduction on most of them will surely benefit the industries and the ultimate consumer. A large variety of chemicals, colors, and dyes placed on the free list, and the reduction of duty on textile machinery

from 45 per cent. under the old tariff to 20 per cent., will more than offset the partial loss of protection on textiles. So will free shoe manufacturing machines and shoe machine needles, together with free leather, and free tanning extracts, compensate the shoe manufacturers for free shoes.

In turn, the manufacturers of textile and other machinery will find themselves compensated by the removal to the free list of such basic products as iron ore, pig-iron, wrought-iron, steel ingots, ferromanganese, and heavy reductions of duty (many of them amounting to 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. from the old rates) on more finished products, like iron rods, iron and steel castings, steel plates, forgings, antifriction balls, hammered plates of iron, copper, and steel, steel bars, screws, and rivets, axles, and tools of every kind.

The farmer will be grateful for free barb wire for his fences, wire for baling hay, hoop and band iron, horseshoe and other nails, and for fertilizers, cream separators, agricultural machinery and implements of every kind, including wagons and carts, and, together with all other consumers, should get the benefit of the heavy reductions of duty on cutlery (to 30 per cent. ad valorem), saws (12 per cent.), low-priced automobiles (15 per cent.), shotguns (15 to 35 per cent.), needles and pins (20 per cent.), hooks and eyes and metal buttons (15 per cent.), gas mantles (25 per cent.), watch movements (30 per cent.), most of which are from one-third to one-half below the old rates.

A large beneficiary of the reduced rates under the metal schedule will be the railroads, who will have the benefit of free railway bars, ingots for wheels, and greatly reduced rates on railway wheels (20 per cent.), railway fishplates (10 per cent.), engines and cars. Of all consumers, the railways will probably be in the strongest position to get the benefit of the reduced rates on account of the enormous quantities in which they could buy things abroad to compel reductions at home. This may go far toward compensating them for the increased operating costs of which all railways are complaining to-day.

Finally, the free-listing of sugar-making machinery and of beet and sugar-cane machinery, which goes into effect at once, should help the sugar-beet grower in the West, the cane-sugar grower in the South, and the sugar refiner to put their houses in order for free sugar three years hence.

The average duty for the entire Schedule C, according to the Senate estimates, is cut in two, from 35 per cent. under the old tariff to 18 per cent. under the new. The average for the chemical schedule is reduced from about 26 per cent. ad valorem to 19 per cent.

SCHEDULE D—WOOD AND WOODENWARE

Most of the articles coming under this schedule have been greatly reduced, the reductions amounting all the way from 25 per cent. to 60 per cent. Household furniture has been reduced from 35 per cent. under the old law to 15 per cent. The same change applies to other manufactures of wood. Willow furniture has been reduced from 45 per cent. under the old law to 25 per cent. Porch and window blinds, baskets, shades, and screens made of wood, straw, and the like, have been reduced from 35 to 20 per cent.

Last, but not least, timber, lumber, staves, shingles, pickets, and palings, boards, planks, and wooden parts used in the construction of wagons, boats, and buildings have been placed on the free list. More than $24,000,000 worth of these products were imported last year, subject to the payment of duty, and the importations will, no doubt, greatly increase with the duty removed, especially importations from Canada.

SCHEDULE M—PAPER

Wood pulp and rag pulp for the manufacture of paper and printing paper not exceeding two and one-half cents per pound in value have been put on the free list. The provision put in the House bill, making the free admission of these articles inoperative when imported from countries levying export duties on these products, which was aimed at Canada, was stricken out.

Nearly everything else under this schedule has been reduced, the reduced rates ranging from 5 to 35 per cent. ad valorem. A few articles have been advanced, among these being articles of paper printed by the photogelatine process, landscape views of certain size, and playing cards, the duty on the latter having been raised to 60 per cent.

SCHEDULE N—SUNDRIES

The duties on most of the articles under this schedule have been reduced and totally abolished on a number of articles of great importance. Among the latter are coal and coke, of which New England will be the chief beneficiary; boots and shoes, gloves

made of horse hides, pigskin and cattle hides, harness, leather, blasting powder for use in mines, gunpowder.

Manufactures of straw, including straw hats, are made dutiable at 25 per cent.; manufactures of india-rubber have been reduced from 35 per cent. under the old tariff to 10 and 15 per cent.; whalebone manufactures have been reduced from 35 to 20 per cent.; combs, from 50 to 25 per cent.; manufactures of plaster of Paris, from 35 to 25 per cent., which is also true of goods made of papier mache and of vulcanized rubber; musical instruments will pay 35 per cent., instead of 45 per cent., under the old law; original works of art have been placed on the free list, without restriction as to their age, while reproductions are made dutiable at 15 per cent. ad valorem. The duty on umbrellas has been reduced from 50 to 35 per cent. ad valorem, and that on leather gloves has been reduced from an average of 44 per cent. to about 32 per cent., an average reduction of from one-fifth to one-fourth of the old rates.

CHILD LABOR CLAUSE

Through the efforts of Senator Hughes, of New Jersey, the Senate Finance Committee adopted a clause prohibiting the importation of goods made by child labor. The provision was drawn substantially on the lines of the prohibition of importation of convict-made goods, which was embodied in the Payne Tariff. As reported to the Caucus by the Finance Committee, the clause prohibited the importation of goods "manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor, or by children under fourteen years of age." Strong opposition was manifested in the caucus to the child labor feature of the clause by Southern Senators, and the clause was emasculated by adding the qualifying words printed below in italics: "manufactured . . . *principally by* children under fourteen years of age *in countries where there are no laws regulating child labor.*" This left the door wide open to evasion of the prohibition. But even this was too much for the Southern members, who feared invidious comparisons with their own child labor laws and the possibility of having shut out jute bagging used for baling cotton, which is made largely by child labor in India; and the child-labor part of the prohibition was entirely eliminated in conference.

SUMMARY

An examination of practically all the changes in rates shows 938 reductions of duty, 86 increases, and 307 rates unchanged. This is a fair epitome of the changes just enacted by Congress. Fifty-one of the 86 increases fall in the chemical schedule. Most of the increases in this schedule affect balsams and essential oils used in the manufacture of perfumes, and were justified on the ground that perfumes into which they enter will enjoy the extraordinary high duty of 75 per cent., being a luxury containing alcohol. The other increases affect mostly articles classed as luxuries by the authors of the tariff, such as perfumes, gold and silver wares, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, manufactures of fur, some varieties of nuts from the tropics, spices, etc.

Most of the rates left unchanged fall in the tobacco, spirits, chemical, agricultural, and sundry schedules. Included in the latter are laces, embroideries and dress trimmings, which are regarded as luxuries and will continue to be dutiable at 60 per cent. ad valorem.

Much confusion will prevail from the loose and unscientific classification and wording of many provisions of the new law. These will find no solution except through the painful and costly settlement of the vexing questions by the courts.

Space will not permit of discussing the administrative features of the law, which have gained added importance through the great extension of the ad valorem system of duties; the clauses dealing with further reductions of duty through reciprocity and with retaliatory duties against foreign discrimination, as well as the section relating to the income tax can not be discussed at present for the same reason.

It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the aggregate tariff reduction in terms of the probable falling off of revenue. The so-called estimates of the House and Senate committees are mere guesswork. Nor is it necessary to engage in this pastime in order to gain a proper appreciation of the character of the change. The test of the new tariff will lie in the extent to which increased foreign competition will be met by reduced prices at home granted to the consumer not at the expense of reduced wages, but through increased efficiency of self-sustaining industries.



DR. KATHERINE M. H. BLACKFORD AMONG THE "HOLY MEN" OF BENARES
(Dr. Blackford has made a tour of eighteen foreign countries, studying races in their native environment)

A SCIENTIFIC EMPLOYMENT PLAN

BY BURTON J. HENDRICK

IF you are an employer of labor, skilled or unskilled, you are constantly embarrassed by the difficulty of finding the particular man for the particular job. This personal problem has always made miserable the daily life of the average business man, though probably it has never been so pressing as it is now. The mechanics of modern industrialism is rapidly becoming a finished art. In themselves, however, the beautifully spun methods of efficiency engineers are so much ink and paper; the human element in these, as in everything, is the essential. How many office and factory executives, however, who have elaborated the most detailed systems for the dead, inert machinery of their business, have any rational methods for engaging and discharging men?

You hired an important department head to-day—perhaps a comptroller, a chief accountant; can you give me any reasonable explanation of why you selected this particular man? Before you engaged him had you clearly analyzed in your own mind the precise qualifications which he should possess? Did you take him because he bore letters of recommendation from a previous employer—one who, in all likelihood, had "let him out"? Or did you put him on the pay-roll because he was a nephew of the president, because the immediate need of a man was pressing and some one had to be put to work? Were you reasonably sure, when you concluded arrangements, that you had hit upon the indispensable man, or did you merely take your chances, mentally resolving to "give him a trial" and to let him go after a a month or two, if he failed to meet the requirements?

THE OLD WAY,—"HIRING AND FIRING"

Being a successful typical up-to-date American business man, you probably did not engage this candidate, or any of the hundreds of others who pass through your hands in the course of a year, with any deliberation at all. The prevailing hit-or-miss system is good enough for you. "Hiring and firing" is still the generally accepted rule. The average factory to-day employing, for example, 6000 men engages at least 2000 new employees every year; in other words, it changes completely the personnel every three years. In one specific case, 26,000 men are hired yearly to maintain a force of 8000. Every day a crowd of a hundred or two men gather before the doors—laborers, skilled workmen, office-boys, typewriters, clerks, accountants, prospective executives and department heads. A group of puffed-up foremen usually spend the better part of the day cross-

examining these hungry applicants. Occasionally they pick out a really serviceable man; the fact that the force is constantly changing, however, shows that, in the great majority of cases, they guess badly.

The financial losses that result from this failure to get the right men for the right jobs, paying large sums of money that men may demonstrate their incapacity, are enormous annual charges upon industrialism. Modern business does not waste money like this upon its other essential items. It figures out precisely the materials that go into its product, makes precise specifications, and accepts no substitutes. It takes no chances upon these factors—gives them no "trials." The steel manufacturer does not test his armor-plate by building a fleet of battleships; this is essentially what the average manufacturer does, however, in his selection of human material. Under modern methods, that is the one item that makes or mars any system of "efficiency"—the selection of the particular people who are to work it is still left largely to the laws of chance.

THE IDEAL WAY,—FILLING SPECIFICATIONS

Just imagine for a moment, however, what the situation would be if, whenever the business needed a man for a particular place, it was able to put its finger upon him; if, instead of trying out half a dozen candidates, the really suitable person immediately appeared. Under this ideal system the factory or bank or commercial house would have a specially trained expert known as the "employment supervisor." His business—or her business, for women seem especially fitted for this work—would be to supply men and women as the demand arose. The foremen and the executive heads would no longer examine applicants for jobs, but spend all their time exclusively in attending to their departments. Whenever one of these department heads needed a man or woman he would simply, under this utopian system, fill out a blank and forward it to the employment supervisor. In this blank he would make his specifications, telling the kind of place he needed filled and the qualifications the person should have to fill it—just as if he were ordering a particular kind of steel. With that his responsibility would end; it would become the duty of the employment supervisor to fill the order. In a day or two, a person exactly fulfilling the specifications would present himself. He would at once start to work; there would be no initial hesitation, no unfamiliarity with the job, no expensive blunderings; at once the position, in the person of its new occupant, would be rendering its highest service to the organization. A missing or broken part of the automobile has been replaced and the machine speeds along as rapidly and as rhythmically as before! Unquestionably the realization of such a dream would make business an exact science.

STUDYING INDIVIDUALS

For the last ten or fifteen years Dr. Katherine M. H. Blackford has been working upon this problem. She has made detailed and recorded observations upon 12,000 individuals, and has studied general characteristics in many thousands more. After years of research and investigation in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, she made a tour of eighteen foreign countries, studying many races in their native environment. She has been retained in an advisory capacity by many employers and has given vocational counsel to thousands of young men and young women. Based upon her conclusions, she has elaborated a plan for testing the abilities and character of men and women. As a result she has developed a new method of employment. According to Dr. Blackford, every individual wears the external evidences of his fundamental traits. None of us can be really secretive about ourselves; we wear not only our hearts upon our sleeves, but our characters and aptitudes; every motion we make, every line of the body, every passing expression in the face are self-revealing signs, open to the interpretation of those who can read them.

EXAMINING APPLICANTS

An applicant for a position at a factory which has installed the Blackford plan is not received by the majestic office-boy or briefly exalted clerk. He is not told that there is "nothing doing to-day," that "the boss is busy," or encouraged to "leave his name and address," and perhaps "to call around next week." He is not even referred to the foreman or department head. His attention is called to a door labelled "Employment Department"; he pushes it open and walks in. Here he finds a miscellaneous assortment of manifest capacity, intelligence, industry, sobriety, alongside of similarly evident stupidity, shiftlessness, and vice. In spite of their somewhat variegated appearance, these men, women, and children are actually human beings; moreover, they are at present engaged in an absorbing and vital occupation —the pursuit of a job. For many, it is the

first application, and therefore an event that marks an epoch; for others it represents a new start in life, often, perhaps, after a succession of failures; a new position may mean a new-dawning hope and perhaps a career of social usefulness. The Blackford plan differs from the usual haphazard method in that it recognizes these facts.

The applicants for minor positions in both office and factory are examined one by one by the employment supervisor's trained assistants. This examination is conducted in a friendly, helpful manner, the object of which is not only to ascertain the personal qualifications and experience of the applicant, but also to put him at his ease and to make him feel that every opportunity is being given him to express himself at his best.

In a private office, not far away, is the employment supervisor, the head of the department. He devotes his time to the executive work of the department, directing the activities not only of his assistants who examine applicants in person, but of those who handle applications that come in by mail. He also supervises the work of those who keep the records and perform the routine duties of the office. In addition, he examines applicants for the higher positions—chief accountants, auditors, department heads, even officials of such high rank as treasurers and vice-presidents.

THE FOUR FUNDAMENTALS

Each man, as he walks into the room and takes his seat before either assistants or supervisor, gives certain external evidences not only of his fitness or unfitness in general, but of his fitness for any particular position. According to the Blackford plan, there are four fundamental and indispensable qualifications, a total lack or a serious lack of any one of which disqualifies a man for any position. These are health, intelligence, honesty, and industry. And it is for evidences of the degree in which the applicant possesses each of these four fundamentals that the examiner first looks. The practiced eye immediately detects the condition of an applicant's health. The examiner looks into his eyes. If they are dull, leaden, and listless and show yellow instead of white, he may fairly conclude that there is something wrong. He glances at his finger-nails to see whether the pink shows clearly underneath. There are numerous other surface indications—extreme pallor, bad teeth, a husky voice, pale or blue lips—that argue against the highest personal efficiency. The nervous man betrays the fact in numerous ways. The yellow tips of the fingers disclose at once the youth addicted to cigarettes.

The applicant's intelligence is manifested by the expression of his eyes, the readiness with which he answers questions, the pointedness of his replies, and other easily observed indications.

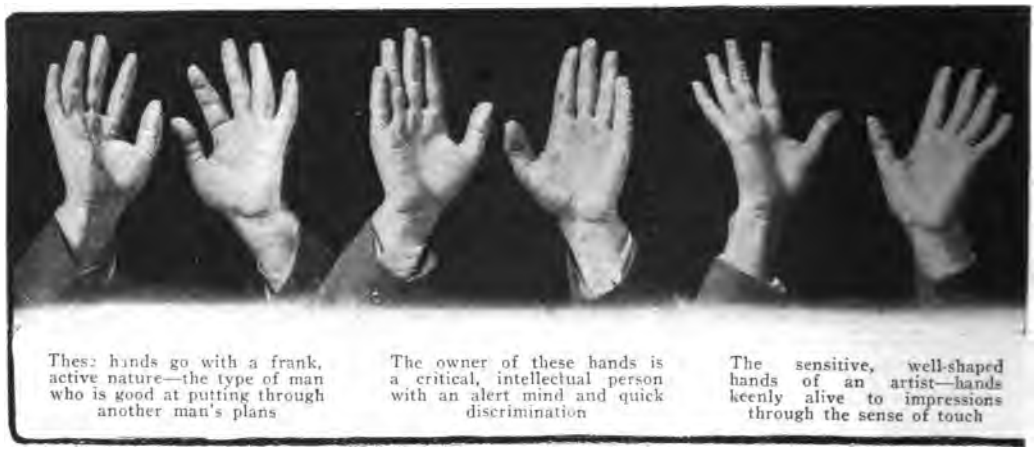
Honesty is rather a complex virtue, being composed not only of honest intent but of a sense of justice, mental and physical ability to perform one's honest intentions, and sufficient moral and physical courage to face consequences. The indications of honesty in any man are therefore complex, and any attempt to pass judgment upon this particular phase of his character without taking all of them into consideration, according to Dr. Blackford, will be liable to grave error. A man's honesty or dishonesty shows itself in the expression of his eyes and mouth, in his gait as he enters the room, in his manner of gesture and speech, and in other ways.

The basis of industry is physical energy on the one hand and physical endurance on the other. Physical energy is the result, in a large measure, of the amount of oxygen taken into the lungs. A large nose and wide-open nostrils may not add especially to physical beauty, but they usually indicate abundant oxygenation and consequent positive physical energy. Physical endurance depends upon strong, steady heart action and accompanying staying qualities in the nervous organization. To the eye of the practised observer these also have their numerous, easily-detected external signs.

Having determined that the applicant has the four fundamental qualifications necessary in sufficient degree to make him a desirable asset, the next step is to ascertain just what place in the organization he is best fitted by nature and training to fill. The supervisor observes, therefore, everything about the man, for, according to Dr. Blackford, no detail in a man's physical appearance and behavior is negligible. Each is an unfailing indication of some inherent or acquired trait of character, and, taken together with other indications and intelligently interpreted, gives one an accurate knowledge of the man as he really is.

CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES

Dr. Blackford and those who have been trained by her observe men and women with reference to nine fundamental attributes: texture, size, form, color, structure, proportion, consistency, expression, and experience.



These hands go with a frank, active nature—the type of man who is good at putting through another man's plans

The owner of these hands is a critical, intellectual person with an alert mind and quick discrimination

The sensitive, well-shaped hands of an artist—hands keenly alive to impressions through the sense of touch

JUDGING CHARACTER

The individual of fine texture is sensitive and responsive. He loves beauty. He will not work happily and efficiently in the midst of coarse, unlovely, harsh surroundings; nor will he be at his best handling coarse, heavy, unbeautiful tools or materials. He likes to handle silks and satins, objects of art, jewelry, delicate, light, and artistic work. The next man to be examined may be of coarse texture; his hair, skin, features, hands, and body generally, as well as his clothing and manner of speech, all indicating that he is of the "rough-and-ready" type. He is not sensitive and he can work happily and efficiently in the midst of dirt and grime. He handles with vigor and effectiveness heavy, unrefined materials and massive machinery.

Size is one of the most easily observable of all a man's physical attributes, and the place a man should occupy and the work he can do with relation to his size ought to be too obvious for comment. It is a fact, however, you can demonstrate for yourself by visiting any factory, that foremen sometimes put little, spider-like men at work handling big trucks to the mutual disadvantage of both employer and employee. Tall men are hired to do work that requires constant stooping; short men for jobs where they have to reach up, stretching themselves to the point of discomfort and exhaustion.

In form the individual may be either all angles, straight lines, or all roundness and curves. The angular person as a general rule has an angular profile, or, to use Dr. Blackford's expression, a convex profile. This is one in which the forehead and chin recede, leaving the large and somewhat pointed nose prominent. The rounded and curved person usually has a blunt or rounded face, or what Dr. Blackford calls a concave face—one that is prominent chiefly at the top of the forehead and the bottom of the chin, with sway-back or snubbed nose and receding eyes and mouth.

The angular or convex type of man is aggressive, rapid in movement and his mental processes. He goes directly for his goal and does not hesitate to push aside other people in attaining it. He decides questions quickly, even though, as often happens, he decides them wrong. He is practical, matter-of-fact, keen, and alert. He wants to be shown. "Results" is his watchword. Whether his activities are intelligently exercised and whether the results he achieves are worth while and permanent are to him all too often secondary considerations. He is nervous and impulsive, generally speaking. He is inclined to be frank and sharp-spoken to the point of untactfulness. The extreme convex manifests all these characteristics in their extreme form. He is usually in hot water financially, owing to his impulsive errors, he is quarrelsome and uncomfortable, and his marked abilities suffer by reason of his irritability and quick responsiveness, unless this is modified by some other element in his make-up.

A less convex individual manifests all these qualities in a less exaggerated form, according to the degree of his angularity of features. For responsibility and dependableness the concave type is the man. He is deliberate and sure-footed, he plans ahead and never does a thing until he knows what he is going to do. He is not much of a talker, but speaks slowly, mildly, and often theoretically and philosophically. He is mild



TRIANGULAR FACE ROUND FACE SQUARE FACE

and that he possesses a certain degree of self-respect. A thrifty housewife reveals the fact in her own appearance as well as in that of her establishment, and a bookkeeper who keeps his clothes well pressed and makes occasional trips to the barber is more likely than not to balance his books. Loud clothes, startling neckties, flamboyant effects in waistcoats and socks, when they are not merely the stigmata of adolescence, mark a man as vain and self-centered.

We all of us naturally classify people we meet according to the way they shake hands with us. An applicant's handwriting as well as his hand comes under observation. Whether or not we can detect in chirography all the intimate ideas which the experts claim for it, certain traits are unquestionably revealed. Carelessness and painstakingness manifest themselves in the operation. Rapidity in writing as well as rapidity in thinking up the answers to questions displays mental alertness and training. Mere expertness with the pen is also a valuable quality in an applicant for certain positions.

Dr. Blackford believes that there is a great deal in a man's name or a woman's. Certainly one who "parts it in the middle," or one who sonorously writes out all his appellatives in full, gives the observer slight hints on character.

Employment supervisors, under the Blackford plan, sometimes find that an applicant has all of the inherent or natural qualifications and aptitudes necessary for a given position, but that he is deficient in both experience and training. This deficiency shows itself not only in his replies to questions but also by other external evidences easily appraised by the skilled observer.

SELF-ANALYSIS

Dr. Blackford also makes the applicant help analyze himself. After filling out one side of the "Application Blank" with the answers to certain essential questions, the examiner passes it to the applicant, asking him to check off his "positives" and "negatives." He marks against each of the following printed words the adjectives which most clearly apply to himself:

Careful?	Good Memory?
Courteous?	Obedient?
Punctual?	Orderly?
Accurate?	Cheerful?
Industrious?	Patient?
Sober?	Quick?
Careless?	Forgetful?
Discourteous?	Disobedient?
Tardy?	Disorderly?
Inaccurate?	Gloomy?
Lazy?	Impatient?
Intemperate?	Slow?

Aside from whatever value may attach to facts elicited in this way, the applicant throws a certain light upon his character as he checks up this list. Many, of course, content themselves with attributing to themselves all the positive virtues—everything, that is, that will apparently assist them in obtaining the coveted jobs. Others, making a bluff at absolute frankness, accuse themselves of all the faults in the calendar The man or woman, however, who real

the alert, inventive mind; he develops into one of those useful persons recognized as "having ideas." He may be the man whose active suggestions keep the business constantly forging ahead. If he is a lawyer, he is usually the kind known as the "consultant"; he cuts a poor figure as a judge, but he is an expert at writing briefs, knows all the precedents for a hundred years back, and usually furnishes the court the points upon which it decides the case. As a medical man, he is the scientist with the eye constantly glued on the microscope. He can discover new things for others to do and even tell them how to do them.

"THE MAN WHO DOES THINGS"

Just as the brain and nervous systems are highly developed by activity, so is the muscular and bony system. The whole make-up of the man who "does things" suggests activity. Muscularity is his predominant physical capital. His face is square rather than triangular. Upon the body there is little surplus flesh. It is broadest at the squarely-set shoulders, from which it tapers to the feet. Whenever the position demands activity and the ability to ride over obstacles directly to the goal, the motive type is your man. With other necessary qualifications, he makes an excellent traveling salesman. His qualities are likely to find expression in agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, and construction. Professionally, when other characteristics so incline him, he makes an excellent engineer, surgeon, and inventor. Men who drive racing automobiles or skim the skies in aeroplanes, baseball players and all other athletes, prizefighters and horsemen, all belong to this active type. Army and navy officers, sea captains, and explorers also come under this head.

Physicians maintain that a man's vitality and recuperative powers depend upon the soundness and reliability of his digestion. A man in whom the processes of digestion and assimilation are vigorous and in a sense predominant, tends to roundness of face and figure. His largest measurement is about the girt. His conspicuous physical characteristics are the protuberant abdomen, the stout legs, the round, abundantly filled-out face, perhaps even the suggestion of a double chin. Mobility is not his leading characteristic. He moves slowly, is not given to exercise, prefers to sit in a well-upholstered chair before his desk and issue instructions. If he does go in for out-of-door sports, his enthusiasms are not hunting or mountain-climbing; his athletic ideal is golf. He frequently has the corresponding social attractions; he is good-natured, enjoys the society of his kind, loves to tell and hear a funny story, and oftentimes is endowed with a laugh that is fairly Olympian. From all this it does not follow that the stout man is necessarily ineffective. As a matter of fact, efficiency of a particular kind frequently goes with the character. Great judges are more often than not representatives of this type. Bank presidents, the heads of large corporations, can be commonly classified in this division. In less exalted business positions, we find these men among butchers, grocery-store capitalists, or thrifty German delicatessen proprietors. In an office, the best executives are often of this type. Such men are slow-going but sure.

HOW QUALITIES ARE INDICATED

Proportion, according to Dr. Blackford's classification of external signs of character, refers to head shape and the relative development of the different sections of the face. The high-headed man, as every casual observer knows, is idealistic and aspiring. The wide-headed man is aggressive and destructive. The square-headed man is prudent and careful. The round-headed man is impulsive and reckless. The long-headed man is far-seeing, and the short-headed man short-sighted.

Hardness, softness, or elasticity of body consistency, rigidity and pliability of hands and body are valuable indices of similar mental traits. The man whose body is hard in consistency is hard-headed, energetic, determined. The man with soft consistency of body is impressionable and vacillating; while the man of elastic consistency is normal in all these respects.

Expression is observed in many important details besides the expression of the face. The way an applicant enters the room, in itself, is eloquent of character. A shambling gait may indicate a lack of confidence in himself; a bold, heroic stride may signify mere brazen assurance; a quick, quiet, businesslike step usually accompanies the corresponding mental qualities. Clothes and the condition of the body, like the appearance of one's desk, give valuable indications of the character and habits of the man. Neat and well-brushed exteriors are not necessarily the signs of marked abilities—some of the ablest men, as we all know, have shamefully neglected their wardrobes—but they do mean that the wearer is painstaking and systematic



TRIANGULAR FACE ROUND FACE SQUARE FACE

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makes a serious attempt at self-analysis is easily detected—and the possession of a healthy sense of introspection is recognized as a desirable quality.

QUESTIONS PUT TO THE APPLICANT

The friendly inquiries that now follow go deep into the heart of the matter. There is a set of regular questions, the replies to which are made a permanent record. Is the applicant single or married? A married man, of course, is likely to have greater stability, to be more anxious to keep his job, than a bachelor. How many people are dependent upon him for support? A man who is supporting his father and mother, or perhaps educating a minor brother or sister, has traits of character that would be useful to any business house. What is the applicant's nationality? If the employer is looking for trouble, one of the best ways to get it is to put northern and southern Italians in the same gang.

"How much time have you lost by sickness during the past five years? What was the nature of your illness?"

Here is a question that may certainly lead to valuable information. No business house can use an invalid—constant colds, attacks of the grippe, and other minor ailments signifying that he will be absent from work a considerable part of the time. It is possible in this way to discover and to exclude a source of infection that might threaten an entire factory.

"In what places have you lived?"

A record of an applicant's wanderings for the preceding five or ten years is in itself a fairly complete analysis of his character. In each instance the supervisor learns why he left his place, for there is a marked difference between a man who is repeatedly "fired" and one who leaves in order to climb the industrial ladder. That a man has been discharged, however, does not necessarily count against him in the Blackford plan, for it recognizes that, as long as the present hit-or-miss method of employment prevails, good men are constantly "let out" and worthless men are constantly promoted. Frequent changes often signify merely that a man is restlessly moving around in search of his niche.

There are other important questions, replies to which are carefully recorded.

The blank containing this personal record, furnished by the applicant himself, is known as the "application." It is carefully filed away. Accompanying it is another called the "Analysis." This contains the supervisor's own judgment. There is little pertaining to the applicant's physical or mental make-up that is not down here in black and white. The color of his hair, eyes, and skin, the convexity or concavity of his separate features, the structure of his type, the capacity of his intellect, the texture of his skin, the shape of his head and his hand, the healthfulness and probable endurance of his body, the condition of his dress—all these are written out in detail. At the bottom the supervisor writes his conclusions; tells whether the man is lazy or energetic, whether he is intelligent or stupid, honest or dishonest, likely to be loyal to his employer or a trouble-maker, and also specifies in great detail the kind of position he can fill and the salary he in all probability is worth. The fulness with which all this is written out, of course, depends to a certain extent upon the importance of the position the applicant is expected to fill. In making this analysis and arriving at his conclusions the supervisor makes his deductions with judicious carefulness. The following are Dr. Blackford's instructions on this point:

HOW TO CHECK UP AND COMPARE DATA

In your function of employment supervisor and examiner you sit as a judge. You are weighing evidence and deducting conclusions from it. Like an impartial court, you consider only the facts and the laws governing them. Your prejudices do not influence you. You do not jump at conclusions not warranted by the evidence.

Your facts consist of observations of external signs in the body and clothing of the applicant, plus his answers to certain questions. Laws governing these have been outlined in the foregoing pages. Your task is to weigh them in the light of these laws, and from the two deduce a definite, practical conclusion as to the qualifications and possibilities of the applicant.

A few suggestions will aid you in making deductions.

First, bear in mind that any marked characteristic shows itself in many ways. It is therefore never safe to assume that an applicant possesses any quality in strong degree if there is only one indication of it.

Second, remember always that no indication should be misleading. Nature is orderly in her ways—her laws are exact. Dawn is always an indication of sunrise. But the effects of the sunrise are quite different when the sky is overcast with heavy clouds from what they are when the sky is clear. Just so, every sign used in human analysis must be interpreted with reference to other signs present in the individual.

Third, in judging character as in judging cases at the bar of justice, decisions must always be based upon a preponderance of evidence. Any feature or sign of extreme type will counterbalance several modifying signs of only moderate type. For example, a prominent nose, high in

the bridge, is an indication of energy — always. But bad health is an indication of deficient energy. So is a soft hand. All three may occur in the same individual. (Never forget that *any* combination of signs is possible.) An extreme development of the energy section of a face, however, will indicate considerable energy, even if health is only fair and the hands somewhat soft. Similarly, if all indications but one or two agree, the modification effected by these will be comparatively slight.

Fourth, there are no real contradictions in nature. What seem to be such are only apparent and can always be reconciled by careful observation and study. In case of a seeming contradiction, make sure that there has been no mistake in observing and weighing data.



CONVEX FACE CONCAVE FACE

With applications and analyses thus carefully made and filed, the employment supervisor is ready for requisitions from foremen and heads of departments. When one of these sends to the Employment Department his specifications for a particular type of man, the supervisor goes to his records and finds the application of the person who seems most completely to meet the requirements, or finds him perhaps amongst those in the waiting-room; or, if the right man or woman is to be found in neither of these ways, goes on a still hunt for him or her.



COARSE TEXTURE FINE TEXTURE

MR. EMERSON'S COMMENTS

Mr. Harrington Emerson, the efficiency engineer, has studied the Blackford plan in operation. Mr. Emerson has long contended that any system of efficiency that ignored the human element could hardly call itself complete. "Dr. Blackford has installed her plan for me in several instances," says Mr. Emerson, "and it has always enormously increased the efficiency of the force. In one factory employing 6000, an employment department, after the Blackford plan, was installed. It made over the personnel, and with the most satisfactory results. The Blackford judgments of men in this office were fairly amazing in their accuracy. Dr. Blackford herself selected several heads of important departments and recommended the dismissal or transference of others. In all cases her judgments have been sustained by the practical results. The men she picked out—men she had never seen before and knew nothing of, except what she learned by her own ingenious system of analysis—have proved striking successes; a close examination into the work of the men whose dismissal she recommended showed that the facts abundantly justified the theory. In other places the scheme is similarly successful.

"I believe that some practical method of testing human fitness must be evolved if our ideas of efficiency are to be realized. In railroad operation it has been learned that certain kinds of wood, hemlock, for instance, make poor ties, lasting only a few years, while other woods, oak, locust, eucalyptus, last for many years; it has been learned that steel rails made in one way break easily, but made in another way withstand ten times the shock; and that certain men build up from nothing great railroad systems, while other men, when promoted to control, tear down and undermine great existing systems. Very early, before the dawn of history, men had learned that certain woods and plants were valuable, ebony and myrrh, and that certain minerals were valuable, diamonds and rubies, gold and silver, *and that certain men and women were valuable because of their great qualities.*

"There are fundamental traits that are desirable in every human being and failure in any one respect may quite neutralize value in any other respect. As Dr. Blackford points out, a human being should be healthy, intelligent, reliable, and industrious.

"I have had a varied experience in life. I have known intimately many races and nationalities at their best. Of the boys from well-to-do families, in selected families, how many were intelligent, reliable, and industrious? Of the selected and carefully trained soldiers in the German army, how many were intelligent, reliable, and industrious?

"In early manhood I was connected with a bank in one of the most fertile regions of the Central West. Of the great farming population, how many were intelligent, reliable, industrious? It is easy to calculate that 160 bushels of corn to the acre of fertile land, with good weather, is a reasonable standard, but a twelve-year-old boy in the South has raised 243 bushels to the acre. Yet my neighbors considered 40 bushels, an efficiency of 25 per cent., a creditable average.

"It ought to be evident to anyone who stops to reflect that out of 100 men or women an upper fifth is exceedingly good, a middle fifth of high standard, the last fifth very low.

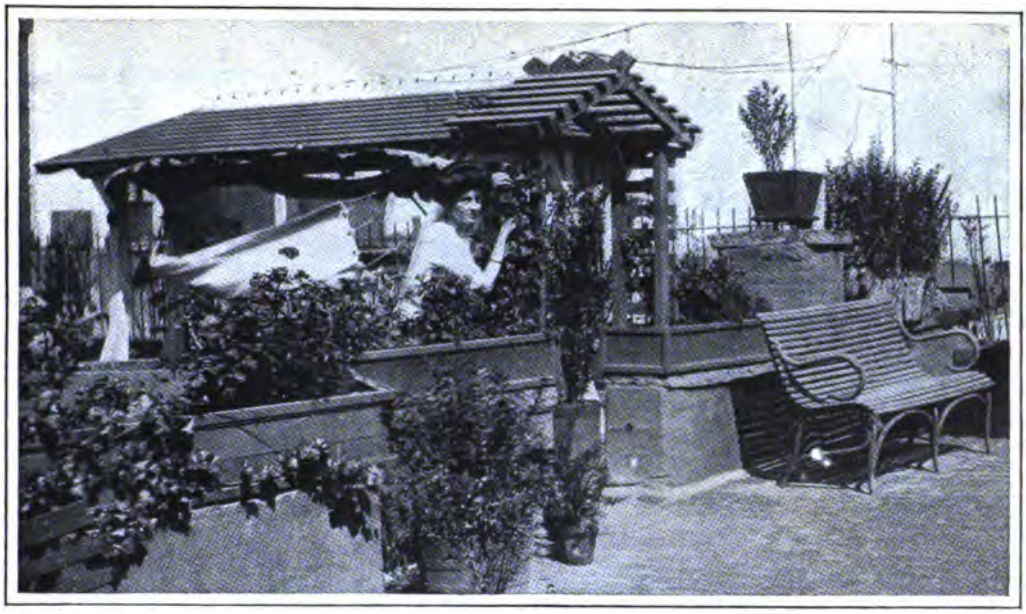
"It has apparently never occurred to anybody that it would be easily possible, and without hardship to anyone, to fill the shop with men of the first class. The lower fifth are generally floaters, here to-day, gone to-morrow, and as they drop out would be replaced with men of the caliber of the first fifth, who are four times as good.

"This substitution would increase shop efficiency 24 per cent. Were the fourth class also gradually replaced, it would tone up the average 42 per cent. This is not a plan of driving anybody, not a plan of imposing unbearable tasks on unfitted men, but merely of substituting the naturally fit for the naturally unfit. The ancient Greeks knew this when they described the unfitness of Achilles masquerading as a girl and the fitness of Achilles leading the Greeks.

"It is one thing to recognize that the aptitudes of men vary immensely, that the chances of having the right man on the job is not one in five; it is another problem to determine how to fill positions with the right men, how to build up men for existing positions, how to plan higher positions and select and build up a new order of men for these positions.

"But it is possible to ascertain to some extent the heredity, the youthful environment and training of applicants for positions, and it is possible to test them as to health, intelligence, reliability, and industry. It has been generally assumed, however, that there is no reliable, simple, and immediate test for the two most important qualifications of all, character and aptitude—character, those inborn traits that manifest themselves even in the new-born baby, and aptitude, that shows itself sometimes in the suckling child.

"For the past years, in connection with my own work, I have been testing practically the skill of character and aptitude readers and the value of their knowledge reduced to method. My company has not hesitated to make many and extensive tests and I am satisfied with the result. The advantages have been: (1) A positive measured determination of the aptitudes and character of a large number of employees, about 2000; (2) the ascertaining in advance that 75 per cent. of them were not adapted to their work; (3) the recognition of misfits in executive departments; (4) the value of unit character of an organization in its executives and men—'like master, like man.' The N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. is the most conspicuous recent example of this unity, so that it became necessary for a United States commission to censure both directors and employees in a common combination. 'Man failure, directors to employees!' (5) The ease with which it was possible to ameliorate conditions by shifting good men badly placed into places better suited to their aptitudes; (6) the ease with which it was possible to build up a large waiting list of desirable men.



A MODERN BELVEDERE ON THE TOP OF A LARGE APARTMENT HOUSE IN NEW YORK CITY

(This is one of the finest private roof gardens in existence. Here in the sunlight and fresh air, and among the flowers and vines, is a space nearly 100 ft. by 100 ft., high above the noise and dust of the street, where over a hundred and seventy-five people may enjoy themselves at one time)

THE PROGRESS OF GOOD HOUSING

BY SHERMAN M. CRAIGER

GOOD housing is the *vital* part of the modern municipal or town-planning movement. To drive slums out of cities and so shape conditions that they may be kept out is its particular work. While it safeguards the rights of property, it protects residential districts from the onslaught of irresponsible speculators and the unrestrained license of the landlord, who often ruin a neighborhood by narrow streets and mean buildings. It socializes the art of tenement planning and building, and reaffirms the right of municipal control over urban living conditions.

In practical terms, good housing means residential districts laid out by experts in engineering, landscape gardening, and architecture, and by those who have mastered the problems of sanitation, transportation, water supply, and lighting. It involves compulsory laws controlling the style and width of streets, and the amount of land that may be covered by buildings, to all of which the individual and community must conform. It has given rise to a new type of municipal official with a wider outlook, who tries to visualize the complex life of vast multitudes of urban dwellers. Modern good housing is a democratic movement, a fresh recognition of the unity of society, the perfect expression of public control of private property in the interest of the community.

ATTACKING WASHINGTON'S SLUMS

As an organized art good housing, a few years ago, received national sanction in Germany and, in 1909, in France and Great Britain. In the United States no action was taken by the Congress until the spring of the present year. Such steps as were taken related, of course, to the District of Columbia, the only densely populated region over which the National Government has jurisdiction. During the month of May both the House of Representatives and Senate were stirred to action by the revelations regarding unwholesome living conditions in Washington's tortuous alleys.

The first inkling reached the public in the accounts of slumming trips to Willow Tree, Goat, Hughes, and Ragland Alleys made by the wife of the nation's Chief Executive and a group of Senators, Representatives, and prominent women of Washington. Some of these notorious alleys have figured prominently in the annals of the police court, while others have become known through the sanitary department, as it has



AN ALLEY IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

been ascertained that the death rate among the alley dwellers is nearly twice as great as that for the whole city.

Washington's slums are of a peculiar type. Outwardly the city is one of the most beautiful in the world, but much of the beautifying has been in the form of broad avenues, parks, monuments, and public buildings in a particular section of the city. No comprehensive effort has ever been made to abolish the congested lodgings, dirt, and squalor of the interior alleys. These are found chiefly within blocks of decent appearance on the outside. They are not confined to any one locality, but are diffused over much of the city's territory. Nearly 3000 dwellings of this kind have been counted, and it is estimated that they house about 16,000 people. The possibilities of reform have been demonstrated in connection with the transformation of one or two of the worst alleys into parks, and now the question is to be faced in its entirety and a plan adopted to wipe out all the alleys.

By the terms of bills introduced in the House by Representative Kahn, of California, and in the Senate by Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, all property bordering on certain of the alleys is to be condemned and converted into interior parks. Still more important are the bills introduced by Representative Borland, of Missouri, delegating to the District Commissioners the power to condemn the necessary alley property, and for municipal aid to the working-people in the District of Columbia in building and owning homes of their own. A bond issue of $10,000,000 is authorized for the purpose of constructing sanitary dwellings for sale at a low price or rented at a reasonable rate for the use of unskilled laboring-men. Not more than $1,000,000 in bonds shall be issued in any one year, the interest to be restricted to 4 per cent., and loans may be made to incorporated building associations, non-commercial in character.

Representative Borland in discussing his plan pointed out the difference between the slums of Washington and most other cities:

> Elsewhere the slums usually extend over a definite section of the city, which is given up wholly to them. In Washington the slums occur in the interior of blocks whose street fronts make a very decent appearance. Each block of this sort constitutes a sort of unit slum, and the units are widely scattered throughout the city.
>
> There is a great difference, too, in the class of people inhabiting the slums. In other cities the slum population is in most cases made up of industrial workers who are in large part foreigners. Here there are very few industrial laborers, and the bulk of the inhabitants of these alley slums are domestic workers.
>
> This is one of the most serious aspects of the



A NEW PLAYGROUND IN THE SLUM DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON

(Showing in the background the model four-story brick tenements now being built to help solve the housing problem)

situation. Not only are the alley dwellers themselves affected by the unwholesome surroundings in which they live, but they carry contamination into homes, hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement, and come into contact in dozens of other ways with the other inhabitants of the city. I am satisfied that considerably more than half the domestic workers of the city come from squalid homes in the alley slums. It is this type of dwelling that has been the breeding-place of disease and crime.

A GOVERNMENT BUILDING-LOAN FUND

Once measures are adopted abolishing the slums and making their future growth impossible, it is the opinion of Representative Borland that the final step in the process of substituting wholesome communities for the slums will be the adoption of a bill providing for a municipal housing plan for Washington. "What is known as the English loan system is probably the most feasible plan now in operation," he continued. "Under it a fund is provided by the governmental agency having the project in charge. From it either the Government itself or a private company or individual may borrow for the purpose of erecting dwellings, provided the builders furnish satisfactory security, and build under governmental specifications and regulations. The rental rates charged and the general administration of the properties must also come under government control."

About three million dollars would be required to cover the cost of housing in modern sanitary tenements all the inhabitants of the alley slums. The land would cost



THE INTERIOR CONDITION OF A NEW BRITAIN (CONN.) REAR TENEMENT HOUSE



A BACK-YARD VIEW IN BOSTON'S TENEMENT DISTRICT
(In Boston the slogan of housing reformers is "Clean up all the back yards")

about as much again. It would be necessary, of course, to erect the sanitary tenements on the outskirts of the city, and while this perhaps makes it less convenient for the occupants to get to and from work, there is an immense gain in comfort, in cleanliness, in sunlight, and in health both to the present slum-dwellers and the community.

EARLY DAYS OF TENEMENT REFORM

Toward the middle of the last century, efforts began to be made both in London and other European cities as well as in New York to discover the exact state of affairs in the tenement districts, for the purpose of initiating reforms.

The agitation for improved housing conditions in New York took definite form in 1848, when James Lenox, Robert M. Hartley, James Brown, and other residents subscribed a fund of several thousand dollars for the employment of experts to study the defects in the slums. This work aroused sufficient interest to justify the friends of good housing in employing architects to prepare plans for an improved type of tenement dwelling. The plans were distributed to capitalists and builders and had a considerable educational value. Before the close of 1849 the first of these new tenements was completed and almost immediately occupied by working-men.

Eight years later a special investigation was made into the evils of cellar residences. Before the Civil War began, a committee of citizens coöperated with the New York health officials in inaugurating the first popular lectures in the country on hygiene and sanitation. This prepared the way in 1865 for the special sanitary measures which were enforced to restrict the cholera epidemic.



AN ALLEY IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

been ascertained that the death rate among the alley dwellers is nearly twice as great as that for the whole city.

Washington's slums are of a peculiar type. Outwardly the city is one of the most beautiful in the world, but much of the beautifying has been in the form of broad avenues, parks, monuments, and public buildings in a particular section of the city. No comprehensive effort has ever been made to abolish the congested lodgings, dirt, and squalor of the interior alleys. These are found chiefly within blocks of decent appearance on the outside. They are not confined to any one locality, but are diffused over much of the city's territory. Nearly 3000 dwellings of this kind have been counted, and it is estimated that they house about 16,000 people. The possibilities of reform have been demonstrated in connection with the transformation of one or two of the worst alleys into parks, and now the question is to be faced in its entirety and a plan adopted to wipe out all the alleys.

By the terms of bills introduced in the House by Representative Kahn, of California, and in the Senate by Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, all property bordering on certain of the alleys is to be condemned and converted into interior parks. Still more important are the bills introduced by Representative Borland, of Missouri, delegating to the District Commissioners the power to condemn the necessary alley property, and for municipal aid to the working-people in the District of Columbia in building and owning homes of their own. A bond issue of $10,000,000 is authorized for the purpose of constructing sanitary dwellings for sale at a low price or rented at a reasonable rate for the use of unskilled laboring-men. Not more than $1,000,000 in bonds shall be issued in any one year, the interest to be restricted to 4 per cent., and loans may be made to incorporated building associations, non-commercial in character.

Representative Borland in discussing his plan pointed out the difference between the slums of Washington and most other cities:

> Elsewhere the slums usually extend over a definite section of the city, which is given up wholly to them. In Washington the slums occur in the interior of blocks whose street fronts make a very decent appearance. Each block of this sort constitutes a sort of unit slum, and the units are widely scattered throughout the city.
>
> There is a great difference, too, in the class of people inhabiting the slums. In other cities the slum population is in most cases made up of industrial workers who are in large part foreigners. Here there are very few industrial laborers, and the bulk of the inhabitants of these alley slums are domestic workers.
>
> This is one of the most serious aspects of the



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A SECTION OF RITTENHOUSE STREET, PHILADELPHIA, "BEFORE AND AFTER"
(Showing the changes brought about in one year)

THE WHITE BUILDINGS IN BROOKLYN

In 1872 Alfred T. White, a public-spirited resident of Brooklyn, while working out plans for an improved type of tenement house, was attracted by the reported success of the "outside staircase buildings" erected in London in 1863 for working-people. The plans were obtained, and, after alterations to suit the climatic and other conditions here, were adopted by him in the planning and construction of the six-story "Home Tenements," opened in Brooklyn in 1877. The forty apartments were fully let the first week, and their success was such as to command an immediate and unexpected interest through the State and country, visitors coming from far and near.

This modest experiment was largely responsible for the agitation throughout New York which led to the adoption of the Tenement-House Act of 1879.

The venture of Mr. White turned out so well financially that, a couple of years later, additional land and buildings were procured, and soon more than 170 new model apartments were thrown open to the working-men. The "Tower Homes," as these buildings were called, had many improvements over their predecessors. Near them there were also erected thirty-four small model cottages, with grass plots and a fountain. Subsequently a still larger tract was secured, and in 1890 the "Riverside Buildings" were completed, with 280 apartments. Altogether the White buildings accommodate about 2000 individuals.

The features distinguishing these structures from other tenement houses are (1) fireproof staircases sunk into the front or rear of the buildings, open to the air, and extending in a semi-circular tower from the cellar to the roof; (2) entire absence of any interior communication from floor to floor by stairways or shafts; and (3) buildings only two rooms deep, so that each has abundant sunshine and air.

DETACHED HOUSES VERSUS TENEMENT BLOCKS

In recent years the tendency has been for the great mass of the population of American cities to crowd together on limited spaces. The present-day dwellings of the majority are built where commerce demands them, often regardless of the fitness of the site. Thus we have the phenomenon of the concentration of the population in towns; and as people crowd together in our great cities, more or less artificially protected from disease and death by modern science, it is natural for them to be discontented with the circumstances of such surroundings and to prefer life and work in less congested regions. For the great majority of working men and women, however, provision must be made in collective tenement blocks, and thus is found the motive for building mile after mile of tenement houses in large cities. A few years ago the influential citizens of all but two or three of our largest cities were in the habit of boasting that no slums existed in their centers. Now, in a number of American cities, large and small, the people realize that they have a housing problem before them the solution of which is no easy matter.

There is an unsatisfactory type of tenement house in the New England States known as the "three-decker." This is built of wood and seems to have been erected quite generally in Boston, and, indeed, throughout the other cities of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maine.

Happily there are business men whose in-

fluence is being exerted along the line of encouraging building operations which emphasize the erection of detached homes for families of moderate means. Alfred L. Aiken, president of the Worcester County Institution for Savings in Massachusetts, recently notified the public that building loans from his bank would not be made, as a rule, on houses whose specifications call for more than two stories, and said:

> For the benefit of those interested in owning their own homes, the Worcester County Institution for Savings has made an extensive collection of drawings and plans of inexpensive detached houses that should cost $1500 to $3000 to build. Persons interested in building attractive detached houses for homes for themselves and families are invited to avail themselves of these plans at any time. While the bank is prepared to make mortgage loans upon houses of the above description, the use of the plans implies no obligations whatever toward the institution. These plans have been collected and are offered to the public for the sole purpose of encouraging better conditions by which it is believed the whole community will benefit.

HOUSING REFORM IN VARIOUS STATES AND CITIES

A number of reform organizations have been actively at work in the city of Pittsburgh to improve conditions there, banded together under the name of the Housing Conference. Conditions in the slums there have been greatly improved since the conference has succeeded in bringing about stronger laws and getting them enforced. Better types of houses have been planned, waste spaces pressed into use to relieve congestion, and capital interested in erecting improved dwellings.



A MODEL DETACHED HOUSE FOR WORKING-MEN IN NEWARK, N. J.
(Showing garden space on side)



"STABLES AND SLUMS" IN NEWARK, N. J.
(A movement has been started to rid Newark of such conditions)

In the Pacific Coast cities have been built a number of types of tenement buildings. There is one unwholesome style of apartment or "flat" which covers the entire lot, with no adequate provision for ventilation and light. The sanitary appliances, however, are said to be much better than in the slums of many Eastern cities. Rents in places like San Francisco and Los Angeles have ruled higher than for corresponding accommodations in New York and Chicago tenements.

One of the trying phases of the Northern slum problem has no exact counterpart in the South, where the working-people still reside almost entirely in small houses, and the question of light and ventilation rarely assumes such serious proportions as in the congested cities north of Mason and Dixon's line.

The city of Savannah, Georgia, is said to be among the best in the United States as far as concerns work towards eliminating bad sanitary conditions. Even the little houses inhabited by the poorest negro families have city water and other modern improvements. There is an efficient Board of Health, which, through a consistent system of inspection, tends to raise the housing standards. One of their achievements has been an effective agitation for a good code of building laws.

A trouble often met with in Southern cities is the pollution of the drinking-water, due



"UNSIGHTLY AND UNSANITARY"
(The rear of a row of houses in St. Louis before remodeling)

to inadequate methods of sanitation. The same difficulty is encountered in the North where surface wells are still sanctioned. A story is told of a woman in Richmond, Va., who, not long ago, was seen to draw water from a well in one of the tenement districts that had not been sewered, and was asked the question: "How does the water taste?" "The way asafetida smells," she answered. Richmond has been working earnestly to improve her slums, and, as she has considerable prestige throughout the South, her example is likely to be imitated in near-by States.

A great deal has been done to improve conditions among the tenement dwellers in Texas. In Dallas, thanks to a campaign carried on by the citizens, a strong housing committee has been organized among the business men of the city, and it has been doing good work in the way of initiating needed reforms. Getting the leading citizens interested is the way to begin improvements, but more important still is to keep them from losing their enthusiasm.

Steady progress has been made as a result of the investigation instituted by the Chamber of Commerce in Cleveland into the conditions existing in the notorious "Haymarket" slums, where rents are higher than in less congested districts. Steps are to be taken this winter for thoroughgoing housing improvement plans. Cleveland possesses a number of attractive working-men's colonies, chief of which are those in which the Italians and Bohemians reside. Each family has a dwelling by itself, and there is a garden in front of the house, with flowers and shrubs.

Of late, good work has been done in Baltimore in the way of introducing an improved form of two-family dwelling, adequately lighted and ventilated and with all sanitary conveniences.

Philadelphia's interest in slum betterment first took definite form in the organization several years ago of the Octavia Hill Association. The method of this society has been to buy up old houses and put them in decent shape, and then sell or rent them to working men and women. Good as this system is, its scope is limited, and something bigger is needed to make over the slums of a city like Philadelphia.

THE CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA

As was pointed out at the Second National Conference on Housing, held there last winter, Philadelphia has no rival as a city of small homes. Several factors enter into this, cheapness of land and building material, favorable building laws, and the larger social causes. It is a matter of record that more than one million people are living in small dwellings there. Many thousands of houses for single families can be counted which are



"ATTRACTIVE AND SANITARY"
(The same property shown on previous page, after remodeling)

cleanly and have a front porch and back yard, and are occupied by workers. For the skilled working-man and his family there are thousands of houses of brick, each with a wide piazza and garden. In 1910 over 8000 two-story dwellings were erected in Philadelphia at an estimated cost of $16,000,000.

In a notable address to the Housing Conference, former Ambassador Bryce summed up the arguments in favor of a large number of medium-sized cities, of from 10,000 to 50,000 population, as against a few huge cities. They are more healthful; the people are less cut off from nature; they are not separated into classes; there is less nervous strain for the citizens; small cities are better for children to grow up in, and present less political dangers; the economic waste is less. "Overcrowding is incompatible with good manners and good morals," Mr. Bryce said. "Cleanliness, health, self-respect, manners, and morals are all immensely depressed by bad housing, and correspondingly raised when the environment is improved."

One result of the conference was an added stimulus to the good-housing movement in Philadelphia, which is now actively concerned in bringing about the erection of an increasing number of improved two-family dwellings.

Columbus, Ohio, has adopted a new building code, making provision for modern types of dwellings for working-men, and it has been so successful in this respect that a big civic celebration was held some time ago in commemoration of the code's adoption.

Building reform is to the front also in Chicago. The Illinois authorities have forbidden the erection of any apartment building of more than three stories unless fireproof.

BAD CONDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE WEST

Some surprising situations have developed in Indiana. In a single city there Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, an active worker for improved tenement laws, found twenty families in one tenement who depended on a fountain a block away for their water. Elsewhere she discovered yards undrained and cisterns polluted. In another city she found seventeen men, one woman, and two children living in a couple of rooms. Next door fifteen persons occupied the same amount of space. Five men cooked, ate, and slept in another room which had no outer door or window. In the same building nine men lived in two rooms, one of which was dark. In a closet off this room, six feet long and thirty inches wide, a man was found sleeping, with the door locked.

A single cistern provided the only water supply for all these tenants. It was in the backyard and polluted. In some other cities



"THEIR ONLY 'YARD' OR PLAY SPACE!"

(A ten-foot alley enclosed by tenement houses, built before the new law compelling the reservation of open spaces—went into effect in New York City, in 1901)

of the State the slums were not confined to one quarter, but were plague spots in almost every part. Happily, a rigorous building law and careful amendments to the sanitary code helped to destroy these nuisances.

Mrs. Bacon has summed up the loss to the State, due to bad housing conditions, in this stirring fashion:

> There is a loss in property values, a loss in the expense caused by crime and dependence, a loss in the expense occasioned by disease and the death of citizens, a loss in the efficiency of the working-men, a loss in homes and in citizenship.
>
> The responsibility of the landlord is a new thought in this part of the country. We are just beginning to understand that a man must not ask his tenants to live among bad housing conditions. It has been the custom to blame the dwellers of the tenements for their surroundings because they are filthy and dirty, in too many cases. But how can they be clean without water and drains, or any provision for the removal of ashes or garbage? How much bathing would any of us do if we had to bring every drop of water we used from a fountain two blocks distant, carry it up a couple of flights, heat it on a broken stove, and bathe in a wash basin?
>
> In many States the practice has prevailed for building tenement dwellings over the entire area of the lot, everyone proceeding with his plans in selfish disregard of what the effect would be if all other builders chose to do likewise, thus shutting off all light in the rear. How mistaken this is where land is cheap and plentiful in towns so small that one can easily walk from the center to the suburbs! Yet with pasture lands and fields almost in sight of the public square, grasping landlords have erected stores on twenty-five foot lots, covering the entire depth, with apartments above and a dark room in the middle. There the working-men often have to live, cooped up in tiny rows, crowded into the dusty, smoky heart of the town, and with no place for the children to play but the gutter or the alleys.

NEW YORK CITY'S EXPERIENCE

New York was among the first of the cities in the United States to do effective work against what was worst in the slums. Nowhere else were conditions quite so bad as in the metropolis. The most objectionable kind of tenement built in New York before the law was amended in 1901 was the so-called "double-decker dumb-bell." This was a building into which were crowded several tenements, provided merely with an air-shaft for lighting and ventilating the middle rooms, and with no outlet at the bottom. On this account the shaft was like a well of stagnant air, and the smell from it was so obnoxious that the families occupying the tenements often were forced to close their windows in order to keep out the odor.

Although this type of building has been forbidden in New York City since 1901, it had previously spread to the up-State cities, such as Utica and Syracuse.

Since the passage of the tenement-house law twelve years ago, the city of New York



ONE OF THE DENSEST SPOTS IN NEW YORK'S TENEMENT SECTION

(In this district—a block on Rivington Street—more than 3,000 people live, one of the most densely populated communities in the world)

has achieved considerable success in meeting its congestion problems. Conditions like those existing in the old "Mulberry Bend" district can never exist again, thanks to the efforts of Jacob Riis and others who have helped us to see "How the Other Half Lives." Of course, conditions are different in New York than in any other city, on account of the peculiar topography of Manhattan Island and the fact that it is pretty solidly built with tenement and apartment-



A TYPICAL DOUBLE THREE-FAMILY HOUSE IN AN OUTLYING DISTRICT OF GREATER NEW YORK
(In houses of this type, there is one family to each floor. The rentals will average about $35 per month for a five or six room apartment)

houses of six or more stories. New York must always be a tenement city, a fate that elsewhere may generally be avoided. Happily the present Tenement House Commissioner there, John J. Murphy, and his efficiently organized department, are achieving notable results along the line of improving housing conditions.

An important development for better housing in New York was the promotion, in 1896, by the Improved Housing Council, of the City and Suburban Homes Company, with a capitalization of $4,000,000. The majority of the stock was subscribed by a number of wealthy philan-



THE PHIPPS HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY
(Said to be the finest tenement houses yet built)

thropists, and the proceeds used to buy land in the poorer sections of the city where several model tenements were erected. These were let at moderate rentals to workers of all nationalities, and have been very successful in demonstrating the fact that decent housing accommodations can be provided for people of slender means on a strictly business basis. Enough has been earned, after deducting expenses, to warrant dividends at the rate of four per cent. on the capital stock issued, as well as to provide a fair surplus for the company. It has also undertaken the management of more than a dozen privately owned tenement properties.



NEW TENEMENTS ERECTED BY MRS. VANDERBILT IN NEW YORK CITY



INTERIOR OF ONE OF THE NEW MODEL TENEMENTS IN NEW YORK
(Living-room in the tenement house taking the first prize at the Architects' Exhibit in New York City in the spring of 1913. In this tenement, which was held to be the most attractively designed and best built of all the more recently constructed buildings of the kind in New York, the rental averages $5 per room, or $25 for the five-room apartment, the living-room of which is shown in the picture)

WORK OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

In recent years more than fifty cities have begun to study how to improve their housing conditions. They have had the help of the National Housing Association, whose headquarters are in New York City, and whose representative has visited over twenty cities to consult with local residents, assist in the organization of commissions and investigations, and otherwise to further the agitation for improved dwellings.

The problem is to change a city of reeking tenements and luxurious apartment-houses into one of well-appointed tenement homes, and, in the outlying districts and suburbs, into a greater city of small homes suitable for one and two-family dwellings.

Where opposition is met with, it is found to be based on many grounds,—hygienic, social, racial, economic, and political. These are all factors affected through alterations in living conditions. Indications of the change that has come over the public are noticed in the manner in which the agitation for better housing is carried on. Those interested in bringing about reforms go about it on the ground that it is a common necessity for the health and comfort of the whole community and the welfare of the country.

Thus the movement for the betterment of the alley dwellers in the District of Columbia which was given such an impetus last spring by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has already a remarkable record to its credit. Up to October 8th the crusade to wipe out the slums in the national capital had been responsible for the tearing down of not less than 315 unsanitary buildings during the fiscal year, and upwards of 1000 people were forced to remove into more healthful quarters. And other cities are to enjoy a vigorous campaign during the coming winter.

Former Secretary of Commerce and Labor Oscar Straus, who has been studying the housing of the working-people in Germany, France, and England, sailed for New York on October 9, with plans in the course of development for the establishment of coöperative homes in the suburbs of our large cities which it may be possible to rent for approximately $100 a year.



A GROUP OF "NEW-LAW" TENEMENT HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY
(Built in such a way as to allow for ample light and ventilation, and doing away with the narrow, unsightly alleys)



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THE LLOYD-GEORGE CAMP AT MOEL HEBOG IN NORTH WALES

LLOYD-GEORGE AT WORK AND AT PLAY

IT was recently remarked by an admirer of David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, that the three most eminent, typical, and vigorous men of English speech to-day are Theodore Roosevelt, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and David Lloyd-George, the speaker adding that the Chancellor of the British Exchequer has two advantages over the others: he is the youngest and he is still in office.

When a legislator is hailed by one portion of a community as a messenger direct from heaven, and railed upon by the other part as a fiend incarnate, it is safe to assert that he must possess, at least, some of the elements of greatness. Such a man is the brilliant, forceful, somewhat erratic Welshman who is now Chancellor of the British Exchequer, and destined, in the belief of most Englishmen, to be Prime Minister of the Empire.

Lloyd-George once said of himself that his mind resembled an axe rather than a mallet, —"you cannot split a log with a mallet, it is too broad-minded." It has been this fighting edge, frequently narrow, always sharp, shown in all his public work, his oratory, his debates in Parliament, and his advocacy of Liberal measures that has characterized Mr. Lloyd-George. He is the most talked-of man in the British Empire. It is not likely that



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MR. AND MRS. LLOYD-GEORGE



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THE CHANCELLOR'S DAUGHTER, MISS MEGAN LLOYD-GEORGE, FISHING IN LAKE CWMSTRALLYM

British politics will ever be the same after his career is ended.

Up to the time of the triumphant Liberal return to power in 1906 Mr. Lloyd-George's fame rested solely upon his skill as an orator. His speeches in English and his native Welsh were unsurpassed. Few, however, suspected that he could administer as well as apostrophize and curse. He was appointed president of the Board of Trade, and the eyes of the nation were opened. He reorganized the whole of his antiquated department from roof to foundation. Then, in 1908, on the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and the accession of Mr. Asquith to the premiership, he became head of the British treasury.

Some of the social reform features of the Liberal program had already been carried out. Then came the epoch-making budget of 1909. It radically shifted the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the poor to those of the rich, made a political issue of national economy, created new sources of wealth by new systems of taxation and pro-

vided new bases of security for the people. The Lords rejected it. Then the country rejected the Lords, and took away their veto power.

The reduced Liberal majority and dependence upon the Irish and Labor votes did not deter Mr. Lloyd-George from another radical, almost revolutionary, move. In May, 1911, came the National Insurance Act, undoubtedly the most thorough-going measure of social reform that ever reached the British statute-books. Its passage was in many ways an extraordinary personal triumph for Mr. Lloyd-George. The bill was his conception. He explained it before Parliament and the country. It was he, moreover, who, almost single-handed, carried it through. In spite of all sorts of dire predictions that it would never work, work it did. Lloyd-George won, and this triumph has made him stand out as the most interesting "performer" in British politics, the man who, so far, has never failed to make good.

Lloyd-George is a Welshman through and through, with all the candor, sympathetic vitality, directness, and tenacity that characterize his people. His father failed as a schoolmaster and died an unsuccessful farmer. His mother was left penniless, but an uncle made a legal career possible for little David. At sixteen he was "duly articled to a firm of solicitors." At twenty-one he was admitted to the bar. Before he was twenty-eight he had built up one of the largest practices in Wales. But he loved politics and public debate. He stumped the country on behalf of land reform and temperance, and was elected to the Council of Carnarvonshire. He typified Wales and the Welsh question, advocated Welsh patriotism and the common people of Wales and, in 1890, was elected to the House of Commons.



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LLOYD-GEORGE CHATTING WITH HIS WELSH FARMER FRIEND, JOHN JONES OF TYDDYN



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MISS MEGAN LLOYD-GEORGE PREPARING THE CAMP LUNCH

For ten years little was known of him except as an adroit parliamentary strategist and a clever speaker. He incurred a good deal of bitter enmity from many Englishmen because of his opposition to the Boer War, but all the while he was mastering details of administration and embodying to the Empire the qualities of his native Wales. Never since the days of Owen Glendower has Wales found a leader more absolutely after her own heart. "You ought to know Lloyd-George," a British statesman is said to have remarked to the present King, while he w

Prince of Wales; "if there were such a thing as the presidency of Wales, he would poll more votes than you would."

The fighting quality, the brilliant, virulent sarcasm, the unsparing ridicule, and the lack of reverence of tradition that have always marked Lloyd-George's public speeches have made him many enemies. But no scandal has touched him. "Politics" tried to smirch him in the "Marconitis" affair, yet it left him unscathed.

Democracy is the note of his personality as well as of his career. He is cheery and approachable, hearty, genuine, and frank, typical, indeed, of the rather wholesome revolution that is now passing over English life and politics, and opening careers to men who are judged by what they are and by what they do, and not by their rank or wealth. Whatever his faults, it cannot be denied that David Lloyd-George has rehabilitated British liberalism by making a new application of Liberal principles, and by enlarging the sphere of the state to cover areas and questions heretofore secluded and dominated by the rights of property against manhood.

Lloyd-George is a boyish, human man of fifty. He is preëminently what is known as a family man. He loves to retire for a vacation rest to the Welsh mountains. The Lloyd-George camp is on the slopes of the Moel Hebog in the Snowdon range in North Wales. In the neighborhood is the beautiful Lake Cwmstrallym, famous for its trout fishing. The Lloyd-Georges, father, mother, and children, live out of doors for weeks in the beautiful Welsh autumn.



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THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH TREASURY AND HIS FAMILY IN FRONT OF THEIR TENT IN THE WELSH MOUNTAINS



MARCUS M. MARKS, INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATOR

THE Hon. Marcus M. Marks, author of the article in this issue of the REVIEW on "The Art of Industrial Conciliation," is no novice or mere theorizer in this difficult department of social readjustment. Not only has he devoted much study to labor problems at first hand, but he writes out of the fulness of long practical experience in the settlement of serious industrial controversies. He has assisted in the adjustment of important controversies in the textile, transportation, and other industries, one of the most notable being the recent clothing strike, involving a hundred thousand workers. Familiar with the problems of business from the side of the employer, he also sympathizes fully with the view-point of the employed man, and has therefore won from both a wide and enviable reputation for wisdom and fairness. His services as a mediator and arbitrator in disputes between capital and labor have been much sought after. Mr. Marks has also for some years been chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the New York Civic Federation. What he writes on this subject of industrial conciliation, therefore, is worthy of the most serious consideration, as coming from an expert in this field,

although put forth with all the natural modesty of the man.

As a business man, Mr. Marks achieved a notable success in the clothing industry, and has for many years held the position of president of the National Association of Clothiers. Under his leadership this and allied trades have been brought to a high state of organization. His energies and activities along this line were largely inspired by a feeling that the voluntary association of merchants for the purpose of friendly coöperation could do much to elevate the tone of business in general, in spite of the rivalry existing between business competitors. Mr. Marks' activities in educational and philanthropical lines are numerous and varied, as shown by a mention of some of the organizations with which he is preëminently identified. He is president of the Tuberculosis Preventorium for Children and of the Anti-Policy Society, member of the Merchants' Association of New York, the New York Chamber of Commerce, the New York Peace Society, the Educational Alliance, and the executive committee of the National Civic Federation. President Roosevelt also appointed him a member of his "Nobel Prize" Committee of Nine on Industrial Peace, which includes such notable men as Archbishop Ireland, Seth Low, John Mitchell, and others.

Mr. Marks has served on many public commissions having to do with international peace, industrial peace, and other civic work. He was a member of Governor Hughes's Immigration Commission, and drew up several important bills for the protection of immigrants against steamship-ticket swindlers. These measures were subsequently enacted into law largely through his active influence.

Mr. Marks' latest opportunity for service may come about through his nomination for the office of President of the Borough of Manhattan on the anti-Tammany "Fusion" ticket in the New York City election this fall. The president of a borough, of which there are five in New York City, is charged with the control and repair of streets, the construction and maintenance of public buildings (outside of those belonging to the general city departments), and the supervision of various other public works. The position is therefore an important one, especially in Manhattan, which is the chief of the five boroughs comprising the great city. Mr. Marks' election to this office would be a fortunate choice for the city, as he would bring to the performance of his public duties an equipment of business ability and personal integrity that would inure to the welfare and credit of the entire metropolis.

These various public activities of Mr. Marks follow out in full and rounded measure his own ideas of the way a successful business man should seek to serve the community. These ideas were outlined in a remarkable article contributed by him to the November, 1907, issue of this REVIEW, and entitled "Retirement from Business." In this article he argued that the business man who has amassed a reasonable competence should so arrange his affairs as to enable him to retire from the business of money-making while still in possession of health and vigor, in order, not only that other and younger men might have a fuller opportunity in business life, but that he may henceforth devote himself to the larger affairs of public service. In accordance with this view, Mr. Marks, several years ago, retired from business to devote his whole time to public affairs. The following words, taken from Mr. Marks' article, sum up the life philosophy of the man himself—a philosophy which is fully exemplified in his own useful and noble career:

> Happy the man who can live the better life while the blood is still running warm and vigorous in his veins. Were there only enough such men to take an active part in public life, in the preservation of the rights of true citizenship, where would the scheming "bosses" be?

THE ART OF INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION

BY MARCUS M. MARKS

IT is far easier to prevent a strike than to settle one. A bonfire may be extinguished with a pail of water, but allow it to obtain headway and it may quickly tax the resources of a city fire department. So with disagreements between employer and employed. Before a strike has been declared and class passion aroused, it is often possible for a tactful, disinterested, and experienced man, able to absorb the psychology of the situation, to assist in removing the cause of the dispute with but slight effort and thus avert the strike altogether.

More attention should, therefore, be paid to strike prevention. Official machinery, both State and national, for industrial mediation is still undeveloped and inadequate, and the efforts of individuals in this direction are but occasional and far from being efficient. Attention, as a rule, is directed to a labor controversy only after a strike has actually been declared, and interest is aroused only when there is danger of interference with the comfort and welfare of the public. The strike having been declared and publicity having been given to it, offers of the service of mediators come from many quarters. There is, however, less actual need for their help at this stage than before the dispute has reached the point of open breach.

THE MOMENT FOR INTERCESSION

In most cases of industrial dispute, the strained relations existing between the parties concerned cause both to refrain from any action in the direction of conciliation. Such a move on the part of either might be construed by the other as a sign of weakness. This is the proper moment for the intervention of a mediator or mediators in whom both sides have confidence. It may be that neither side has quite considered the possible consequences of the impending struggle. The employers may not appreciate the great staying power of the strikers when they are once aroused, while the employed, on their part, may not have fully weighed the loss to them in wages and the permanent injury that may result to the industry from a long strike, with its tendency to throw trade into competing markets. The trained conciliator, having opened the way for consultation, first makes these matters clear to both sides in separate conferences. He then tries to bring about a joint conference between the two parties or their representatives.

BRINGING ABOUT A CONFERENCE

A great deal of art is often required to accomplish this. The employers frequently refuse to meet representatives of their workers, particularly if these men are not their own employees. "What?" says the employer, "Meet these trouble-makers? My employees are contented and loyal; if there are a few discontented ones, they may leave." Then the employees, at times, may also decline to meet the "pig-headed" employers. "We've made our demands," they exclaim. "It's that, or nothing. We'll teach the boss a lesson." The mediator, having carefully weighed both sides of the case, must use considerable diplomacy to overcome these objections in order to bring about the much-to-be-desired conference. In these delicate situations where conference has been declined, one man cannot always influence both sides. Two mediators are then required, one in good standing with the employers and one having the confidence of the workers. These two men must also have full faith in each other and pull together like a good team.

THE INFORMAL CONFERENCE

The employer, however, may fear that the conference suggested will be construed as "recognition" of the union. (Such a distinction may seem like child's play; but many a strike has been prevented by intelligent appreciation of just such fine distinctions as this.) In that case an informal gathering, of a nature that precludes recognition, may be arranged. The plan works out in about the following way: The conciliator, who must be a disinterested person having the employers' confidence, asks the employers to appoint a committee to meet *him* on neutral ground. Employers threatened with strike will usually accept such an invitation. The conciliator then suggests that, without rec-

ognition, representatives of the employed may be present at the meeting. As there is a prospect of thus preventing the threatened strike, the employers usually raise no objection. If objection is made, however, the suggestion is withdrawn and an alternate proposition is made by the conciliator, namely, that the representatives of the workers should not be present at the conference, but convene in an adjoining room. This removes even the semblance of recognition, and yet gives almost as great an opportunity for bringing about an agreement. The other conciliator, if there be two, goes through the same form with the representatives of the workers, gathering them in a room adjoining that occupied by the employers. (There are occasions when it is advisable to have three rooms—one for employers, one for employed, and one situated between these two for private conference between the conciliators themselves.) The conciliators, going back and forth between the parties, thus become active agents in bringing about an understanding.

DIRECT CONFERENCE

Should it be feasible to secure direct conference between the parties, the course is naturally simpler and more quickly effective. In this case they are duly gathered together in one room. One of the conciliators assumes the chairmanship and proceeds to make a simple statement of the situation in a fair and friendly way, in order to relieve the tension and establish a favorable atmosphere for conciliation. He is careful to free both sides from any responsibility in bringing about the conference, and explains that no statements made during the meeting will be used against either party. Furthermore, nothing shall be given to the press, except by mutual consent.

The facts of the case are then carefully elicited for the purpose of arriving at an exact understanding of the differences that exist. Each difficulty is traced to its source. There may be a misunderstanding that was caused by a false impression, or by some statement of a foreman, or possibly by a placard or letter of some sort. There should be a sustained effort to eliminate all such misunderstandings and reduce differences to a minimum. It will often happen that great tact and patience are required to continue the conference in session at times when matters come to a deadlock. The exercise of ingenuity will, in most cases, dissolve such deadlocks. There may also be occasions when the chairman will have to assert himself strongly, perhaps even to the extent of placing his back against the door to prevent one or the other party, in a moment of impatience or anger, from breaking up the conference. In such cases a determined appeal for patience and peace should be made with reference again to the evils and costs of a strike, and with the warning that the burden of the responsibility will clearly be with the party which prevented the continuance of the conference.

Even in cases where conferences have apparently failed and strikes have been declared, it has later developed that the explanations brought about through the discussions in the conferences have had the valuable effect of minimizing differences and creating a basis for an earlier settlement than would otherwise have been possible. The opportunity created by the conference for both sides to give vent to their feelings had tended to clear the air and make the personal equation more potent in bringing about an end of the strike.

A STRIKE PREVENTED

Many interesting incidents might be related to demonstrate the remarkable results often occurring from conferences held in connection with both the prevention and the settlement of strikes. When, a few years ago, the shipping of New York was in danger of being paralyzed by a teamsters' strike, a conference was with difficulty brought about between twelve representatives of the teamsters and twelve representatives of the team owners. With one intermission, this conference lasted for seventeen hours. Several times it was on the very point of disruption. Only one conciliator was present. He, being an employer, thought it proper to telephone to a prominent labor representative asking him to be present at the meeting. Strange to say, however, there was objection to this on the part of the teamsters. They were quite content, in fact preferred, to go ahead without drawing into the conference a union leader from the outside.

An agreement for one year was finally reached and signed by both parties, and has since been renewed from year to year. Who can estimate the loss that might have been caused by a strike in this instance—the perishable express goods and freight that would have been ruined at docks and stations, and the violence that might have developed had passion been allowed to run riot?

A few years ago a remarkable situation was quickly cleared up by a very simple device employed by the conciliators in a certain

controversy. Two neighboring cities had been strike-ridden for several weeks. A single large industry supported both cities and every worker engaged in it had either struck or been locked out. First the men and women employed in making the lower grades of products had gone on strike; because those making the higher grades refused to operate on the lower grades, the employers then locked out the higher grade workers. Thus all the mills in both cities were closed, about ten thousand people being immediately affected.

A STRIKE DEADLOCK ENDED

Inexperienced conciliators of all kinds—city officials, clergymen, and merchants—endeavored to bring about a settlement, but in vain. Then expert conciliators stepped in. They succeeded in inducing the striking workers to express a willingness to arbitrate their grievances. The strikers made the condition, however, that the lockout be *first* declared off. The employers, also, were willing to arbitrate, but insisted that the arbitration should be formally agreed upon *before* they declared the lockout off. Here was a deadlock. To end it two actions were necessary. First, to secure agreement to arbitration; second, to have the lockout called off. Each side, however, demanded that the other act first, and each promptly declined! Meanwhile the daily losses were enormous and the general distress became more evident. In a community where begging was formerly exceptional women were now to be seen with baskets, going from door to door for food. The stores were deserted as if there were a plague abroad.

At this stage a trained conciliator, himself an employer, was consulted by interested parties and the situation fully explained. The conciliator decided at once to call to his assistance a resourceful labor leader. These two then arranged to have meetings of the unions called for the next day, and a meeting of the employers' association for the same time. The conciliators journeyed to the scene and visited five union meetings, making at each meeting the following proposition: That the unions sign an arbitration agreement ending the strike, with the understanding that the two conciliators, as trustees, should hold the papers until the manufacturers formally agreed to call the lockout off, both agreements to take effect at *precisely the same moment.* In other words, neither was to act first, but both simultaneously, the conciliators to exchange papers as in a real-estate transfer, when deed and certified check change hands.

Five union meetings thus signed the arbitration agreement, whereupon the conciliators appeared before the manufacturers and obtained their signatures to it and also their official consent to end the lockout. To conserve good-will, it was arranged that neither side should claim the victory. The exchange of papers was then duly made, and the great strike was over. It may be added that the conciliators, in this instance, being possessed of all due modesty, found it necessary to depart from the scene quickly and quietly, in order to escape a torchlight procession in their honor. All the wheels in the factories of the two cities began turning the next day. What a simple device was employed and with what a splendid result!

A subsequent happening in connection with this twin-city strike and lockout is worthy of note. The arbitration of the differences involved required three men, two to be selected from among the interested parties and one from the public. The unions suggested as the third man for the arbitration board the manufacturer who had acted as conciliator; the employers' association suggested for the same position the second conciliator, who was a union representative. It was a case of the "lion and the lamb" and was, let us hope, symbolic of the ultimate understanding between capital and labor. Neither conciliator accepted the office, for obvious reasons, but the circumstance showed a wonderful change of sentiment from that which had prevailed only a few days earlier.

SUGGESTIONS TO CONCILIATORS

One reason why outsiders are not usually welcome when they offer their services as conciliators in a labor dispute is that both parties fear bungling. An amateur conciliator is quick to give advice and equally eager to rush into print and impress his advice upon the public. These two actions are the very ones to be avoided. A conciliator should be very slow to give advice and should never independently go into print either in strike prevention or during a strike. Both sides should agree in advance upon any press statement that is to be given out.

Further, a conciliator, as such, should not be a faddist. He should not attempt to exploit one or another pet policy. The conciliator has but one function and that is to study both sides of a controversy and strive to bring about an understanding between the disputants. He may personally be a believer

in one or another theory; but when he is acting as conciliator his own personal views should be entirely submerged and he should work along the lines of least resistance, striving to bring about such an agreement as will appear to be a logical outcome of the particular situation.

There is no panacea for the settlement of all industrial disputes. No two cases are alike. Each situation must be studied individually and treated according to its special phases. He who can prevent a strike is doing a service the value of which is far beyond computation. In our progress toward better conditions we should endeavor to avoid losses through friction by the substitution of friendly coöperation. New York, Massachusetts, and a few other States have made a good beginning; but the time has come for our people to recognize the pressing need of adequate and efficient machinery for the prevention of strikes, and settlement wherever the incipient stage has been passed.

Individual conciliators cannot properly meet this need; there should be more regular and official instruments for investigation, mediation and arbitration. Salaries sufficient to attract the highest grade of talent to this public service should be offered. There is much at stake,—property, human life, and the happiness of our people. We cannot by any short-cut reach a wise and permanent solution of the problem of a fair division of the returns from industry. Conditions and factors must be conscientiously studied, safe lines of reform followed, and meanwhile oil, not vinegar, used to lubricate our industrial machinery.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY AND THE PREFERENTIAL METHOD

BY KARL A. BICKEL

IN seven American cities, scattered from Portland, Ore., to Cleveland, Ohio, ranging in population from 8000 to 600,000, you can vote for a dozen candidates for one office in one election and still not be in any danger of being led away to jail on the charge of repeating.

This is one of the distinguishing features of the preferential system of voting, which was inaugurated less than five years ago in the United States in the little city of Grand Junction, Colorado, and whose adoption by the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on July 1, formally presented the plan to the people of the East.

SIMPLIFYING ELECTION METHODS

When seven widely scattered American cities determine upon a new and radically revolutionary change in their system of election the event is worthy of some attention from students of politics. The rapid growth of this method of election has been one of the minor yet most significant events in recent municipal political history. It seems to demonstrate that in the cities, at least, the American voter has come to the conclusion that the plurality system of election, with its unvarying tendency toward minority control, is essentially wrong, and that the plan of the municipal direct primary is a needless and improper burden on both the people and the candidates.

Indeed, the trend away from the direct primary and towards the more simple, inexpensive and compact method of nomination and election is most marked, and, while this tendency has, as yet, materialized only in American cities, it is not a wild prophecy to state that it will not be a decade before the direct primary will fade away before the preferential system as the old convention gave way before the primary. This tendency will be given an added impetus as the movement toward the simplification of our State governments secures a stronger grip and the commission idea begins to be applied in larger units. After all, all of this movement now going on is simply a result of the application of the law of evolution to our political conditions, and we are now moving from the complex to the simple, as in the half-century prior we worked from the simple toward the complex.

The caucus, itself the outgrowth of a mere meeting of a group of friends or partisans, unfaithful in its primary business of reflecting the desires of the people in the matter of selecting party nominees, gave way to the convention; the convention lost its young vitality in the luxury of long-continued power, and was in turn largely sup-

planted by the direct primary. Hard upon the heels of the direct primary is arising an insistent and growing demand for an even more direct and accurate method of obtaining the popular desire.

FAULTS OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY

The truth is that the direct primary has serious faults. Chiefly these are the plurality election, too often resulting in minority control, expense, and a steadily increasing lack of interest in the primary elections by the voter. The partisan clamor, long continued, generally merely personal, operates to dull the voter's interest, disgust him with the whole affair and cause him to absent himself from the polls.

Naturally it was in the cities, with their keen and varied contests, large fields of contestants, and great interests at stake, that the faults of the direct-primary system were first most clearly exposed, and from the American city first came the demand for an effective corrective. In the adoption of the preferential system of voting a great many thinkers believe that a long step toward the final solution of the problem of an ideal electoral method has been taken.

THE PREFERENTIAL SYSTEM

The preferential system of voting is a development of the single transferable vote, which was a minor feature in the widely known Hare-Ware plan of proportional representation. It was first evolved in a practical fashion by State Senator James W. Bucklin, of Grand Junction, Colorado. Senator Bucklin, who is one of the really fundamental thinkers on economic topics in the West, was president of the Grand Junction charter convention. In seeking for an electoral method that would offer a remedy for faults of the plurality system and at the same time obviate the weaknesses of the municipal direct primary, as used by Des Moines, or the pure double-election method, as adopted by Berkeley, California, he hit upon the preferential plan.

Previous to this a method of "first"- and "second"-choice voting, in a limited and unsatisfactory shape, had been injected into the Idaho direct-primary law in a groping effort to break the power of the closely organized minority to dominate the unorganized majority, as is so frequently possible under the ordinary form of the direct-primary system. After months of study Senator Bucklin developed a plan that he believed was simple and practical for use in the average American municipality. He presented his plan to the Grand Junction charter convention, which adopted it.

HOW IT WORKS

The general workings of the preferential system are as follows:

The candidates secure their nomination by petition. The number of signatures required is generally few, ranging from fifty to one hundred, although in Cleveland, where they do not have the pure commission form of government by any means, they required, for some not clearly defined reason, 2500 signatures for the mayoralty candidate and 200 for the aldermanic. The form of the ballot is similar to the Australian except that instead of one voting column after the names of the candidates there are three, headed respectively "first choice," "second choice," and "other choices." To vote for a candidate place a cross after his name in the column of preference desired, voting in the first column for first choice, in the second column for second, and in the third column for third and other choices. Only *one* choice may be voted for any one candidate. In the best form of the plan the voter is absolutely free as to whether he will vote for one choice or as many as he desires, the only restriction being that he must certainly cast a first choice if he votes at all.

If a candidate secures a majority of all the votes cast in the election in the poll of the first-choice votes, he is elected then and there and the contest ends. If no candidate secures this majority, then the first- and second-choice votes of each candidate are added together. If still no candidate secures a majority, then the first- and second-choice votes are added to the third-choice votes. The high man wins. The result is, as has been stated, generally a majority choice, unless by some peculiar happenstance the list of candidates contains no one upon whom a majority, in a free field and after full opportunity—can unite. This is clearly not a fault of the system. But even in the face of this unusual combination of circumstances the voters get the next best thing—the election of the only possible candidate in the list of contestants—certainly a legitimate plurality choice.

This, in brief, is the general form of the preferential plan of voting. Certain slight modifications are found in most of the charters, injected to meet some real or fancied local demand. In Alabama, in the cities of Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham, a limited system of the preferential plan of vot-

ing exists in which the electors are allowed to have two choices. This is an unfortunate mistake in that it arrests midway the selective process of the system. To limit the voter to but two choices, with six candidates contesting, permits a two-thirds majority to be divided into three equal parts, none large enough to defeat the solid one-third concentrated by the "machine" upon the single gang candidate. Added to this defect, the Alabama law provides that if none of the candidates secure an absolute majority in the first election, the two highest candidates are compelled to go through a second election. This second election may very easily end, not in the selection of the most popular man of the original six contesting, but the least unpopular of the two who remained in the first race when it was summarily stopped by the limits set by the Alabama law.

The first election under the preferential system occurred in Grand Junction in November, 1909. It was a striking success. In a few months the city of Spokane, Washington, followed Grand Junction and held a successful election. Then came Pueblo, Colorado; Duluth, Minnesota; Portland, Oregon; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Denver, Colorado, and Cleveland, Ohio. During this time the charter committee of the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson, of Harvard University, formulated a charter which contained the preferential system. This charter failed of approval when submitted to the people at the polls. It will soon be re-submitted.

MERITS OF THE PREFERENTIAL SYSTEM

The preferential system of elections does away with the necessity of the direct primary or any character of a nomination primary, as it combines the nomination and the election into one meeting at the ballot box; it permits the automatic grouping of all the electors in the community, who believe in a fundamentally similar program of political action, behind the one candidate that comes closest to responding to the standard determined upon by the majority of these voters; it eliminates the danger of the "split" vote and the consequent control of the many by the few, which is the corner-stone of the political power of the "Boss"; allows each voter to have such a wide range of choice among candidates that he can with safety express his wishes relative to any number of them and yet not endanger the success of the principals he stands behind. It emphasizes the *issue* as against personality, tends to reduce attack and bitter recrimination of a purely personal sort among candidates, operates to make the ballot short, headless and elastic, forces attention to the merit of candidates as against personal popularity, and subordinates the special interests of the "machine" to the general interests of the entire community. It makes popular government genuinely "popular" and gives democracy a chance to "democ."

Instead of forcing Mr. Average Citizen to "go into politics," it permits him to bring politics into his accustomed routine of life, without disorganizing his entire scheme of existence, and be an effective factor in final results. It clears his channel for political expression; gives him power to vote *against* as well as *for;* offers him a handy and ready weapon for short, sharp work at the polls. Likewise, for all of this long and somewhat involved explanation, the system is simple and direct. The voter is not puzzled nor confused. In the first Grand Junction election there were less spoiled votes than in the last preceding Australian ballot election. The first municipal election in which the women of Spokane participated was the one in which the preferential ballot was used for the first time in that city, and there were very few requests for assistance.

The preferential system will not change "radicals" into "reactionaries," or vice versa; it will not insure certain success for the particular candidate or group of candidates that you might particularly desire to see elected; but it will insure the election of the group desired by most of the people. While in the very large majority of elections held under the preferential system in the American cities using the plan the successful candidates have been selected by majority votes, yet no system ever invented can always guarantee, under every conceivable set of circumstances, to deliver a majority winner. The system will insure a more representative majority interest against any special interest than any system yet offered the people. In one recent instance in the city of Denver, under peculiar circumstances in which only 76 per cent. of the registered voters participated in the election, in which there were no large and compelling issues presented, minority candidates were elected. However, out of the 133 candidates that were voted upon by this 76 per cent. of the normal city vote, for five commissionerships on a non-partisan, short and headless ballot, the result was the pick-

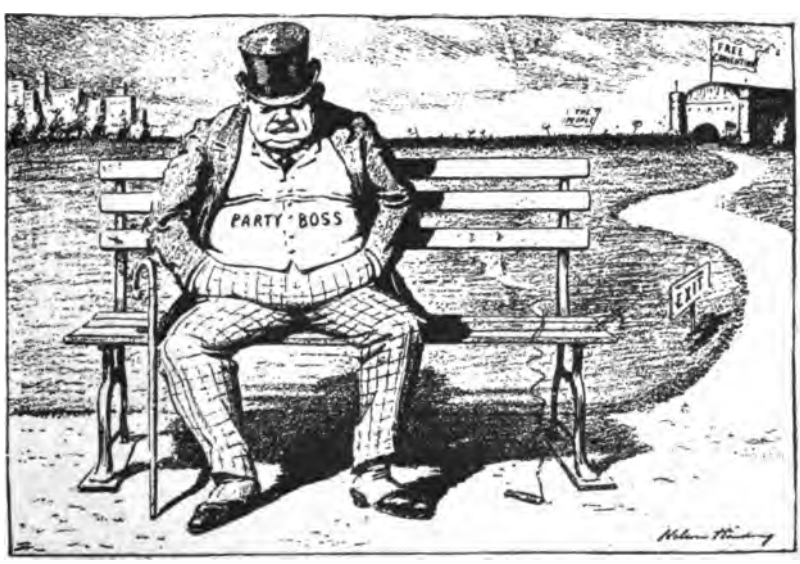
ing out of men by the electors—after a free opportunity—behind whom more could gather than behind any other set. At the time of the election there was a grave doubt of the legality of the entire proceeding, and whether the commissioners elected would ever be able to assume office, and this extraordinary situation conspired to produce an unusual result.

In Australia a preferential system of elections, fundamentally similar to the Grand Junction plan, was developed about the same time that Senator Bucklin was perfecting his system, and is now in operation in parliamentary elections in West Australia, Queensland, and Victoria. In Australia, the lowest candidate after each choice is polled is declared "out." The other choices on the ballots of the candidates so designated are distributed as the voter has indicated until one candidate secures an absolute majority or all are eliminated save one man. The Australian system is interesting to Americans because of its success in the larger field of State elections, and the fact that it was very highly recommended by the British Royal Elections Commission for general adoption for all single-member constituencies.

THE "PREFERENTIAL" FEATURE OF PRIMARY SYSTEMS

Already the apparent ease with which the direct primary has been handled by shrewd manipulators in politics with the aid of the plurality system of selection has led the States of Idaho, North Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, and Minnesota to inject the preferential plan into their direct-primary laws in an effort to remedy this evil. The poor success of the experiment in Idaho, and the reasons for this, have already been noted. The North Dakota plan was drawn up along the lines of the Grand Junction system, but with the vital defect of permitting but two choices. The Washington plan is very defective, not only in its limited range of choice, but in other details. In Wisconsin and Minnesota the Australian elimination and redistribution of ballots plan is used, but here also the method was weakened by limiting the voter to but two choices. Obviously the injection of the preferential system into a direct-primary law is but a temporary makeshift at the best. If the plan is worthy of consideration at all it is worth being given a true test as to its merits as a system, not as an incident in another system, and the day will shortly come when progressive States, seeking to secure the freest and clearest expression of the people's will, will give the plan that test.

More and more the students of practical politics are beginning to look to the preferential plan as the most hopeful solution of the problem for an effective remedy for the injustice of the plurality election and the defects of the direct primary. Certainly in its large results in American cities, in which it has been given a fair trial, it upholds the claim made for it by Senator Bucklin that it "secures the ultimate will of the people more fully than any other plan ever devised."



THE "HAS BEEN"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THE NEW WORLD AS PUPIL AND TEACHER OF POLITICS

BY JESSE MACY

DURING the past year I have contributed five articles to the REVIEW on the general theme of American and European politics. I am now requested to summarize the results of my observations with special reference to the present duties of the American people. That is, having preached a sermon, I must attempt to answer the question: "What shall we do to be saved?"

In the first place, we should become students of old-world conditions. The problems of the crowded countries of Europe are becoming our problems. We no longer have a vacant continent to shield us from the common lot of older states. As shown in the previous articles, Europe has much to teach us in respect to the action of direct, unchecked democracy.

Our Constitution of the eighteenth century was framed at a time when popular government was generally distrusted. Even the few democrats of the period believed that popular rule could not prevail in a centralized state. Democrats, therefore, united with the enemies of democracy in placing restrictions upon federal authority. Since that time a new industrial world has arisen, which renders necessary the exercise of high-handed powers in the general government or submission to most dangerous forms of industrial tyranny.

It is a matter of great encouragement to the lovers of freedom in America that European states are proving that governments may be highly centralized and yet remain under the direct control of a large voting constituency. Switzerland, as we have seen, has become more centralized and at the same time more thoroughly democratic. England first became democratic as a highly centralized state, and then began the process of giving democratic rule to local municipalities. Popular rule is many-sided; it is capable of assuming many forms. Americans, therefore, may go forward with great assurance in removing restrictions which in other states are shown to be useless.

Our salvation, however, will not be derived from what we can learn from other peoples. States are saved rather by what they are willing to give. Much is required from those who receive much. If the United States were required to make full return for all that has been received, its case would be desperate.

OUR DEBT TO THE OLD WORLD

We are heavy debtors to mankind at large and especially are we indebted to the older civilizations of Europe and Asia. A love of liberty has been gradually developed through thousands of years of conflict with tyranny. The growth of freedom has been associated with a westward movement away from Asiatic despotism. The Atlantic Ocean was long a stubborn barrier to this progress. Finally the most daring crossed the ocean and found in North America a land marvelously adapted to the growth of free institutions. Previous state-building had been associated with the conflict of tribe against tribe. New states were founded by the extermination, subjugation, or removal of other peoples. In America, north of Mexico, there were probably not more than a half-million human beings when Jamestown was settled.

THE ADVANCE OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

An experienced people carrying within itself the accumulated wisdom of thousands of years of western civilization found at its disposal a practically vacant continent suited to the growth of free and independent local institutions. The settlers could not be governed from Europe; they were obliged to shift for themselves. Each settlement, each neighborhood, was at first an independent community, exercising nearly all the powers of government. When colonial representative assemblies were formed they were designed, not to take the place of the local governments, but rather to make the settlers more secure in the exercise of their liberties.

The high appreciation of local liberty in the new world arose from a knowledge of intolerable tyrannies in Europe. When these liberties were seriously threatened European wars furnished to the colonies the opportunity to become free and independent States. The example of the interstate rivalry, jeal-

ousy, and war in Europe was effective in leading the American States to form a general government capable of preventing such conditions between State and State. Then followed the grand march across the continent until thirteen States have now become forty-eight.

Never before in human history has an experienced people enjoyed such an opportunity to engage in conscious state-building in a clear field. Liberty grew out of the very soil. In the newer States of the West the settlers were forced to study comparative local government. Each man naturally strove to transplant the local institutions to which he had been attached. These varied greatly among the original States, and settlers, accustomed to diverse methods of local action, meeting in the West, were led of necessity to compare and select the most available. There was, indeed, no suggestion of a scientific study of the different systems with the idea of discovering the best. The people remained as ignorant of the institutions of neighboring States as their condition would permit. There was an especial and most deplorable lack of acquaintance between North and South as to their different local institutions, until the knowledge was forced through the ordeal of a great civil war.

A NEW SCIENCE OF EDUCATION

Notwithstanding favoring conditions in the new world, the science of free government came as a free gift from the old. Out of desperate conflict with tyranny, a new pedagogy arose in Europe in the eighteenth century. Baffled in their efforts to induce in adults a conduct suited to freemen the reformers turned to the unspoiled child. The new education was based upon self-mastery, self-training, and a free and unforced communion with nature. With the new pedagogy came a new philosophy of human rights which helped to nerve our revolutionary fathers in their struggle for independence. In course of time the new spirit in education led to the adoption of a new theory of the origin of the universe. Coincident with the Civil War in America there came, as another gift of the old world to the new, a new method in science and a genuine scientific spirit.

Laboratory science suddenly became organic, international, and cosmopolitan. Yet, notwithstanding the adoption of the new order in education, and the new laboratory science; despite the threatened ruin to our country as the result of civil strife, there was little disposition to apply the methods of the new science to the difficult problems of government, until a European scholar and statesman revealed to us the leading characteristics of our government. Bryce's "American Commonwealth" made it clear to the American people that they were already in possession of a form of government suited in every way to the application of the laboratory method in political science.

"FRUITS MEET FOR REPENTANCE"

In view of our tardy recognition of the signal opportunities of our situation, in view of the great gifts which have come to us from less favored peoples of the old world, we shall be saved, if saved at all, by the old way of genuine repentance and the bringing forth of fruits meet for repentance. We must repent of the crime of wasting and destroying a rich patrimony which belonged to us only as a trust for the good of the race. We must repent of our stupidity in living for ten generations in a land where liberty grew out of the soil and then waiting to have our acceptance of democracy thrust upon us by the subjects of less favored lands. We must make an end of our childish boasting of a wisdom which neither we nor our ancestors ever possessed. We must cease to worship as a fetish a written Constitution whose framers knew it to be inadequate and defective. We must remove from that Constitution the remaining obstacles to liberty and popular government.

We must set our house in order and must seek to make of our federated form of government, which has come to us by a series of happy accidents, a guide for the inner structure of other great states and a model for the federation of Europe and of the world. We are in possession of a government which is fitted to take and hold a leading place in organizing a world democracy on the assured basis of applied political science. Our salvation will depend upon the use we make of this opportunity.

A new generation has grown up under the tutelage of Bryce's "American Commonwealth." The entire citizenship is now coming to realize that all of our political institutions throughout their entire history form a training-school in experimental political science. The school district is itself a school. So are the townships, counties, towns and cities; each and all are experiment stations in local politics. Our forty-eight States, with their wide range of independent powers, are but so many opportunities for planning and conducting experiments in free government.

A few months ago a magazine writer described the State of Wisconsin as at school under the guidance of the university. Other States are following the example of Wisconsin, and the university is becoming what its name implies, an agency for the training of all the people, of all ages, all the time.

THE NEW CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRACY

State and school are progressively becoming identical in organization and methods of operation. Prisons become schools for the teaching of a better way of life to their inmates. Judges become pedagogues for youth and expositors of law for adults. A member of the President's Cabinet is organizing a school of agriculture, whose pupils, actual or potential, are all the farmers in the country, and whose agents for gathering material for their use are found in all lands. There is apparently no assignable limit to the fusing of the processes of government with those of education. School and state are becoming one.

A few days after the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency, in an article published in the REVIEW for September, 1912, I called attention to the need of an entirely new type of conservative party. The term has hitherto been applied to reaction against democracy. The suggested new party would be in entire sympathy with popular government, but its special mission would be the prevention of waste by the utilization of acquired experience in free government. The present Democratic party, with the great educator as leader, was described as in a good condition to fulfil the requirements of the new conservatism. All that has happened since is in harmony with the view then presented. The present administration freely calls into public service distinguished teachers. A party thus led may readily become distinguished as preëminently the party of education and culture; in course of time, after reactionary conservatism has been forgotten, it may itself be designated as conservative.

The present Republican party was described as being disqualified for meeting the demands of the new conservatism because of its association with special privilege and reactionary politics. The old order of conservatism can have no place in the modern state. It can bring nothing but death to a party. The Federalist party was frankly undemocratic and it died. The Whig party fell into the hands of reactionaries and it was swept from the field by radical Republicans. The English Tory party is prolonging its life by outbidding the Liberals in the support of extreme democratic policies. The Republican party is at the present time apparently reduced to the choice of returning to its first love as the special champion of the poor, the ignorant, and the neglected classes or of going the way of Federalists and Whigs. The question, however, of special party names and the issues that distinguish parties is of minor importance. The state is in need of all the qualities described under the terms new conservatism and new radicalism.

FURTHER EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

In one sense of the term, democracy has now passed beyond the experimental stage. Former generations have resorted to the coöperation of equals in the conduct of political institutions as a mere matter of convenience or as a means of escape from oppression. Now, for the first time in human history, governments are passing into the hands of assured believers in democracy.

In another sense of the term, democracy is just now preëminently in the experimental stage. Free government is being evolved out of all sorts of political and social institutions. Its forms are numerous. So long as men were victims of conditions which they accepted as inevitable there could be no such thing as political science in the present acceptation of the term. Politics has suddenly passed from the realm of fatalism to that of deliberate choice and purpose. The condition is new and without precedent. Every distinct agency for discovering and supplying the deepest needs of the most needy in the state is becoming recognized as an experiment in the new science of living. In the interest of the great future it is desirable that great variety should characterize the early stages of the new order. One fact which gives to the United States its dominant place is its adaptability to unlimited experiments under scientific guidance.

During the last year one of the most obvious absurdities in our Constitution of 1787 has been removed. With the popular election of United States Senators it becomes possible for the first time in our history for the people of any State to elect a legislature with sole reference to State and local needs. The States are thus freed from their dependence on federal politics. Henceforth our great national parties may be organized and conducted with distinct reference to national policies, while the different States may go their own way and manage their local affairs by the use of parties or by non-partisan methods.

EFFICIENCY IN BUYING AND OPERATING MOTOR TRUCKS

BY W. A. McDERMID

WHEN the motor-truck industry was in its infancy, only a few years ago, a close student of economic conditions predicted that before many years the total investment in motor vehicles would equal the present investment in the railroads of the country.

Any industry which gives promise of such gigantic proportions touches the public interest closely. As the pleasure automobile has revolutionized country life, added untold acreage to cities, and created anew a nation of lovers of the out-of-doors, so motor transportation is creating a revolution in the manners and cost of living which affects every individual, even those whom the pleasure car has not yet reached.

The consumer, the merchant, and the manufacturer, and the maker of motor trucks have problems to solve in common—on the solution of which will depend whether in the motor truck society has a new and powerful servant, cheap and efficient, or whether it is being burdened by a costly and wasteful addition to the machinery of civilization. All of these classes have a concern in the factors which affect the efficiency of motor vehicles.

A motor-truck installation may be a profitable investment—or it may not. It should be. It would be difficult to point out a class of delivery in which *some* type of motor vehicle cannot be made more profitable than the horse-drawn vehicle. The general efficiency of the motor truck is an admitted fact.

The figures which prove this general efficiency are astonishing, but they are incontrovertible. Considering it but from two broad instances of economy, out of many, contrast, if you please, the stable that houses a fair-sized equipment of horses and wagons with the garage which would amply shelter the trucks which might displace them. Add to this result of a simple subtraction in ground rent the factor of being able to locate the garage at a greater distance from the store or warehouse, with no loss of time or exhaustion of horses, and this one economy assumes tremendous proportions.

Consider also the cost of horse mortality. Assuming that only 25 per cent. of the 25,000,000 horses and mules were used for city trucking and delivery, and that the life of these 6,250,000 averages six years, we have an annual mortality represented in cold cash, at the valuation of $125 per horse, by the sum of $130,612,500.

If we ask where business men are to get the $125,000,000 which optimistic friends of the motor truck say will be invested in it in 1914, we may also ask how they can afford to lose the larger sum, and there are those that claim that the figures are low; that nearly 40 per cent. of the horses are used in commercial work, and that the average price should be at least $150. Even discounting these figures to the limit leaves a good balance to the credit of the motor truck.

But it is worth the while of the manufacturer, the motor-truck owner, and the prospective buyer to admit frankly that in a large number of individual instances the motor truck has not lived up to its reputation. To face that condition clearly, without any attempt at self-deception, will greatly benefit all concerned.

It is the purpose, then, of this article to give to the readers of this magazine a view of the principles underlying the economical administration of the motor truck.

In attempting to analyze the cause of inefficiency of the motor truck it should be realized that its primary function is economy in transportation. The advertising effect of prestige, on which trucks have been purchased and maintained at a loss, is no justification for their use, and will react to harm the maker, the owner, and the customer the latter serves. The truck must be cheaper than any other means of conveyance in a particular service, or it is a failure and its purchase a mistake.

If we eliminate any motives of sentiment in purchase, the problem becomes one of engineering; not in the sense of designing a truck, but in looking at the motor vehicle as a piece of productive machinery. It is necessary to abandon the habit of thought engendered in centuries of association with the horse, think new thoughts in terms of power and machinery, and be prepared to discard

any preconceived ideas which do not conform to the engineering view-point.

Now, since it has been clearly demonstrated that under proper conditions the motor truck is capable of immense economies in every class of service, it is imperative to outline what these conditions are, in order to avoid the improper conditions which may combine to cause its failure.

Let us enter the field of the manufacturer (no matter what the product) in which the standards of the engineer—the trained scientist—have for years prevailed. The lathe, the automatic screw-machine, or the textile-loom form the exact analogy to the truck as a piece of productive machinery.

1. The machine must be of exactly the right type for the particular class of work it is turning out.
2. No unit must be added, until each preceding unit is working to its capacity.
3. The raw materials of manufacture must be accessible with the least possible expenditure of effort and time.
4. The finished product must be promptly removed.
5. The operator must be skilled in the use of the machine.
6. The machine must be subject to the frequent inspection of a competent mechanic. "A bolt in time saves breakdowns."

These are ideal conditions for the operation of a lathe and, translated into their equivalents, for the operation of the motor truck. All of these prerequisites come down to the basic theory of manufacturing efficiency—*the largest number of productive minutes of time per unit of machinery.* This is clearly an engineering problem, pure and simple.

How many truck owners approach the purchase and operation of motor trucks from an engineering view-point? The cold fact is that the whole problem of delivery is considered in too casual or indifferent a manner, in a lamentable number of cases, to insure good results. And, since this may seem to be entirely the fault of the buyer, it should be said that there is a frequent failure on the part of many motor-truck salesmen to analyze fully the real causes of the inability of the motor truck to effect the economies of which it is capable, as well as a tendency to overestimate its possibilities.

If, then, we apply our engineering parallel closely, the selection of the proper type of truck for the work to be performed stands first in the order of the creation of a motor-truck installation. To serve as a guide for a proper analysis of this problem, a table is appended which summarizes the suitability of various types to classes of business, with suggestions for their use. In addition to these, now on the market, there is an urgent need for a vehicle along the simple lines of the cycle-car—possibly a monocar with a package-box—capable of carrying from 300 to 500 pounds for 40 miles, on a gallon of gasoline, the empty vehicle to weigh about 400 pounds or less, the cost to be from $350 to $400. This vehicle will displace a single-horse wagon and compete with it fairly from a standpoint of initial cost, beat it for upkeep, and vastly improve the service. Such a vehicle, which will inevitably be produced in large quantities within a few years, might well be termed "Class O" in the appended table.

In selecting the type of motor vehicle for the delivery of merchandise, its application to the work should be analyzed with respect to

1. Whether load is for distribution or delivery at destination as a unit.
2. Weight and size of load units for delivery.
3. Territory to be covered.

It should be remembered, however, that because of the wide adaptability of the motor truck and the variance in many loads, there is less difficulty attached to purchase of the wrong type than there is to the purchase of too many vehicles—or, in the terms of our engineering parallel, adding units too rapidly.

Since a maximum of productive (running) time, plus normal loads, represents the ideal for operation, there is something radically wrong when an owner of four trucks, which a time-study shows to be running an average of only two hours and twenty-five minutes a day, purchases two more trucks. This is not an isolated case. It is happening daily, because the purchaser either does not get accurate facts as to running time or does not recognize its importance. There is a grave responsibility on the manufacturer who makes such sales, whether in ignorance or not.

What shall constitute normal load is as varied as there are types of business, and must be studied, again, by an engineer. But there is a common denominator for all delivery, namely: waste of time in service and every other factor in motor-truck operation

—speed, mileage, efficiency of fuels, lubricants, and tires—is insignificant when compared with the conditions which lessen the truck's efficiency for its sole and prime purpose—the transportation of commodities from one point to another. It is due to failure to realize this vital point that the cost of operation looms appallingly big in proportion to the amount of work done, and the business man decides that the motor truck is a failure, whereas a clear recognition of this one principle will make it a success.

And it is a demonstrable fact that overspeeding and overloading, with their aftermath of high repair and maintenance bills, may be reduced or eliminated by proper supervision of idle time of the machine.

We must get materials promptly to our lathe and remove its product quickly. So must the motor truck be loaded and unloaded in the shortest possible time. And it will pay in the long run to remodel shipping-rooms and loading-platforms, install conveyors or interchangeable or dumping bodies as required, or, if necessary, by increasing the loading-crews. Idle time at several dollars an hour will quickly eat up the cost of the improvements. It is paying executives to tour the country with their architects, to study loading conditions and build to keep pace with the revolution caused by new transportation methods.

As in the case of all other productive machinery, the operator must be skilful. Bonus systems, schooling, accurate impersonal and impartial supervisions, and high wages to good men will pay dividends in the delivery department. An expert repair man, or, failing that, a driver who has an incentive to show an efficiency record and the means of showing his efficiency conclusively by reason of the accuracy of the owner's knowledge of the trucks' work, can save his salary many times over by a daily inspection and tuning up. Reckless maintenance promises of the salesmen have made the buyer indifferent to his own responsibilities. The lathe is not expected to be abused and repaired by the maker; neither should the motor truck.

What, then, shall be the duty of the manufacturer of motor trucks? Obviously, to assist the customer to arrive at a new viewpoint on his delivery problem and a sincere effort to help him, with the sale of his particular truck in view only if it is adaptable to the problem.

Among the many letters that come to the Automobile Department of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, from manufacturers, it is notable that many state that the fault lies with the manufacturer and the salesman more than it does with the public. But even if this is true there is a need for coöperation.

The prospective motor owner as a class must be "sold" by improving the service now being received by the *present* owners. This does not refer to what is commonly termed "service" by manufacturers, in the sense of repairs and adjustments, but to such scientific analysis and plain honesty and frankness as to make each motor-truck installation a highly efficient and successful investment.

In endeavoring to do this, the manufacturer is confronted by a number of classes of purchasers, which may be enumerated briefly as follows:

1. The owner who does not recognize the importance of his delivery department (it is the only department in most businesses which has been permitted to operate for years in a casual way).

2. The one who is basing his motor system on horse experience, and does not realize where his losses occur. It is a hard course to steer between ever-buying on motor equipment and the equal danger of combining horse-wagons and motor trucks under the same systems and conditions.

3. The one who admits a loss, but claims inability to correct conditions. This position may be due to a large variety of reasons, ranging from laziness, or pride in his present methods, to unwillingness to antagonize some employee, but experience shows that in practically every case improvement in efficiency is possible and well worth the effort.

4. The one who is alert to improve conditions and is glad to devote the necessary attention to the problem.

This fourth class is unfortunately in the minority at present, though increasing. On the successes of this last class the motor-truck manufacturer bases his claims of the efficiency of his product—by the failures of the first three classes his product is frequently judged by prospective purchasers. When the fourth class is increased, the motor-truck industry will assume proportions which will stagger the most sanguine enthusiast.

In recognition of the difficulty of selecting the right truck for a given class of service, the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has compiled, through the coöperation of users and manufacturers, extending over a year, the table which follows. No such complete and accurate analysis has ever before been published. A careful study of each classification will greatly simplify the task of purchasing.

EFFICIENCY GUIDE FOR BUYING COMMERCIAL MOTOR CARS

KEY	
"A"	500-750 pounds
"B"	1000-1500 "
"C"	2000-3000 "
"D"	4000 .... "
"E"	6000 .... "
"F"	8000 .... "
"G"	10,000-12,000 "

SEVERAL types of cars can be used in most instances, but always make sure that the lighter model cars are used to their full efficiency before adding a heavier type of truck, which should be used to take care of the longer and heavier haul. In fact, all cars owned should be used to their capacity before more are purchased.

CLASS A (500-750 POUNDS)

Use this type of motor wagon for delivering articles light in weight and where many trips can be made each day. Often it is more efficient to make several complete trips with small cars than it is to hold up packages for delivery by larger cars, when most of the time the big truck equipment is running with too light a load, making for low efficiency and poor service to customers.

The grocer who has four or five horse wagons can replace these at present with two class "A" trucks. These will carry the same total load—give more mileage, and be much faster. But it will require careful planning to give the same service over a widely scattered territory as with a larger number of vehicles, however slow. And since frequent, short trips are often necessary to please the customer, a still smaller vehicle may be necessary.

Cars of this type are also used to good advantage in "fan-tail" delivery from substations to which heavy loads are transferred from store, warehouse or factory by heavy-duty units. This is also true of class "B" and "C" cars.

MANUFACTURERS	SIZES OF CARS THAT CAN BE USED
Advertising Novelties	A B
Aluminum Goods	A B C
Blank Book	A B
Boiler Compound	A
Cigar, Cigarette and Tobacco	A B—D E
DEPARTMENT STORES	A B C D E F
GENERAL STORES	A B C D E F
WHOLESALERS	
Barbers' Supply Houses	A B C D E
Cigars and Tobacco	A B C D E
Coffee, Tea and Spice Dealers' and Bakers' Supply	A B C
LAUNDRIES	A B C
MILK DEALERS	A B C D E F G
NURSERYMEN, SEEDSMEN & FLORISTS	A B C D E F G
PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS	A B C D E F G
RETAIL STORES	
Automobile Supplies	A B
Bakers	A B C D
Butchers	A B C D
China, Crockery and Glassware	A B C
Confectioners	A B C D
Druggists	A B
Dry Goods	A B C D E
Fur Garments	A B C
Grocers	A B C D
Hardware	A B C D
Jewelers	A B
Shoes	A B
CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS	A B C D
MOVING PICTURE AMUSEMENT COMPANIES	A B C D
U. S. GOVERNMENT (Mail, Marine, and War Departments)	A B C D E F G
MUNICIPAL SERVICE	A B C D E F G

CLASS B (1000-1500 POUNDS)

This type of motor truck should be used where the product to be delivered will average more in weight, also where the quantity of material for delivery is larger and the hauls longer than in Class A. Study carefully the type of body to use in each particular case, for it may be advisable to have a comparatively large body put on the truck chassis so as to make it possible to load the car properly with the product in hand in order to make each load reach as near as possible the car's total carrying capacity. Be sure, however, never to overload on account of a large body. There is grave danger of overloading with the temptation of a large body, and the wide overhang creates a risk of damage which should be carefully considered in conference with a motor truck designer. An economy frequently effected by motor trucks is in reduction of number of drivers, through carrying more packages or pounds per load at more speed. Yet in certain instances, the reduction of drivers and the addition of helpers, or house to house delivery men, may

be found to add to the efficiency of the motor truck, and add to its daily tonnage, through the added assistance toward *keeping it moving.*

This type can be used to good advantage in "fan-tail" delivery for purposes designated for Class "A" and "C" cars.

Manufacturers	Sizes of Cars That Can Be Used
Adding Machine	B
Advertising Signs	B C D E
Bank, Office and Store Fixtures	B C D E
Barbers' Fixtures	B
Bar Fixtures	B— —E
Battery	B C D
Bedstead	B
Billiard Goods	B— —E
Boot and Shoe	B C D E F G
Bottlers' Machinery and Supply	B C D E—G
Brush	B
Cabinet Makers	B
Chemicals, Apparatus and Supply	B C D E F
Cereal	B C D—F
Cigar Box	B C D
Cloak and Suit	B C D E
Cracker and Biscuit	B C D E F
Cutlery	B C D E
Dairy Supplies	B—D—F
Dentist Furniture	B C D
Fertilizers	B C D E F
Leather	B C D E—G
Mineral Water and Soft Drink	B C D E F G
Musical Goods (small)	B C D E
Pianos, Organs, Harps, etc.	B C D E F G
Paint and Varnish	B C D E F
Radiator	B C D E—G
Refrigerating Machinery	B C D E F G
Sewing Machine Mfrs. and Agents	B C D E F
Shirt Manufacturers	B C D E
Express Companies and Warehouses	B C D E F G
Wholesalers	
Boots and Shoes	B C D E F
Bottlers	B C D E F
Butter and Eggs	B C D E
China, Crockery and Glassware	B C D E
Confectioners' and Bakers' Supply Dealers	B C D E F G
Druggists	B C D E
Electric Light Plant Co. Supplies	B C D E F G
Feed, Flour and Grain	B C D E F G
Fish and Poultry	B C D E
Fruits and Nuts	B C—E
Restaurant and Hotel Supplies	B C D E
Newspapers Only (daily)	B C
Retail Stores	
Carpet-Cleaning Companies	B C D
Carpet Dealers	B C D
Furniture	B C D E
Builders and Building Material	
Builders and Mason Supply Houses	B C D E F G
Carpenters and Builders	B C D E F
Contractors	B C D E F G
Electrical Contractors and Dealers	B C D E F
Roofers	B C D E F
Ambulances, Public and Private	B
Asylums, Hospitals and Sanitariums	B C D E
Hotels	B C D
Telephone Companies	B C D E F
Public Service Transportation and Trucking	B C D E F G
Railroads	B C D E F
Water and Gas Companies	B C D E F
Real Estate Development Companies	B C D E

CLASS C (2000-3000 POUNDS)

An average haul of 2000 pounds would be classed as the first in the heavier type of delivery car, and it is used mostly in cases where each individual product hauled is of a good weight in itself even if it be in the form of crates or boxes carrying a great many smaller articles, such as is done in the manufacturing or wholesale business. In a great many instances, this type of car is the smallest that can be used with efficiency and yet as is shown by the foregoing information, a car of this type often forms part of a motor truck equipment to take care of the longer and heavier hauls.

In some big delivery problems this type of car can be used to good advantage in "fan-tail" delivery from sub-stations to which heavy loads are *transferred* from store, warehouse or factory by heavy-duty units. This is also true of class "A" and "B" cars.

Manufacturers	Sizes of Cars That Can Be Used
Carpet	C D E
Machinery	C D E—G
Oil Producers	C D E F G
Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Supplies	C D E F G
Pump	C D E F G
Soap	C D E F
Textile	C D E F
Tinware	C D E
Tool	C D E F
Brewers	C D E F G
Coal and Ice Dealers	C D E F G
Wholesalers	
Butchers and Packers	C D E F G
Carpet Dealers	C D E
Hardware	C D E F
Liquor	C D E F G
Produce	C D E F
Woodenware	C D E F
Builders and Building Material	
Cement Dealers	C D E F
Cement Contractors	C D E F
Heating Contractors	C D E F
Mason Contractors	C D E F
Paving Contractors	C D E F
Road Contractors	C D E F
Municipal (Fire Apparatus—Auxiliary, not Pumping)	C D
Motor Bus (Public)	C D E F G
Passenger Transportation (Private)	C D E

CLASS D (4000 POUNDS)

This type of car might very easily be classed as the average heavy haul type. In a great many instances where a concern has

an equipment of various types of vehicles this particular type would be the heaviest car to care for all the bigger hauling problems. A car of this capacity should not be bought as an experiment but should be carefully chosen as an investment (as should be the purchaser's attitude toward all motor equipment), for a substantial amount of money is involved in the transaction. Manufacturers, wholesalers, builders and dealers in building material, handling articles of the heaviest minimum weight, use this class of vehicle to a very large extent, and should operate several of them before adding to their equipment cars of a still heavier type. Study of most efficient body design is vitally important. Coöperation with truck manufacturers and body builders will bring good results.

Manufacturers	Sizes of Cars That Can Be Used
Artificial Ice	D E F G
Lead, White	D E F G
Paper	D E F G
Rubber Goods	D E F G
Steam Boiler	D E F G
Stove	D E F G
Wire	D E F
Wholesalers	
Canners	D E F G
Furniture	D E F
Grocers	D E F
Builders and Building Material	
Artificial Stone Manufacturers	D E F G
Brick Manufacturers	D E F
Cement "	D E F
Excavating Contractors	D E F
Grading Contractors	D E F
Construction and Contracting Companies	D E F G
Fireproof Construction and Material	D E F G
Gravel and Sand Dealers	D E F G
Iron and Steel Construction Co. Mfrs.	D E F G
Lumber Dealers and Yards	D E F
Stone and Cut Stone Contractors	D E F G
Mining	D E F G

CLASS E (6000 POUNDS)

The trades classed below are those who would use this type of car as their lightest model, for they deal only in commodities of very large and heavy sizes. This Class "E" car, however, is used in a great many instances in cases where the concerns have a full equipment of motor vehicles of various sizes, and in the majority of cases special bodies are required.

Manufacturers	Sizes of Cars That Can Be Used
Barrel	E
Chain	E F
Foundries	E F G
Marble and Granite	E—G
Silk	E F G
Sugar Mfrs. and Refiners	E F G
Transfer and freight service to eliminate railroad hauls of under 100 miles	E F G
Builders and Building Material	
Building Block Mfrs. (Hollow and Concrete)	E F G

CLASS F (8000 POUNDS)

In the great majority of cases where this and a heavier type of truck is used most exclusively, there is a special body required with devices for loading and unloading, and in some instances the truck has to act as a tractor. Trucks of large capacity are sometimes used for making "trunk-line hauls" in which case smaller capacity trucks are also used for distributing purposes. The choice for capacities should have the most thoughtful analysis. Many times a single four or five-ton truck is employed where it is most obvious that two two-ton trucks could do more economical work and render better service to the customer. The four or five-ton truck always at lower speed may be running along with its load two-thirds exhausted, making deliveries one at a time at infrequent intervals; while two smaller trucks would serve twice the number of customers in less time. Be sure when purchasing this and heavier types of trucks to consult intimately with truck manufacturers to determine the car best fitted for the work.

Manufacturers	Sizes of Cars That Can Be Used
Car Builders and Shops	F G
Car Wheel	F G
Safe Mfrs. and Dealers	F G
Builders and Building Material	
Asphalt and Paving Companies	F G
Steel Structural Work and Bridge Builders	F G

CLASS G (10,000-12,000 POUNDS)

All of the trades using this extremely heavy type of truck would use also a lighter type, therefore they have been classified under the preceding classifications. This heaviest type of truck accomplishes gigantic feats in lifting and hauling. It has made a great many very difficult problems more possible of accomplishment within a more normal operating expense. Special care in fitting the most efficient type of body to heavy-duty units is essential. The cubic contents of the body should bear a close relation to the unit value of the goods. Underloading this unit means loss of profit from truck. Overloading will cause higher upkeep charges and shorter useful life. Cars of this type are very often built under special contract, embodying special design.

Note: This information for efficiency in buying and operating motor trucks applies to electric and gasoline trucks.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

CURRENT TOPICS IN THE MAGAZINES

AN article by the late J. N. Larned on "A Practicable Organization of Democracy" appears in the November number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Larned's complaint against our present political organization is that *opinion* has never been made the basis of representation. He believes that there should at once be organized what he describes as "unrestricted constituencies of agreeing opinion," and that such constituencies should have a representation in government that would be uncontested and complete. Such an arrangement would involve no change in our present mode of preparing or polling votes. Each citizen might vote in the district of his residence as now. There would, however, be a more systematic registration of voters. Kindred-minded people resident in the same election district would form electoral groups and would associate themselves with other electoral groups of like-minded voters in other election districts, making up a number of voters sufficient for the constituency of a representative in their city board of aldermen or their county board of supervisors or the State legislature or in the national Congress.

The law should provide that such electoral groups and constituencies shall be officially numbered and recorded, and the facts concerning these affiliations of citizens in each community will be covered by the registration. On election day each vote cast by a voter registered as belonging to an electoral group would bear the number of the group. If the election returns showed that the groups united in a given constituency had polled a number of votes sufficient to satisfy the requirement in such constituency, and if the same person had been named by a majority, that constituency would have elected a representative.

The leading article in the *North American Review* (October) on "Asquith, the Master Statesman," is contributed by the editor, Colonel George Harvey, and was written in London during the month of September. Colonel Harvey recalls to the minds of his readers the chaotic situation that existed in British politics only two years ago, when class was arrayed against class, the burdens of taxation were being shifted from one class to another, and new definitions were being found for "vested rights." At that time, says Colonel Harvey, England approached more closely to civil war than the vast majority of her own people suspected, or than even the smallest number of Americans ever dreamed. It was then that England required a master such as Herbert Henry Asquith has proved to be. Not only that, but as a statesman, in Colonel Harvey's opinion, Mr. Asquith will live in history as the conductor of a profound constitutional revolution to a successful issue.

In the same number of the *North American,* Mr. Sydney Brooks, presenting what he calls "A British View of the Mexican Problem," advises the Government at Washington to recognize General Huerta without any further reservations, and to assist him financially to assert his authority. This advice, it should be stated, was offered before the recent developments in the City of Mexico.

Mr. Charles F. Carter discusses the West Virginia coal insurrection from the point of view of the non-union miner, and there is an interesting and informing symposium on currency legislation in which Mr. Samuel Untermyer, Mr. Paul M. Warburg, and Senator Robert L. Owen take part. Mr. Untermyer and Mr. Warburg both offer many criticisms of minor features of the currency bill and state that amendments will have to be made before the measure is workable. Senator Owen gives a history of the bill and outlines its main provisions.

In the *Forum* (October) Miss Dolores Butterfield, who is well informed on Mexican topics from long residence in the country, writes on "The Conspiracy against Madero." She declares that there never will be real or stable peace in Mexico while either Huerta or Diaz rules. Other topics discussed in this number of the *Forum* are "The Settlement in the Balkans," by Roland G. Usher; "Old-World Democracy," by Carl S. Hansen; "Social Nemesis and Social Salvation," by Anna Garlin Spenser, and "Are the Japanese Unfriendly?" by Harold C. Ridgely.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT ON THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

THE leading contribution to the *Century Magazine* for October is Colonel Roosevelt's discussion of the place and purposes of the Progressive party one year after its birth. The editor of the *Century* introduces Colonel Roosevelt's article with the statement that "progressivism is the one altogether incalculable element in the political situation in this country at a time when all men are peering, puzzled and anxious, into the mists of the future."



"IT'S ALIVE! IT'S ALIVE!"
From the *World* (New York)

In order to show that there are no longer the real distinctions between the two old parties which formerly existed Colonel Roosevelt opens his article with a brief survey of the records of the Republican and Democratic parties since the Civil War. He shows that the new issues that arose after the war tended to divide the parties, each within itself, rather than to serve as a basis for true party division. Against each party alike he brings the charge of indecision of purpose in dealing with vital problems. To illustrate his point he cites the action of the Democratic party in alternately nominating Mr. Bryan and Mr. Parker for President, and he calls attention to the fact that men as widely sundered in their convictions as Senators Penrose, La Follette, and Smoot share the leadership of the present Republican party.

Colonel Roosevelt holds that the country has need of "efficient and coherent governmental action as regards the really vital questions of the day." Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party as at present constituted can supply this need, in his opinion. The Democracy, he says, is wedded to States' rights and hence cannot serve the people in obtaining those people's rights, which only the full power of the national government can secure. On the other hand, the Republican party has given over its machinery to the "powers that prey" in the political and business world. As an instance of the way in which the present party conditions in this country have brought about the absolute powerlessness of the people against the combined old party machines, Colonel Roosevelt cites the repudiation by Republican and Democratic members of the New York legislature of their pre-election pledges as to primary legislation.

As a corollary of this absence of vital party distinctions, Colonel Roosevelt attempts to show that neither of the old party organizations can be used as an instrument for dealing with really vital problems. The new issues that have arisen from the social and economic changes of the last fifty years must be dealt with by new methods, and the only political party in existence to-day which recognizes this fact is the Progressive party. How the Progressive party attempts to apply the principles of social and industrial justice



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OFF FOR SOUTH AMERICA
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

in the concrete was illustrated in its national platform of 1912.

The Progressive party believes that the people themselves should be the ultimate law-making power, and that so far as concerns all laws for social and industrial justice, the people themselves should have the right to decide, after due deliberation, what laws are to be placed upon the statute-books and what construction is to be placed upon constitutions, national and State. Colonel Roosevelt is careful to say, however, that this proposal has nothing whatever to do with any ordinary case of law, but has to do only with the exercise by the courts of political and legislative functions. Whether the people of any State are to have a workmen's compensation law, or a law limiting the number of hours of women in industry, or providing for the safeguarding of dangerous machinery—laws denied to the people again and again by the courts—is a matter to be decided by the people themselves. In other words, Colonel Roosevelt maintains that the doctrine of the divine right of judges is quite as much out of date as the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Whether the court or the legislature shall have the upper hand does not interest him so much as the proposition that the people should have the upper hand over both.



IT TAKES MORE THAN A FEW DEFEATS TO KILL A BULL MOOSE
From the *News* (Baltimore)

Colonel Roosevelt sums up the Progressive position in the dictum that government should concern itself chiefly with the matters of most importance to the average man and the average woman and that it should be its special province to aid in making the conditions of life easier for these ordinary men and ordinary women who compose the great bulk of our people. As a means to this end the people must somehow obtain direct control over their own governmental agencies.

THE PICTURESQUE SARDINE FISHERIES

WHEN one sees an open tin of sardines on the table one hardly realizes how many perils faced, how many difficulties surmounted, and what a sum of labor the little fish immersed in golden oil represent. Monsieur Robert Plé, in a recent issue of the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris), gives a very interesting account of the way sardine fishing is conducted on the Brittany coast. He says:

There is not a cove or creek along the coast between the peninsula of Crozon down to the mouth of the Loire that does not shelter, behind a pier or any rude mooring-place, some sardine fishing-craft. Likewise, there is not a hamlet of any size that does not have a "cannery," to which the fishing-smacks of all the smaller ports bring the product of their labor.

It is also in those "centers" that the boats are constructed. They are of all dimensions, beginning with the eight-foot boat worth from six to seven hundred francs, and manned by three men, up to the two-masted bark requiring a crew of five men and a cabin-boy, which costs in the neighborhood of ten thousand francs.

They are all sturdily built craft, differing in form according to the place they come from, those from Concarneau, Dounarnenez, or Audriene being easily distinguishable from one another. The fishing-craft held in highest esteem come from the shipyards of Concarneau, Camaret, Dounarnenez, Croix, and Belle-Ile.

The launching of a boat is a ceremony full of dignity and simplicity. A priest, or several of them, according to the means of the owner of the craft, stands at the stern facing the sea. The priest prays while the crew kneel with bowed heads. Then he walks slowly around the boat, tracing the sign of the cross in the air at every step. Holy water is sprinkled and falls in drops of diamond on the dark hull, which gradually slides into the gently pulsing waters of the

harbor before receiving the final benediction of the open sea.

The nets used at present for sardine fishing are from 40 to 50 meters in length by 10 meters' width, with varying sizes of mesh. They have a row of corks the whole length of one side and a line of lead sinkers on the other. This is to keep the net afloat vertically like a wall. They cost from 60 to 100 francs apiece, according to the size of the mesh. The average fishing-smack carries three nets, if it does not go out much beyond the harbor. But for more distant expeditions they have to carry about fifteen. This alone represents a neat sum of money. Add to this the cost of bait (the hard roe of the cod), which fluctuates in price and sometimes goes up so high as to prove well-nigh ruinous to the fishermen, and it is easy to realize that it takes some capital to become a "patron" (boss fisherman). Let us join Jean Marie, a typical "patron," on a fishing expedition.

A hearty good fellow is Jean Marie, and none sharper. He had been one of the first to start as soon as the shoals of sardines were reported, but he lets all the other boats get ahead of him. The old sea-dog has studied the direction of the wind, and he knows that, with the rather heavy sea now running, the sardines will be hugging the shore and will be in a spot he knows of.

Jean Marie throws a handful of roe, to cause the fish to rise, while his men watch the water intently. "Here they are!" suddenly cries one, seeing a steel-like flash in the depths. Soon the water takes a characteristic slaty tint. At once all is action. The sail is furled and the long oars are put in place; a net is unwound and thrown overboard from the stern. A few strokes of the oars and the corks are seen dancing on the surface in a taut, straight line. The "patron," standing at the stern, continues to scatter the bait to entice the fish; then more to the right and to the left of the net, to make them work their way through the net. As soon as the "patron" estimates that the fish are properly enmeshed he signs to the men at the oars, who immediately begin to draw the net.

No jewel-box of the Rajahs of India can compare with the radiant splendor of the quivering little fish that soon cover the deck with the sparkle of diamonds and opals; 4000 to 5000 sardines to the net is considered a "normal" catch. If no accident happens to break the net, the same one is thrown in again. But woe betide when the cry of "Porpoises!" is raised. The nets cannot be hauled up too soon to prevent their being torn to shreds by the band of jolly marauders disporting themselves in the shoals of sardines and devouring them wholesale. Our boat having made a fair catch, about 10,000, we hoist the sail and make for the port.

On the quay a noisy, expectant crowd awaits the return of the flotilla. The manager of the cannery is there, also. He hails our "patron" in turn, as soon as we heave within hearing: "Jean Marie, how many?" "Ten! How much?" bawls Jean Marie. "Thirty." The bargain is closed—thirty francs per thousand. Good. Immediately the crew sets to work. The top of the deck is taken off, revealing the cargo, which has already lost all its brilliant tints, for no fish fades quicker than the sardine, and everybody begins to fill the baskets. When they contain the requisite number they are washed clean of scales, till they shine again, and delivered to the buyer. This accomplished, the boat is thoroughly washed and flushed until not a drop of dirty water remains in the hold, for that would be enough to spoil the next cargo. While the boy is doing this the men inspect the nets and mend them, if necessary. Then the crew, having gotten into dry clothes, set gaily about making "cotriade," the evening meal. Night is falling and lends a mysterious charm to the scene. The fire is kindled; on the tripod hangs the pot, filled with water and seasoning. The boy feeds the flames, while some of the men prepare the various fish that enter into the composition of the "cotriade" with a precision and nicety that a culinary artist might envy. Another peels the potatoes, while the "patron" himself cuts thin slices of bread into each individual bowl. The water boils, and the fish, washed "in the big cup," as the fishermen call the sea, is put into the pot according to prescribed rites. First the conger (a sort of eel) and the mackerel, then the doree, and lastly the whiting, for each requires different treatment. It's all in—nothing more to do but to wait. The boy is on the watch, while the men smoke or chew tobacco, dreaming or drowsing. At last the soup is ready. It is a solemn moment when the cover is raised and an aromatic cloud assails the nostrils. They all fall to. What dainty dish can compare with this delicious, fragrant fish soup, eaten while sitting on the edge of a boat, surrounded by the majestic serenity of a darkened sea? The supper is over, everything washed up. Everything is made ready for the early morning start. Then a last pipe is smoked, a last story told, and the men wrap themselves in their great-coats and lie down on the benches or under the sails. Everything is stilled in the soothing, solemn silence; only afar off sits a cabin-boy, mending a net by a watchlight and singing a plaintive "sone."

And so it goes on every day from the beginning of June to November, or as long as the sardine "gives" and the weather permits.

The "patron" having been paid, proceeds to settle accounts with his men. Agreement between the "patrons" and his men vary in different places. In Dounarnenez, for example, the "patron" is entitled to half of the net receipts, the men to the remaining half, which they divide equally between them. In Belle-Ile the "patron" gets two-thirds, but in either case he bears all the expenses, even paying for two-thirds of the "cotriade" and the dram of whiskey for each man.

On an average during normal seasons a fisherman earns about 1200 francs a year. But alas! when bad seasons come, when sardines are scarce and the boats come in nearly empty, or the weather is too bad to venture out at all, then the lot of the fisherman and his poor family is not to be envied.

A FILIPINO ON "NEUTRALIZATION"

AN interesting contribution to the study of the Filipino question is offered by Señor Mariano H. de Joya in the magazine *Cultura Filipina* (Manila).

The writer, in his search for the best possible solution of the difficulties involved, passes in rapid review the systems heretofore applied to insure the independence of small states lacking the power to defend themselves from the aggressions of powerful neighbors, and hence requiring outside support of some kind to guarantee their independent existence. In such cases resort has been had usually either to a protectorate, exercised by one or more of the great powers, or to a treaty, signed by all the powers, the terms of which provided for the permanent neutralization of the country in question. In this latter contingency the small country, while enjoying a full measure of self-government, and the right to protect itself (as far as may be) from aggression, has no right to enter into any offensive or defensive alliance with any other country; of the neutralization of a land under these conditions, Belgium and Switzerland are leading examples. This system is in one important respect preferable to that of a protectorate, under which the protected country might easily become involved should war break out between the protecting power or powers and others not participating in the protectorate.

Proceeding to a consideration of the concrete question, Señor Mariano de Joya writes:



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MANUEL QUEZON, PHILIPPINE DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

The present status of the Philippine Archipelago constitutes a real motive for a war, sooner or later, between the nation governing it and the Empire of the Rising Sun. Whatever statements may be made by a wily diplomacy, under present conditions the conflict is inevitable. To remove this danger menacing the peace of the Far East, it is absolutely essential, therefore, that the Philippine Islands shall be made an independent state with a permanent neutralization guaranteed by all the great powers. This seems to be at once the most practical solution and the one most compatible with the just and noble aspirations of the Filipino race, and with the ruling spirit of our age, which has undertaken the task of realizing the designs of the Supreme Being governing and controlling the destinies both of individuals and of states—that is, the permanent establishment of happiness and good will among men and peace among all the nations of the earth.

The political principles and the interests of the United States, which has undertaken the tutelage of the Filipino people, demand the course indicated above. Americans, generally speaking, have not failed to cherish and advance the cause of human liberty, and have given protection to lands which were striving to control their own destinies. The republics of South America, as well as Cuba and Panama, have felt the protecting hand of the great Republic of the North, by whose efforts the integrity of China has also been conserved. The Americans are well aware of the fact that, however good any particular form of government may be, it does not follow that this is the best for every nation, since it is unquestionable that the only form of government which can endure, and which can at the same time give satisfaction to any given people, is one in harmony with the aspirations, the psychology, the manners and customs of that people. Believing in the justice of the cause of the Filipino people and in the good will and disinterestedness of the American people, so often manifested in spite of the thwarting opposition of merely material interests, we have much to hope for from the land of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

In conclusion, the writer emphasizes the destructive character of a conflict between the United States and Japan, a conflict only

to be avoided, in his estimation, by a neutralization of the islands:

It would be war to the death, because the Japanese Empire would be battling for its existence, though for the United States the contest would only concern its honor and prestige. We are no pessimists; we only speak of a real and imminent peril menacing two great powers whose relations have heretofore been peaceful. Once the neutralization of the Philippine Archipelago has been accomplished, the United States will be free from all danger of complications in this part of the world, and can dedicate itself entirely to the development of its immense resources and to the realization of its great project of preserving universal peace and bringing about a general reduction of armaments. When this project has been realized, it may then be said that if Israel has endowed the world with its religion, Greece with its philosophy, and Rome with its legality, the United States has given peace to the world and thus merits the benedictions of Humanity.

WHAT BECOMES OF ITALIANS IN SOUTH AMERICA?

THAT a strong current of Italian emigration should set toward Latin America is not surprising in view of the fundamental sympathy and comprehension, in spite of many superficial and some quite essential differences, that subsist between the various Latin peoples. The countries which have so far attracted the greater number of these Italians are Argentina and Brazil, the first-named land having afforded a wide sphere of activity for these immigrants, many of whom have acquired a large measure of wealth and influence. In Brazil, however, where the Italian element is most prominent in the State of São Paolo, conditions have been much less favorable.

While gladly welcoming good news as to the welfare of their expatriated fellow-countrymen, patriotic Italians are anxious to keep alive among them a sentiment of fidelity to the far-off native land, and this wish finds eloquent expression in an article in the *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) by Signor Romolo Murri, who writes as follows:

Those of Italian birth, unless some more obvious human obligation intervene, ought to remain Italians. This duty retains all its force in the new country to which they have migrated, and Italy should watch over the social obligations resulting from this duty. We do not assist the emigrants in order that they may become good citizens of New York or Buenos Aires, but that they may, as far as possible, remain good Italians while in those places. We encourage emigration that the emigrant may become an instrument of national defense, progress, and expansion. With him and in his train should go our language and our culture, as well as our products.

Our share in this duty is, of course, defined and limited by international laws and relations, but it not the less exists. Respect for the sovereignty of the country to which the emigrant repairs imposes limits on it, but does not suppress it, and when we have to do with newly-founded governments, in lands where social order is not yet firmly established, our tutelage must extend to some degree beyond the emigrants themselves to the country which receives them, to the protection of whose laws we have confided our citizens.

The importance of this principle appears all the more clearly when we have to deal, not with isolated individuals or small communities absorbed in a more numerous and homogeneous population, but with great agglomerations of Italians in young countries inhabited by a population of mixed race still in process of evolution. To pretend to watch over the interests of Italy and the Italians in regions such as the State of São Paolo, in Brazil, where of three million inhabitants one million are Italians, or in the Argentine Republic, where out of a population of seven millions the Italians or those of Italian parentage number two millions, with the same forms adapted to the interests of the Italian settlers in Canada or Mexico, would be at once illogical and unwise.

The writer is much impressed with the necessity of strenuous effort to arouse a proper sentiment of Italian nationality among the emigrants, and advises the establishment of Italian schools as the means best adapted to this end. Of present conditions he says:

Our emigrants have not brought with them a fully-developed national consciousness, it is only in the new land that it has been evoked through the stimulus of a longing for home, and also through the hard pressure of the life about them. Uneducated, indeed for the most part totally illiterate, they have preserved and even intensified the bashfulness and uncouthness of their young days. Provincial diversities of dialect and character have estranged them from one another, so that instead of Italian emigrants we should rather speak of Piedmontese, Neapolitan, or Sicilian emigrants. Those having enjoyed the advantages of a professional training, most numerous in Buenos Aires, have always been divided by an incurable professional jealousy and rivalry in their mad race for wealth. Their native land, so far distant, was also distant in thought for the emigrants, and national pride, in which we are rather lacking as a race, weakened by indifference and neglect on the part of Italy, had to hide itself and keep silent when confronted by the arrogance of the native citizens.

* * * * * *

This state of things will not change until our Government and our people shall have come to understand clearly the importance of our transoceanic emigration for the development of our

race and for the destinies of our land. We have recently expended a billion lire, and what counts much more, many human lives, for the conquest of Lybia; exigencies of international politics justify this conquest and its cost to us. Unquestionably, however, the fervent popular enthusiasm was due in great part to the hope that the new colony would serve as a home for our superfluous and necessitous population, and these hopes are doomed to disappointment. It is to alien lands that the Italians will still have to divert their course year by year.

RAILWAY-BUILDING IN SOUTH AMERICA

THROUGHOUT the various states of South America, from Venezuela to Argentina, the railroad is rapidly linking the great centers of commerce and industry, the engineering feats that have been successfully achieved ranking among the most wonderful in the world. In the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union Mr. William A. Reid presents some exceedingly interesting statistics of the railways of the South American continent, together with a series of illustrations which convey a vivid impression of the obstacles encountered in the construction and operation of the roads.

VENEZUELA

Though the total mileage of Venezuela's eleven lines of railroads does not exceed 800 miles, it includes two tracks that are somewhat unusual. One is that of the Bolivar, the oldest in the country, begun in 1873, connecting the seaport of Tucacas with the copper mines of Aroa and with Barquisimeto, and having a gauge of 24 inches only; the other, that of La Guaira-Caracas Railway, which "climbs a circuitous route from the port to the capital, 3000 feet above sea-level, traversing a distance of 22 miles, while the air-line between the two cities is only 8 miles." Traveling on this railway is something of a luxury, the first-class fare being about 11 cents a mile. The Grand Venezuela Railroad, connecting Caracas with Valencia, is about 112 miles long and is said to have cost $80,000,000. It is a German enterprise, and the road passes over 212 viaducts and bridges and through no less than 86 tunnels. According to Mr. Reid, "the net receipts from all the railroads of Venezuela in 1911, roughly speaking, amounted to $2000 per mile, or about $2,158,000, a return of 4 per cent. on the invested capital."

COLOMBIA

Colombia has no trunk line of railways, but 15 or more lines are operated by nine different companies. All of these lines are short ones.

From Cartagena on the Caribbean to Calamar on the Magdalena, 65 miles, there is a railway connecting the ocean and the river port. Sabanilla and Barranquilla, 15 miles apart, are similarly connected. These two railways doubtless owe their existence to the fact that the Magdalena has many bars about its mouth, which have proved a great hindrance to navigation. The traveler bound for Bogotá may stop at Cartagena or Sabanilla and from either place take a train for one of the river ports, where connection is made with boat service which starts from Barranquilla.

ECUADOR

The principal port of Ecuador is Guayaquil, which was linked by rail with Quito, the capital, in July, 1908, the completion of the enterprise being effected at a cost of $17,000,000. Of the engineering difficulties, Mr. Reid writes:

The climb up the mountains was stoutly contested by nature's almost impassable barriers; and before reaching the city of Riobamba, which might be termed the half-way point, there are 29° curves and grades of 4½ per cent., the climbing of which requires powerful locomotives, which pull only a few cars. The distance from Guayaquil to Quito is 290 miles, the rail journey requiring two days—the first day in making the ascent to Riobamba, and the second in traveling along the very roof of the world to the capital city.

This road was built with North American capital, and the officials, engineers, and conductors are from the United States. . . . The road has never been a paying proposition, largely from the fact that coal for steaming purposes must be imported, and this commodity usually comes from Australia or England.

PERU

In Peru the difficulties in railway construction have been enormous. The Oroya road from Callao on the coast to Oroya, 138 miles distant, begun about 1869, and built under the guidance of the late Henry Meiggs, includes in its route the famous Galera tunnel, 15,665 feet above the sea.

To-day this railway, known as the Central Railroad, stands as one of the most wonderful in the world, owing to the engineering difficulties that were overcome in its construction. For 88 miles there is not a single down grade, while bridges, tunnels, and curves are almost innumerable.

The McCune syndicate, a North American concern, is actively building toward the Ucayali, a tributary of the Amazon, the distance of the line, from Goyllarisquisca on the Oroya road to the river port of Pucalpa, being a little less than 300 miles.

Iquitos, a Peruvian city of about 11,000 population, when the rubber-gatherers are at home, is situated 2300 miles from the mouth of the Amazon. From Iquitos to Pucalpa 2000-ton steamers may ply on the Ucayali. Thus it will be seen that the completion of the new route will unite the upper Amazon valley with the Pacific Ocean, the rail distance being considerably under 500 miles. . . . Another Peruvian railway, the Southern, starting at the port of Mollendo, climbs the mountains via the ancient city of Arequipa, and, before reaching its terminus at Puno on Lake Titicaca, 324 miles attains an altitude of 14,666 feet.

The railway world of Peru "is dominated by the Peruvian Corporation, an English concern."

BRAZIL

There are 64 different lines or systems in Brazil—classified as National, State, and those under Federal concession and control. The first line, known as the Maua, was begun in 1854, and, by a system of cogs, eventually reached the city of Petropolis. The trip to this popular suburban city is one of the most picturesque in the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro.

The railways of Brazil, generally speaking, radiate from her five leading seaports—Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Rio Grande do Sul. The three latter systems have been connected, and before many years the lines now in course of construction or planned will unite by rail the mouth of the Amazon section with the most southern part of the Republic.

The Brazil Railway Co., incorporated under the laws of the State of Maine, has an authorized capital of $60,000,000, owns and controls over 5000 miles of road in southern Brazil, and also owns about 50 per cent. of the preference and ordinary share capital of the Mamore-Madeira, 212 miles, in the heart of the Brazilian jungle. . . . The report of the four English companies —the Leopoldina, the Great Western, the Great Southern, and the São Paulo, operating 2787 miles of road—shows that during the last fiscal year there was a gain of £359,251 ($1,796,255) in gross receipts. . . . Although the São Paulo paid its usual 13 per cent. and the Great Western its 6 per cent., the Leopoldina dropped from 3½ to 2 per cent.

BOLIVIA

Where ten years ago the traveler to La Paz via Lake Titicaca "was compelled to resort to mule-train or take the primitive stage-coach, with its four or six mules, as the case happened to be, to-day the traveler rides over the route in a modern railway-car quite comfortably in a few hours." This road was constructed with national funds and cost about half a million dollars. To-day the Republic has 750 miles of railroads, and is pushing construction still farther into the rich and unexploited sections of the interior. Bolivia's third outlet to the Pacific, the La Paz to Arica railroad, was recently inaugurated. The city of Potosi has been united with the main railway at Rio Mulato, and this line will be extended to Sucre, the legal capital of the Republic.

PARAGUAY

In Paraguay the Central Railroad has recently joined the capital, Asuncion, with Buenos Aires, 1100 miles to the southward, the trip being made without change of cars by ferrying the trains over the Parana River. The Trans-Paraguay line, under construction, will join at Iguazu the Brazilian line now being built from São Francisco on the Brazilian coast.

URUGUAY

The railways of Uruguay, aggregating 855 miles of road, "spread fan-like northward and westward from Montevideo, linking the capital with the most northern section of the Republic at Santa Rosa." Last year 79 miles of new road were built; also "the Uruguayan and the Brazilian roads joined at Rivera, and on January 29, 1913, the first international train arrived at Montevideo with 500 tourists from Rio de Janeiro and other sections of Brazil."

CHILE AND ARGENTINA

"To the illustrious North American, William Wheelwright," writes Mr. Reid, "Chile owes a debt of gratitude for its first railroad." Wheelwright "started steam navigation along the Chilean coast in 1840, and ten years later began building the first railroad." Last year there were 1632 miles of road under construction, and in the first three months of the year the State railways showed a profit of $3,498,031.

Chile's railway system consists of a great trunk line from Arica to Port Montt, which, when completed, will aggregate about 2200 miles. From this main line there are to be 28 branch lines from the mountains to the seaports. Of these



RAILROAD MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA

about 20 are already built and in operation. English companies operate about 1400 miles of road, and show a net profit of about 9 per cent. The trains on the line from Concepcion to Santiago have Pullman cars. During 1912 Chile built nearly 480 miles of new roads, and this year proposed to expend $16,000,000 on new railway construction.

In Argentina the traveler to-day rides "over the boundless plains in one of the fastest and most sumptuously equipped railroad trains to be found in South America." The reason for this is that the extreme broad gauge (5 feet 6 inches) is largely used. The explanation of this departure from the normal standard is thus explained by Mr. Reid:

The Argentine system, it is said, had its origin shortly after the Crimean War, when England found herself possessed of rolling stock from Russian railways. Contractors purchased some of these cars and locomotives and shipped them to Argentina, where 13 miles of railway were constructed westward from Buenos Aires. This short line with its Russian equipment inaugurated

train service in 1857. Between that date and 1909 the mileage grew to 16,000 miles.

To-day there is a total mileage exceeding 20,300 miles, of which more than 16,000 miles belong to private corporations and more than 3000 are owned by the Government. About 88 per cent. of invested capital is from foreign sources, mainly British, the English capital engaged amounting to £198,902,829 ($994,514,145), and showing a profit of more than 4 per cent. The passengers carried during the year numbered 68,457,090. Many new roads are projected, and "for many years to come Argentina bids fair to hold the mileage record among the nations of South America."

GERMAN AND FRENCH SOCIALISM

IMPERIALISM and Socialism are usually considered to be as far as the poles asunder, but the charge has been brought against German Socialism that it is developing imperialistic tendencies of a most pronounced type. In the *Revue du Mois* (Paris) this charge was recently reiterated by M. Charles Andler in the following terms:

I charge the German Socialist party with having by its opposition, monotonous and often void of discernment, too largely contributed to the existing immobilism, and consequently to the maintenance of the absolutist and conservative imperialism which is now in power.

Having been taken to task by M. Felicien Challaye for this and similar utterances, M. Andler returns to the attack, and formulates three specific indictments on (1) The question of armaments, (2) foreign and colonial policy, and (3) the war of 1870 and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

THE QUESTION OF ARMAMENTS

M. Andler contends that it is necessary once for all to dispel the illusion that the German Socialist party is an anti-militarist party. He thus arraigns it:

The German Socialist party has, from now on, explicitly and implicitly, a positive military program. This program stipulates the reduction of the length of service, because the duration of service creates the mentality of the armies of trade. But it knows no limit to the effectives other than the number of able-bodied men in the nation, and it does not refuse the means for the purchase of the latest and most perfected armament. Formerly the Socialist party issued the watchword, "To this government not a cent, not a man." Theodore Heine, in a notable address to Berlin in 1897, put an end to this misunderstanding, commenting on the abuse that had been made of this provisory watchword, and declaring that the time would come when it could no longer be applied; that it was impolite and enfeebling. "Whoever," he said, "in presence of the claims of the adversary, declares beforehand that he will always reply by the simple negation; renounces to the *object of compensation* what he could not obtain by his consent. Effective forces and armaments are therefore, for the German Socialist party, an object for negotiation: in exchange it asks for democratic rights." And at Hamburg, in 1897, Max Schippel affirmed the necessity for more solid armaments. . . . But fifteen years have passed. Do we not see that the party, even this year, has "traded"? For the pleasure of bleeding German capitalism, has it not granted two millions for military expenses? It has not desired these expenses, it is well understood. But it has voted them—men and armaments.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY

From the Socialist point of view it is necessary that militant Socialists subject the government of their country to an incessant criticism, especially in regard to its foreign policy. The ambassador of a foreign country, in discussion with a given nation, should have in the Socialists of the country to which he is accredited natural auxiliaries. Their rôle is to give to the ambassador and to his government the impression that they will find in the masses of the country with which they are negotiating an intent or purpose reflective of sincere discussion, and without which no good understanding can be arrived at. Of Germany's relations with the French Socialists in this respect M. Andler writes:

The German Government has always found this attitude of sincerity among the Socialists of France. This attitude, imperfectly understood by many and systematically ignored by reverse parties, is not treason, but evidence of a notable virtue. Thus the anti-Moroccan campaign of Jean Jaurès, despite its many errors, possessed in a high degree this merit. . . . But this attitude, faithfully observed by the French Socialist party, is justified and can be maintained only if it finds its counterpart in the German party. M. Jules Cambon and Sir Edward Grey ought, in their turn, to have found in the German parliamentary Socialists their most useful supporters. Such, however, was not the case. Bebel, on March [illegible] and December 7, 1905, doubtless criticized Chancellor von Bülow; but he reproached him for his negligence and not for his lack of energy toward France. By his animosity in denouncing the Franco-English treaty of 1904 as a warlike measure directed against Germany, although von Bülow, with knowledge of the facts, affirmed the contrary; by his insistence in protesting a concerted



PHILIP SCHEIDEMANN, SUCCESSOR TO BEBEL AS LEADER OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS



JEAN JAURÈS, CHARACTERIZED AS "THE LUTHER OF FRENCH SOCIALISM"

THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF GERMAN AND FRENCH SOCIALISM, WHO WIELD AS GREAT AN INFLUENCE AS MOST MONARCHS

and imperative action against France on the part of the powers signatory to the treaty of Madrid, Bebel associated the desires of the German proletariat with the cupidity of the German miners' societies.

M. Andler further criticizes the late Herr Bebel for his utterances concerning the treaty of Algeciras and the crisis at Agadir.

In 1911 Gerhard Hildebrand wrote in the *Sozialistische Auslands-Politik* that the "cession of the Congo was a palliative which precluded a new partition of all the European colonies," and Max Schippel expressed the hope that the article would find "crowds of readers in the ranks of the Socialist party." In a recent issue of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* Ludwig Quessel, Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, wrote:

One thing is clear, namely, that among the German and English Imperialists the design of an *entente* concerning a new partition of Africa can be realized only by the liquidation of the colonial domain of Belgium and Portugal. Although German Social-Democracy may be hostile to all projects which aim to augment the German colonial empire, *every Social-Democrat will in the meantime be curious* to learn the results of the pacific collaboration of English and German imperialism. . . . Will this curiosity of the German Social-Democracy be entirely theoretical, or is it the hostility to the projects to augment the German colonial empire that remains pure theory? . . . Where is the line of demarcation between Gerhard Hildebrand, rejected by the party, and Ludwig Quessel, deputy in the Reichstag, who sits there with 30 other deputies imbued with the same doctrines? . . . Am I wrong in saying that the stain of imperialistic corruption has spread to the Socialist group in the Reichstag?

THE WAR OF 1870 AND THE ANNEXATION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

It is claimed by M. Andler that "the German Socialists represented the war of 1870 as a war imposed on Germany by Napoleon III." The Socialist *Volksstaat* expressed the hope that "our brothers," the German working men, "would lead with enthusiasm and courage the German armies to victory." The German council of the International asserted "that on the German side the war was a defensive war." In recent years, however, the German Socialists have protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. These protestations have appeared in the Congress and in pamphlets. M. Andler opposes to them the following "undeniable and surprising fact":

The German Socialist party has never ratified the dismemberment of Poland. Also, the Socialists of Prussian Poland form an independent party which has its own congress. In Schleswig-Holstein there exists a small autonomous section of

Danish Socialists. Only the Socialists of Alsace and of Lorraine are affiliated to the German party and sit in the German congress. This was arranged at a time when the Socialists of Alsace and Lorraine were composed only of immigrants. But to-day there is a Lorraine Socialism, French in tongue, and an Alsatian Socialism of bilingual speech. But were it 100 times German in language, the continual protest against annexation would demand that the Socialists of these annexed districts should form at their pleasure a separate party. I know that all the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine prefer the accomplished fact to the horrors of another war. I admire their resigned abnegation. But neither the declamations of the renegades nor the resigned votes of the Diet of Alsace-Lorraine can repair judicially the ignored right. I accuse the German Socialist party of tacit connivance with the Government oppressor of Alsace-Lorraine.

Writing in the *American Political Science Review* on "The Drift in French Politics," Mr. J. Salwyn Schapiro thus summarizes the condition of Socialism in France to-day:

Socialism as a really effective force came into existence with the organization in 1905 of the present Unified Socialist party. Hitherto, French Socialists had been more distracted by factionalism than even the bourgeois parties, because they had more ideas about which to quarrel. The futility of French Socialists was the common reproach of their well-regimented comrades across the Rhine. At the International Socialist Convention of 1904, in Amsterdam, the various factions were ordered to unite. They obeyed, and in this way was born the *Unifié,* which polled a vote of 1,106,000 at the last election, and won 76 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Within the ranks of the party two schools are constantly struggling for dominance. One is the moderate evolutionary school, led by Jean Jaurès, who desires to establish the Socialist state by co-operating with those forces in French politics that tend in that direction. His policy as well as his personality has made M. Jaurès one of the dominating figures in European politics. To be a shrewd politician, fine scholar, superb orator, and far-seeing statesman is given to few, but this Frenchman possesses all these qualities to a remarkable degree. If Jaurès may be described as the Luther of French Socialism, Jules Guesde is its Calvin. The political predestination of modern society is so clear to M. Guesde that he cannot tolerate any contraction or modification of his plan of social salvation. Rigid in his adherence to orthodox Marxism, he illustrates in a striking manner the influence of a great idea when lodged in a powerful but narrow mind; for Jules Guesde is a force in French Socialist politics and to him is largely due the founding of the present unified party. He has driven heretics like Briand and Millerand out of the fold, and stands guard over the Socialist enclosure to prevent the gregarious M. Jaurès from straying into the radical field. The school of M. Guesde is committed to the cataclysmic view of history. *Un grand soir* the capitalist régime will be abolished by a Socialist parliament, and the new collectivist state will be ushered into the world. The idea of a complete transformation of society over night has great fascination for the French mind, for the reason that such a thing did once actually happen when, during the famous night of August 4, 1789, feudal society was abolished by the national assembly.

SUPPORTING LIFE BY ARTIFICIAL FOOD

THE scientific journals have been devoting much space recently to the exceedingly remarkable experiments by means of which the celebrated German scientist, Dr. Emil Abderhalden, demonstrated his ability to keep dogs alive for long periods when fed exclusively on synthetic food, *i. e.,* food built up in the laboratory by chemical processes. Dr. Abderhalden's new book upon the subject bears the somewhat formidable title "The Synthesis of Cell Components in Plants and Animals. A Solution of the Problem of the Artificial Production of Food-stuffs." A purely technical discussion of this problem and its brilliant solution is unsuitable for these pages, but we note in a late number of the *Technische Monatshefte* an admirable *résumé* of the subject by Ernst Willi Schmidt, particularly suited to the lay reader because it gives a clear idea of the preliminary steps which led to the final triumph.

It has long been regarded as axiomatic that without plant life there can be no animal life. This rests on the fact that all life on the earth is conditioned by three factors—sunlight, chlorophyll, and carbon dioxide.

The solar energy enables the chlorophyll of the plant to separate carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. By combination of this with water and with nitrogen obtained by its roots from the saltpeter in the soil, the plant elaborates highly evolved organic compounds, including the essential food-substances, sugar, fat, and albumen.

But this is far from exhausting the constructive ability of the plant. Its marvelous synthetic power enables it to form countless other compounds,—alcohols, phenols, acids, coloring matters, perfumes, bitter stuffs, resins, oils, rubber, phosphates, nucleoproteids, ferments, etc. All these, . . . especially albumen, fat, and carbohydrates, form food for animals. The plant also liberates the oxygen necessary to animal life. . .

One of the characteristic vegetable products is starch—chemically speaking, a compound carbohydrate called a polysaccharid. But if we feed a guinea-pig on starch we do not find starch present in any part of the animal's organism, though it has need of polysaccharids. What we do find is *glykogen,* another kind of polysaccharid, in the animal's liver. The same result is obtained when cane-sugar, cellulose, or other carbohydrates are fed.

In brief, this experiment and others have led physiologists to formulate the important law: The animal organism can make use of these highly complex molecules only by analyzing them into their simpler components.

Highly complex molecular compounds such as starch and albumen must be broken up before they can even enter the blood, since they are insoluble, or nearly so. But even cane-sugar, which is soluble, is broken up in the alimentary canal into its components, grape-sugar and fruit-sugar. Digestion has for its principal purpose the breaking down or analysis of complex foodstuffs into their simpler components. The ferments of the alimentary canal permit no complex foodstuffs to pass unaltered to the tissues. Only when indifferent components have been formed does absorption begin.

The discovery of this fact very naturally raised the question whether these components, or "building-stones" of complex food-substances could be used to nourish the body directly, *i. e.,* without the mediation of the stomach and intestines. The answer is, yes. It has been found that animals thrive and maintain their weight as well when fed on grape-sugar as when fed on cane-sugar or starch, of both of which grape-sugar is one of the elements or components. The same thing was found to be true of the group of carbohydrates known as the fats and oils. But it was uncertain whether the proteins or albumens would behave in the same way, since they are more highly complex and contain nitrogen.

An egg can be digested outside the body by placing it in a glass containing the digestive juices of the stomach and intestines. While the action is slower the egg is completely analyzed into its component elements, the so-called amino-acids. . . . Abderhalden and his students performed this artificial digestion by placing albumen (from horse-flesh) in a glass and treating it first with gastric juice (which consists of pepsin in hydrochloric acid), then neutralizing the acid by sodium carbonate; this mixture was made weakly alkaline and was then treated with the intestinal digestive juices (containing trypsin and crepsin), thus imitating the process of natural digestion.

With the components (amino-acids) obtained by this artificial digestion a young dog was fed for 21 days, and not only thrived but gained 310 grams in weight. Even more striking was the case of a dachshund which had first been made to fast for 17 days, losing 1700 grams in weight. It was then fed with these components for 21 days and was found to weigh 8400 grams, though it had formerly weighed only 7000 grams. . . . Finally Frank and Schittenhelm carried out with dazzling success an experiment in which a dog was fed for 79 days on a mixture of the completely analyzed components of different sorts of albumen—from cheese, blood, beef, dried skim milk, and eggs. The animals not only maintained their nitrogenous equilibrium but gained weight.

Further experiments led to the important discovery that such a mixture of amino-acids failed to nourish the body when a certain one of them, tryptophane, was lacking. This amino-acid, therefore, must be regarded as indispensable to the organism.

Having thus paved the way for human experiment, Abderhalden and his assistants succeeded in nourishing a man for fifteen days on these components, given chiefly through the rectum. Not only was there no loss of nitrogen; there was a considerable gain in nitrogen. In most of these experiments fats and carbohydrates were given with the amino-acids in order to maintain a balanced diet; but in one instance a dog was nourished for fifteen days on the amino-acids alone and gained 340 grams. Next, tests were made to see whether the amino-acids passed unaltered into the blood.

Since *no* amino-acids were found in the blood, it is concluded that they are re-absorbed by the intestinal wall and here converted into plasma-albumen. . . . Thus far the investigators had used only *natural* amino-acids. Now it was attempted to substitute for these those prepared by artificial synthesis in the laboratory. Two dogs were satisfactorily nourished for a week with this purely artificial food.

There remained the crowning experiment of nourishing animals by a mixture containing nothing but such components of the three essential classes of foods—the fats, sugars, and albumens.

Dogs were fed with a mixture composed of the components of meat, fatty acids, and glycerine, with grape-sugar or some other monosaccharid, and the components of the nuclein-acids. Large quantities of bone ash were also added to the mixture, and in some instances calcium, phosphoric acid, and iron were added. This experiment lasted 74 days with three dogs, two of whom gained weight.

While the amino-acids can be produced synthetically, i. e., without plant-growth, the components of the fats and sugars have not yet been so obtained, though some day they may be. Obviously, however, the cost of such laboratory production is so enormous as to be prohibitive except for scientific purposes. Moreover, it would not be desirable to use such artificial foods for long periods, since it would eliminate the function of the highly organized digestive tract, which could not fail eventually to injure the health. Another objection is that these foods were so unappe-

tizing that the dogs often refused them or even vomited when they were offered.

There is, however, one practical result of very great value as the outcome of these brilliant experiments. They can be used to nourish sick persons temporarily by way of the rectum. In cases where the digestive tract is inflamed, diseased, or otherwise disturbed, healing would thus be greatly facilitated without loss of strength.

HOW THE CANAL WILL INFLUENCE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHARACTERISTICS



THE FIRST BOAT TO PASS THROUGH THE GATUN LOCK, PANAMA

A THOUGHTFUL German analysis of the influence of the Panama Canal on the differing characteristics of the Eastern and Western States of the Union is contributed to a recent number of the *Deutsche Revue* by the Prussian social and economic writer, Prof. Dr. Erich von Drygalski.

The San Francisco exposition commemorating the opening of the great waterway at Panama, says Professor von Drygalski, will "naturally fasten the attention of the civilized world upon the oldest and greatest contrast on the surface of the globe—the physical and cultural contrast between the countries on the Pacific and those on the Atlantic."

The very way the idea of the exposition has been greeted, continues the German writer, shows how great the opposition is.

The nations on the Atlantic—Europe, therefore, and even the eastern section of the United States—are cool, nay, unfavorable to it, while those on the Pacific—western South America, eastern Asia, Japan in particular, and, above all, the Western inhabitants of the United States—advocate it with a warmth and energy which gives the Germans, too, food for reflection.

The contrast of the two coasts and of their people is "based upon profound natural differences."

The Pacific regions are accompanied by high parallel ranges which shut them in, while the mountains on the Atlantic side, and the countries capable of culture lying between them, slope down to the sea. Thus the productive countries can be easily reached by trade-routes from the Atlantic, while the trade-routes from the Pacific must conquer their way laboriously over lofty mountains before reaching habitable States.

Only at certain points have convulsions of Nature or great streams broken a passage through the coast ranges and made a development of traffic and culture possible—thus in Manchuria, Peking, southern Chile, Seattle, San Francisco, etc.; yet the civilization in these places differs very essentially from that on the Atlantic—the latter being characterized by something light, expansive, mutually fructifying; the former, striking, as it soon does, against mountain-walls, by something peculiar to the soil, isolated, created for special needs. China offers the best example of this isolation, or the Incas of Peru and the Mexican Indians. As a further consequence, the development of the Atlantic nations has been a constant one while that of those on the Pacific has been spasmodic: the first could not stand perfectly still because some neighboring nation progressed in one or another direction, while the culture of the nations on the Pacific, shut in by mountains, often having no contact with others, became rigid, until some distant people in a spirit of bold enterprise paved the way to progress.

A marvelous and interesting blending of the cultural forms of the Atlantic and the Pacific is offered by the United States, in Dr. von Drygalski's opinion.

But the fusion is only apparent; in point of fact, the contrasts, owing to natural causes, continue and may even become intensified. The East has a thoroughly Atlantic, we might say a European cast; from it has proceeded colonization and progress. The Atlantic and its inlets tend to create a great unity of interests, culture, and political ideas. Quite different is it in the West. Doubly shut in by two mountain-ranges, it resisted colonization and culture for a long time. Even San Francisco, one of the grandest harbors of the world, was for centuries after its discovery no port of entry. The discovery of gold on the Sacramento caused a sudden development of the valley, but only now is San Francisco, in a new spurt of progress, becoming a city of the first rank as regards culture. Ever since the possibilities of San Francisco were recognized—about since California belongs to the United States—with the usual American energy efforts have been made to open up the West by Eastern enterprise. Railroads upon railroads were built traversing the continent. Owing to the feverish haste of their construction they were defective. Some of them are flourishing because



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GATUN LAKE, WITH CENTER WALLS OF GATUN LOCKS—IN THE DISTANCE, GAMBOA DIKE, WHICH WAS BLOWN UP ON OCTOBER 10, ADMITTING THE WATERS OF THE LAKE

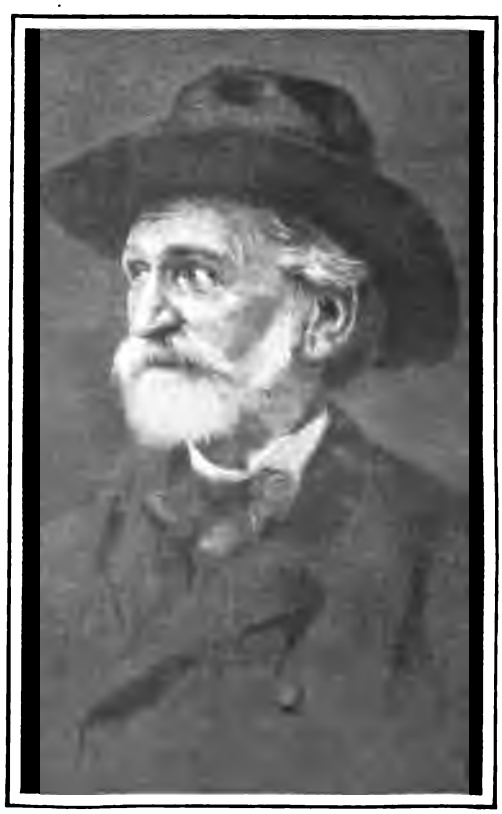
—it is claimed—they open up the West, but, more correctly, because the West is opening itself up—like a genuine Pacific land, like Japan. In every new road there is an anxious striving, as it were, to retain the West, which still utilizes them for transportation to the East, but otherwise grows from its own strength. Though it can not compete with the East in producing coal, it can vie with it in metals of all sorts, the mountain water supplies aiding to exploit them; it possesses, too, enormous wealth in orchards and arable land, while it has hardly begun to use its forests. Where a short time ago no house was to be seen, there are now villages and towns, and, in the California-Oregon valley, a chain of large cities is growing up from Seattle to Los Angeles, looking out for industries which shall still further promote progress.

THE CENTENARY OF VERDI

THE love and admiration which his people feel for their great composer, Giuseppe Verdi—regarded as the greatest Italian composer of the nineteenth century—was strikingly evidenced by the extensive celebration in September of the centenary of his birth. In Emilia, his native district, the commemoration, which bears the character of a national festival, lasted for weeks, the people flocking to it from far and near.

Karl Storck, a German writer, and a connoisseur of music, contributes a highly appreciative article to the *Illustrierte Zeitung* on Verdi's work and significance. Of the composer's character he says:

Born near Parma, in northern Italy, Verdi as a child witnessed the cruelties of the Army of Occupation, and as a youth shared the impotent rage of all patriots against the oppressive rule of the foreigner. But who in those days, when Rossini sang his melting songs, and Donizetti captivated the world with his light, pleasing melodies, thought of enlisting music—not to speak of opera—in the service of revolutionary, patriotic ideas? Nor did it occur to Verdi in the beginning. His first opera, *Oberto,* rich in melody, bearing the impress of Bellini's influence, appeared in 1839, and won him such public favor that he was commissioned to write three operas, at intervals of eight months. Shortly afterward he suffered the loss of his wife and two sons within two months, and in this time of grief he wrote, under contract, a comedy, *Un Giorno di*



VERDI IN HIS LATER YEARS

Regno, which proved a failure. In his solitude, Verdi's passionate soul made the sorrows and longings of his people his own, and in that spirit he composed the opera *Nebucodnosor,* which won him instant fame. And the people understood him. He, very differently from Rossini and Donizetti, was for them not only a gifted, tuneful singer, but their spiritual spokesman and leader —the most influential exponent of the political gospel of a united, independent Italy. The operas *I Lombardi* and *Ernani* are characteristic fruits of this early period.

The events of the revolutionary years inspired Verdi, too, with an assurance of success, thus releasing the artist in him from the patriot, and this, added to his union with the distinguished woman and artist, Giuseppina Strepponi, brought him new life. His first work of this time, *Luisa Miller* (1849), already exhibited the artist on a new and higher path, and in the short space of two years he won three victories which brought the whole world to his feet. *Rigoletto* appeared in 1851, *Il Trovatore* and *La Traviata* in the early months of '53. The history of the opera can show no counterpart to this brilliant series of victories. And it must be noted that the three productions are fundamentally different, having only this in common that they show the artist to be an original dramatic musician, whose strength lay, on one hand, in the convincing presentation of the most varied emotions, and on the other, in the faculty of uniting highly realistic dramatic effects with melodious music. He also produced wonderful *ensemble* effects, valuable both for their musical richness and their peculiar dramatic character. From this form of expression, peculiar to music alone, Verdi up to the close of his career succeeded in eliciting unique effects. Take as examples the famous quartette in the last act of *Rigoletto* and the quartette in *Otello. Falstaff,* with its gladsome, radiant quartette, forms a delicious counterpart to that tragic story.

After those three splendid successes, Verdi's fame throughout the world was established; he continued to develop, however, and his advance was most triumphantly revealed in *Aïda,* which was produced in 1871 on the occasion of the inauguration of the Suez Canal.

Those who were always striving to detect outside influence in Verdi's work now pointed to Richard Wagner. But Verdi, in this as in his preceding creations, was thoroughly himself. He learned from Meyerbeer, he learned from Wagner, insofar as every artist in touch with life learns from other creative artists. They stimulated him, but nowhere is he an imitator; he worked out everything in consonance with his own nature, always spurring himself on to new effort.

It is precisely this phenomenon of a continuous development which, in the opinion of the German writer, makes Verdi an almost unique figure in the history of art. As a logical consequence, the close of his career formed its crowning point.

The eighty-year-old Verdi surprised the world in 1893 with a comic opera. His *Falstaff* is a character-play marked by a youthful wealth of invention, a glowing exuberance of emotion, a ceaseless flow of sparkling life. That it is the creation of an artist advanced in years is only shown in the wonderful delicacy of execution, the care bestowed upon its structure, and the clarified cheerfulness of his view of life. *Falstaff* is not only a revival of Italian comic opera, it points still more to a future development of character-comedy, which, combining the threads of Italian comic opera, Mozart's *Figaro* and Wagner's *Meistersinger,* shall develop them still further.

Finally, Verdi dropped the pen from his still vigorous hand. Full of interest to the last in all phases of life, himself in the enjoyment of a brilliant, many-sided existence, of a well-deserved leisure, he bequeathed his earnings to worthy foundations, and departed this life the 27th of January, 1901. The love of his people, the admiration of the world shone around him like the glow of the setting sun at the close of a long, teeming summer's day.

AN ITALIAN APPRAISAL

The art and the personality of Verdi are well presented by Signor Fradeletto in the *Lettura* (Milan). Of the mental, or perhaps we might say psychic processes involved in the development of his musical ideas, the writer says:

As the born sculptor or painter sees in his mind's eye the picture or statue before having set hand to either clay model or sketch, so Verdi conceived and felt a musical composition in its entirety. One day Quintino Sella put the rather frank question to him: "In composing, do you first think of the principal motif, then arrange the accompaniments, and finally determine upon the instruments to be used in the music—flute, violin, etc.?" "No, no!" quickly responded the master. "My thought stands before me as a unity; above all, I feel whether the note should be given by flute or violin. The only difficulty is in writing down rapidly enough to express the musical thought as completely as it presents itself to me."

While there are esthetic forms and manifestations which, primarily at least, appeal only to an esoteric circle and constitute an aristocratic enjoyment, the exclusive privilege of intellect and culture, the art of Giuseppe Verdi spoke a language at once universally understood and felt. The pure sonority of his music conquered the most rebellious ears, carried away the least responsive souls, and spread from the great cities even to the remotest villages by the vehicle of itinerant organ-grinders. Now, an art which is able to reach all and to delight the multitude, bringing consolation for troubles and tempering the stern pressure of daily life, deserves a tribute superior to that of admiration, a tribute of gratitude.

Nor is this all. In Verdi's work is reflected, as in a mirror, the very soul of a people and of a period. The generation of enthusiasts, martyrs, and soldiers who recreated Italy, heard the master's music at every stage, at every turn of their long and painful route, at once an incentive and an augury.

Signor Fradeletto adds that this was not due to any distinct political intention on Verdi's part, but solely to the innate characteristics of his music, its wonderful spontaneity, its vibrant, stimulating quality, voicing so successfully the aspirations of the Italians in their resurrection from the lethargy of centuries.

THE WORLD'S FOREMOST ARCHEOLOGIST

THERE are many who maintain that this title should be given to the noted Swedish savant, Prof. Oscar Montelius, who lectured at Columbia University a couple of years ago, and whose seventieth birthday anniversary is the cause of a sympathetic article in *Ord Och Bild* (Stockholm). Until recently he was the Royal Antiquarian of Sweden, but has now retired from that position with a pension. He has had many flattering offers from foreign countries — the most notable of these coming from Berlin, where they wanted him as head of the big Archeological Museum and professor at the university—but he has insisted on remaining faithful to his own country and to the Historical Museum at Stockholm which, under his care, has become one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world.

The principal work of Professor Montelius has been connected with the determination of pre-historic chronology, and in this field he has probably done more than any other man in recent times. His methods and conclusions were at first considered revolutionary—so revolutionary that, at some scientific congress in the seventies, a hot-tempered German scientist denounced them to the face of their author as "a shame to modern science." Now they are rapidly becoming accepted all over the world, and many museum have already re-arranged their collections so as to illustrate the evolutionary processes traced and mapped by Professor Montelius.

His first task was to determine the exact age of the many finds of pre-historic objects made in his own country. He proceeded to do so by means of the systematic study of certain groups of objects—principally axes, swords, and buckles. But soon he found that to get the data needed he must go outside of Sweden, and so he chose Italy as the country where the richest store of illuminating finds was to be had. From there he was led on to Greece and Egypt. And after



PROFESSOR OSCAR MONTELIUS, THE NOTED SWEDISH ARCHEOLOGIST

years of splendid labors, in which he was faithfully helped by his wife, Professor Montelius found on his hand, as a sort of by-product, enough material to publish a great work on "The Pre-Classical Chronology of Italy," which promises to become as epoch-making as was his earlier works on pre-historic Sweden.

One of his triumphs was the series of analytical investigations by which he succeeded in proving that the pre-historic finds in Italy must, almost without exception, be referred to a period lying between the years 1400 and 480 B.C. The latter date was established

through certain vase figures borrowed from Greece and also found at Athens under circumstances proving that they had been put in the ground at the burning of the temples by the Persians in 480 B.C. The earlier date was established by means of certain buckles traceable to a single Egyptian dynasty, the eighteenth, known to have existed about 1400 B. C.

This man, who has delved so deeply and to such good purpose in the past of our race, has lived his entire life in a little house at Stockholm, in its not very fashionable South End, where his parents lived before him and where he was born in 1843. One of his principal pleasures is to take visitors—whether they be distinguished foreigners or humble Swedish workmen—through the collections at the Historical Museum, explaining everything to them in such manner that the growth of the race and the country before the appearance of historical records is laid bare to them in orderly, convincing sequence.

IS JAPAN AHEAD IN WIRELESS?

JAPAN has taken up the matter of wireless communication with the same insight and zest that she has done in the case of most other facilities pertaining to modern progress and achievement. So rapid has been the development made by her electricians both in invention and in instalment that "it is a question whether in some important respects she is not now ahead of more pretentious nations." At least such is the opinion of the editor of *The Japan Magazine*.

Speaking more in detail of Japanese progress in the field of wireless, this writer says:

The Japanese first began to take a serious interest in the possibilities of wireless telegraphy as early as 1886, when the noted electrician, Dr. Shida, set up an apparatus of his own construction on the banks of the Sumida River, Tokyo; but his attempts to send messages across the water by means of electric waves were not wholly successful. After European scientists began to publish the results of their investigations as to the nature of electric waves, the Japanese electricians turned again to the subject, and this time with greater promise of success. Dr. Nagaoka and Dr. Mizuno, of the Engineering Department of the Imperial University, Tokyo, now commenced an exhaustive course of investigation and experiment with some very encouraging results. In 1897 Dr. Asano, of the electrical section of the Department of Communications, Tokyo, set up a wireless telegraphic apparatus on the old forts in the Bay of Tokyo, and attempted to exchange messages with a station erected on the reclaimed land at Tsukijima, near the mouth of the Sumida River. In the meantime the great Marconi was going on with his wonderful experiments in Europe; and about 1895 he perfected his apparatus to such an extent as to have it considered a decided success, having it patented in England in 1896. Although the Marconi system was quickly taken up in Japan, the nation's own inventors and scientists did not cease their investigations and experiments, especially the electricians of the Department of Communications.

The Japanese, we are further informed, freely admit they have learned much from Marconi and other Western inventors. They have, however, perfected a system of their own.

This system, known as the *Teishin-sho* system, is adjudged one of the most complete on record. Naturally the new invention became a matter of immense importance to the Navy; for all the navies of the world were now installing wireless telegraphic apparatus on their ships, and Japan could not afford to suffer the disadvantage of being left behind. But she did not deem it a great advantage to have just the same system as that employed in Europe. Accordingly, her naval electricians got to work, and with the assistance of these connected with the Department of Communications, a special system for use in the Imperial Japanese Navy was perfected and adopted by the fleet. The code used by the Department of Communications was not regarded as guaranteeing sufficient secrecy for naval use; but the new system invented for the Navy, known now as the *Kaigun-sho,* enables the fleet to preserve absolute secrecy as to position and message, and is believed to be more scientifically perfect than that used by any other of the world's navies. This secret system, which owes its existence and efficiency largely to Professor Kimura, was used by the Japanese Navy with telling effect during the war with Russia. Indeed, it was by this means that, unknown to the enemy, Admiral Togo was able to receive warning of the approach of the Baltic fleet and be in readiness to meet it when it came in sight, its every movement being known to him up to the moment of its appearance on the horizon. It is hardly too much to say that in that greatest sea fight of modern times, Japan owed her victory in a large measure to the perfection of her system of wireless telegraphy. This statement is made on the authority of the Japanese themselves.

GEORGE DEWEY, ADMIRAL OF THE NAVY

Reached Manila at daylight. Immediately engaged the Spanish ships and batteries at Cavite. Destroyed eight of the former, including the *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla*. Anchored at noon off Manila.

IT was George Dewey, then a Commodore in the United States Navy, who found these few words sufficient to record in his diary on the first day of May, 1898, the items of a day's work, the importance of which is not even now, after the lapse of fifteen years, fully understood. This simple entry in a sailor's log-book portrayed nothing less than the extinction of Spanish dominion in the Eastern hemisphere, the emergence of America as a world power, the raising of the Stars and Stripes in the Far East, and the tutelage in the free atmosphere of American institutions of an alien race oppressed for centuries.

Before Dewey's guns were heard in Manila Bay, the Philippine Archipelago was as little known to Americans as the land around the Poles. The Philippines, indeed, was nothing more than a geographical expression, and to most of us it was a name that we had not learned to spell correctly. The war with Spain over Cuba was upon us before we had realized that Spain's sole surviving dependencies in the Pacific might come to have a new significance. But swift as was the movement of events after the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor, there were a few men at Washington who partially, at least, sensed the outcome. Providence, plus Theodore Roosevelt, plus Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, decreed that the man who should accomplish the downfall of Spanish power in the Far East should be Commodore Dewey. To him was entrusted the command of the Asiatic squadron at the most momentous period in the fortunes of the United States Navy since our second war with Great Britain. Only a few knew then what has since become known to everybody, that the one man best fitted for this responsible post, by training, inclination and spirit, was the man picked out by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, and strongly recommended by the senior Senator from Vermont.

A quarter of a century before our declaration of war with Spain, the United States ship *Narragansett* was employed in Mexican waters surveying the peninsula of Lower California. When the newspapers arrived bringing word of the *Virginius* affair in Cuba, with the statement that war with



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL DEWEY

Spain seemed inevitable, the officers of the ship, with one exception, were despondent because they believed that being marooned so far from home they would never be able

to get at close quarters with Spain. That exception was their commander, young George Dewey, who said without hesitation, as Rear-Admiral Badger, then an ensign, recalls, "If war with Spain is declared, the *Narragansett* will take Manila." In his autobiography, just published by the house of Scribner,[1] Admiral Dewey relates this interesting bit of conversation and remarks: "I had always been interested in the Philippines, and had read whatever books I could find relating to them, and my familiarity with the subject immediately suggested that as a logical point of attack. If the inevitable conflict with Spain had come then, it is possible that I should have enjoyed the same privilege that was to be mine twenty-five years later." This suffices to show that when the real crisis arrived George Dewey and the Philippines were not total strangers.

There is much in the Admiral's narrative of events leading up to the action in Manila Bay that throws quite a new light upon the whole affair. The nation has always reflected with pride on the courageous action of our little squadron, 7000 miles from the home base, in steaming into hostile waters and daring its very existence on the contest with a foe of unknown strength. Yet even Americans have not known the full extent of the handicap under which the battle of Manila Bay was fought. Not only were our ships small and ineffective, judged by the standards of to-day, but they were not even equipped to do the work that was expected of them. Back at Washington somebody had blundered, and the magazines of the squadron, instead of being filled with ammunition, contained only about 60 per cent. of their full capacity on going into action. Admiral Dewey does not state this fact for the purpose of criticizing anybody in authority, but he directs our attention to the gravity of such a situation when it is recalled that his ships were operated at so great a distance from the nearest American navy yard. "However," he adds, and we cannot doubt his sincerity, "even if we had had less ammunition, we should have gone into Manila Bay, for such were our orders, and such was the only thing to do."

"Such were our orders." Here is voiced unconsciously the spirit of the naval service. Six days before, while his ships were at anchor near Hong Kong, this message had come to Dewey: "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. Commence operations, particularly against Spanish fleet. We must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavor." Dewey knew precisely what he could do when this order came, and he lost no time in doing it. When it was done he felt and expressed merely the satisfaction that any honest and efficient workman has in the completion of his work. He indulged in no illusions but went straight from one duty to another, wasting no time in bemoaning the lack of resources, but making effective use of what he had.

In the weeks and months of uncertainty that followed the battle, the American people had reason, more than once, to rejoice and take heart in the thought that a commander schooled in the traditions of our Navy was on guard at that distant post. Our flag was an unfamiliar one in the harbor of Manila, and the foreign ships using the port were not easily compelled to obey the blockade regulations necessarily established. Those regulations were persistently violated by the officers of the German Navy. When American ships were compelled to fire shots across the bows of the German ships in order to compel attention to the rules of the blockade, it was recognized on every hand that such a tension could not long be maintained. At length the German commander, Vice-Admiral von Diedrichs, sent a young officer of his staff with a memorandum of grievances. The conversation which took place on the American flagship was variously reported at the time, but as Admiral Dewey himself recalls it, the main purport was as follows: "When I had heard them through, I made the most of the occasion by using him (the officer) as a third person to state candidly and firmly my attitude in a verbal message which he conveyed to his superior so successfully that Vice-Admiral von Diedrichs was able to understand my point of view. There was no further interference with the blockade or breach of the etiquette which had been established by the common consent of the other foreign commanders. Thus, as I explained to the President, after the war was over, the difference of opinion about international law had been amicably adjusted without adding to the sum of his worries." Those Americans who were living in 1898 and were old enough to understand the bearings of such matters on international relations will never forget the debt which the world owes to the cool, confident, and resolute commander who, in his own person, repre-

[1] Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy. Scribners. 337 pp., ill. $2.50.

sented for many months the whole power and authority of the United States Government in the Eastern hemisphere. To have commanded an American squadron in the first important naval action against a foreign power since the War of 1812 was in itself an honor that many might have coveted, but to represent with such signal dignity and success a power that had heretofore had little part in the diplomacy of that part of the world was quite as great a distinction.

At the age of seventy-five the Admiral now writes his reminiscences of a naval career that began as long ago as 1854. Although a young officer, his service under Farragut during the Civil War was noteworthy, and it is fortunate that he has been prevailed upon to put on record his recollections of a long and honorable service.

HISTORICAL TOPICS FRESHLY TREATED

IF the American people have not always been fortunate in their conduct towards the other nations of this hemisphere, their failures have been due chiefly to lack of knowledge, not unworthy intent. Apparently it has been difficult for Americans to grasp the truth that our Latin neighbors are of a race quite alien from our own, with ideals, virtues, and methods of thought and expression radically different. The French have a saying that to understand everything is to forgive everything. Therefore, there is a very great value in works of description and history concerning our southern neighbors which are frank and honest. Such an eminently useful work is Mr. George Lockhart Rives' two-volume history of "The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848"[1]—that is to say, between the achievement of Mexican independence and the close of the war with the United States. The events which led up to this war, Mr. Rives reminds us in his preface, have been very generally misapprehended. On the American side the conflict has been treated in our histories "as a mere episode in an all-embracing struggle over slavery —which it was not." Mexican historians have treated it "as the unescapable result of American aggression in Texas—which it was not." And still there is a half truth in each of these points of view. It is to disentangle the whole truth and make it stand out clearly that Mr. Rives has written his history. The story of the revolt of Texas, its brief and strenuous career of independence, and its annexation to the United States are told illuminatingly. In presenting the consecutive narrative of the events which culminated in the war between the United States and Mexico he has found it desirable to digress slightly and give certain side-lights. The story of the war is given in detail, although not from a military point of view. In the chapter on the conclusion of peace, Mr. Rives denies categorically that the annexation of Texas was due to an American conspiracy, and, further, that the war was forced upon Mexico for the purpose of acquiring additional slave territory for the United States. Much in these volumes will be found of exceptional value at the present moment of crisis in Mexico. The work is furnished with some excellent maps, a good index, and a good bibliography.

Our Relations with Mexico

[1] The United States and Mexico 1821-1848. By George Lockhart Rives. Scribners. 2 vols. 1446 pp. $8.

Elsewhere in this number the editor of the REVIEW speaks of Colonel Roosevelt and his recent literary activities. His newest volume[2] does not represent his writing of the present year, except as respects some of the briefer essays. It is made up chiefly of the three addresses that he delivered in the spring of 1910 at the University of Oxford, the University of Berlin, and the Sorbonne at Paris, while the volume opens with the address presented by him last December at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, when he had served his year as president of the society. These essays have been made familiar to the public through their separate publication, and this volume brings them together for us in a permanent and convenient form. The volume includes several papers written for the *Outlook*, and it shows Mr. Roosevelt's great versatility of mind and interest as respects the subject-matter of history and science and his own ability to present a discussion of various subjects in such a way as to produce essays of a permanent kind because possessing the quality of literature.

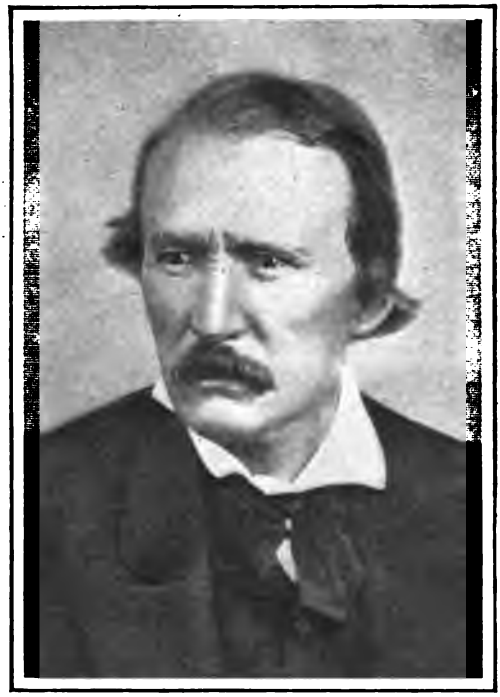
Roosevelt, Historian and Philosopher

Dr. Bingham's title[3] is a challenge and an indication that his book is written contentiously. In order to make it appear that the Monroe Doctrine is (as he declares) an obsolete shibboleth, he is under necessity of stating the doctrine and explaining it in such a way as to render his demolition of it complete. Dr. Bingham is the admirable and interesting professor of Latin-American history and curator of the collection on Latin America at Yale, and his notable work is that of an archæologist who has made wonderful finds in Peru and Bolivia. He is conversant with all the expression of South American prejudice against the United States, and is in much sympathy with such states of mind. He writes piquantly and with a certain erudition, and his little volume is well worth reading. There is very much of truth in it, although it is not the rounded and complete exposition of the Monroe Doctrine a careful student of political science and international relationships would prepare.

The Monroe Doctrine Obsolete?

[2] History as Literature, and Other Essays. By Theodore Roosevelt. Scribners. 310 pp. $1.50.

[3] The Monroe Doctrine: An Obsolete Shibboleth. By Hiram Bingham. Yale University Press. 154 pp. $1.15.



PORTRAIT OF KIT CARSON IN "BEYOND THE OLD FRONTIER" (SCRIBNERS)

In "The History of English Patriotism,"[1] Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, endeavors to show how everything of value that nations in general, and the English nation in particular, have at any time achieved "has been the direct outcome of the common feeling upon which patriotism is built." In two bulky illustrated volumes this author passes in review the great fervid moments of British history, such as the defeat of the Armada and the enthusiasm against Napoleon, and points out that only at such times do Shakespeares and Turners emerge. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford writes very entertainingly and makes out a good argument for his thesis.

British Patriotism

A fascinating description of life "Beyond the Old Frontier," really a series of adventures of Indian fighters, hunters, and fur-traders, has been given us by Mr. George Bird Grinnell.[2] There are some unusual illustrations, one of which,—a little-known portrait of Kit Carson, the noted plainsman and scout—we reproduce here.

Frontier Life

Some very illuminating and entertaining pen pictures of the Spanish Conquistadores, dealing particularly with their exploration work in Central America, and especially in Costa Rica, are given in Dr. Guardia's "History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica," which has just been brought out in English translation by Harry Weston Van Dyke.[3] Dr. Ricardo Fernández Guardia, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction in his country, and historian of some note, in this little volume tells practically the whole story of Central America. There are many new and interesting illustrations, including portraits of a number of old ecclesiastical and military worthies of Spain's early days on this continent.

Central American History

Paris from the days of Julius Cæsar to the time of President Poincaré, told in a familiar, anecdotal style to the accompaniment of some interesting pictures, is the subject of Mabell S. C. Smith's "Twenty Centuries of Paris."[4] In Harper's "Parallel Source Problems," on the other hand, we have Dr. Fred Morrow Fling's "Source Problems on the French Revolution," consisting of documentary and other evidence.[5]

French History

In "Spanish Islam" Reinhart Dozy years ago presented a history of the Moslems in Spain. This has now been translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, in a volume of 736 pages.[6] The story of the Arabs in Spain is one of the most fascinating in



A SPANISH CONQUISTADOR
(From Guardia's "Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica")

Arabs in Spain

[1] The History of English Patriotism. By Esme Wingfield-Stratford. Lane. 2 vols. 1286 pp. $7.50.

[2] Beyond the Old Frontier. By George Bird Grinnell. Scribners. 374 pp., ill. $1.50.

[3] History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica. By Ricardo Fernandez Guardia. Crowell. 416 pp., ill. $3.

[4] Twenty Centuries of Paris. By Mabell S. C. Smith. Crowell. 400 pp., ill. $2.

[5] Source Problems on the French Revolution. By Fred Morrow Fling and Helene Dresser Fling. Harpers. 338 pp. $1.10.

[6] Spanish Islam. By Reinhart Dozy. Duffield. 736 pp., ill. $6.

all human history. Professor Dozy told it in a style worthy of the subject. There is a map as well as a good index, bibliography, and chronological tables.

Essays by Oscar Straus

In "The American Spirit"[1] the Hon. Oscar S. Straus presents some modern studies of the history of our diplomatic relations, the protection of our citizens, and the growth and advancement of our commerce. The volume begins with a chapter on the American spirit and closes with a tribute to John Hay.

John Bull and Brother Jonathan

In another paragraph we notice Senator Lodge's "Early Memories." Another interesting little volume of Mr. Lodge's, very timely in the present mood of the American people, is "One Hundred Years of Peace,"[2] written apropos of the coming celebration between the American and the English people. In a brilliant and penetrating little sketch Senator Lodge traces the relations of the United States and Great Britain since the War of 1812.

How the Greeks Governed

A discussion of the theory and practice of government in the old Greek empires—Athens, Sparta, Alexander's realm, and the vast administrations of the Ptolemies and Seleucids—has been written by William Scott Ferguson (Professor of Ancient History at Harvard) under the general title, "Greek Imperialism."[3]



JOHN WINTHROP LAVAL-MONTMORENCY

TYPICAL WORTHIES OF NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE

France and England in America

An attempt to understand and describe the spirit that animated the two different groups of colonists, French and English, who were contending for the control of the North American continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, based on documentary and other first-hand evidence, is Mr. James Douglas's "New England and New France,"[4] which he has subtitled "Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History." Very graphically in places Mr. Douglas characterizes the methods and policies adopted by these different groups, with their influence on subsequent American history. There are many interesting portraits, two of which we reproduce.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

La Follette's Own Story

SENATOR Robert M. La Follette's autobiography[5] is a frank and unreserved personal narrative of political experiences. The earlier chapters are particularly informing regarding the origins of the Progressive movement in the Middle West. This would not be a characteristic La Follette book if it did not strike out at those institutions and personalities whom the Senator regards as his foes. In the latter chapters of the work there is much "hard hitting" of the kind that has become familiar to La Follette audiences, and among those hit are several leaders in the modern Progressive movement. This, however, in no way detracts from the main interest of the story.

Moseley and the Railroads

A public servant whose record certainly deserved a word of commendation was the late Edward A. Moseley, Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission from its organization in 1887 until his death in 1911. Mr. James Morgan has taken the opportunity in a modest book, "The Life Work of Edward A. Moseley,"[6] to describe some of the activities through which Mr. Moseley greatly magnified and ennobled his office. Before his time there had been no such thing as the exercise of legislative Federal power over railroads. It is to him that we owe very much of what has been done in practical development of Federal regulation, a work done, as Mr. Morgan truly says, "in the service of humanity."

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1 The American Spirit. By Oscar S. Straus. Century. 379 pp. $2.

2 One Hundred Years of Peace. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Macmillan. 136 pp. $1.25.

3 Greek Imperialism. By William Scott Ferguson. Houghton Mifflin. 258 pp. $2.

4 New England and New France. By James Douglas. Putnam. 560 pp., ill. $3.

5 A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences. By Robert M. LaFollette. Madison, Wis. The Robert M. LaFollette Company. 807 pp., ill. $1.50.

6 The Life Work of Edward A. Moseley in the Service of Humanity. By James Morgan. Macmillan. 378 pp. $2.



LYMAN TRUMBULL OF ILLINOIS

A statesman of the Civil War and reconstruction periods who has been strangely overlooked by biographers was Lyman Trumbull, Senator from Illinois from 1855 to 1873. At last the life record of Trumbull has been written by the one man probably best fitted among all living to complete the task.[1] Mr. Horace White, formerly editor of the New York *Evening Post,* and for many years before that connected with the Chicago *Tribune,* was intimately acquainted with Trumbull throughout his senatorial career. He has made good use of the papers committed to him by the family, and from his own knowledge of the times and of the personalities with whom Trumbull was associated, he has been able to prepare an important and serviceable biography. Mr. White makes the significant admission in his preface that he had himself been wrong in sustaining the policy of Congress in opposition to that of President Johnson, and that Johnson's policy, "which was Lincoln's policy, was the true one and ought never to have been departed from. This is the conclusion to which I have come after much study in the evening of a long life."

Lyman Trumbull



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SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE

One of the "unreconstructed" Southern statesmen of the old school was Robert Toombs of Georgia. His life has only now been written by a Southern-born historian of the present generation, Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan.[2] Professor Phillips has had, however, the advantage of the Toombs correspondence and other manuscript material which was long in the possession of the late Colonel John C. Reed, of Atlanta. Material was also secured from many other sources, and we now have, for the first time, a complete biography of one of the leaders of the Confederacy. Toombs was a Whig member of Congress in the 40's and a United States Senator during the long ante-bellum wranglings of the 50's. It is this portion of his career that is most interesting and important.

Toombs of Georgia



ROBERT TOOMBS OF GEORGIA

In Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's "Early Memories"[3] we find set forth the experiences of a favored Boston lad in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Senator Lodge's recollections of the great men of Massachusetts in the Civil War period are peculiarly vivid and illuminating.

A Senator's Boyhood

[1] The Life of Lyman Trumbull. By Horace White. Houghton Mifflin. 458 pp., ill. $3.

[2] The Life of Robert Toombs. By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips. Macmillan. 281 pp. $2.

[3] Early Memories. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Scribner's. 362 pp. $2.50.

Even in his boyhood days he personally knew many of the public men and the men of letters who frequented Boston in those times and he enjoyed the advantages of European travel.



THE NORTHERN SCHOOL-GIRL (CAROLINE COWLES RICHARDS)



THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL-GIRL (SARAH MORGAN DAWSON)

Two School-Girls' Diaries

There have recently been published the war diaries of two American girls — one in the North and the other in the South. "Village Life in America"[1] contains the school-girl journals of Caroline Cowles Richards. The scene of the story is the village of Canandaigua in central New York, and the simple daily life of the New England people who chiefly made up that community is vividly described. The other book is "A Confederate Girl's Diary,"[2] by Sarah Morgan Dawson. This diary was written in Louisiana during the Civil War, and was preserved intact through all the vicissitudes of reconstruction days. It reflects the intense prejudices of the times, of course, but is fraught with an unexpected wisdom and comprehension of the larger movements of the war.

A "Practical" Scientist

The "Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz,"[3] who developed the Calumet copper mine and was active for many years in scientific expeditions and researches, have much interest for the general reader as well as for scientific workers and men of affairs. Alexander Agassiz was the son of the Swiss naturalist, Louis Agassiz, whose professorship at Harvard made him a notable figure in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Soldiers of Fortune

"Gentlemen Rovers"[4] is the title given by E. Alexander Powell to a series of sketches of men, who, he thinks, have been overlooked by history and forgotten by fame, although they have won for America more than half the territory comprised within our present borders. These men, Boyd, Truxtun, Eaton, Reed, Lafitte, Smith, Ide, Ward, Walker, some of them pirates, and others adventurers who operated chiefly on their own account, lie in forgotten and neglected graves — some of them in foreign lands. Mr. Powell has revived the story of their achievements and told us more clearly than any one had thought it worth while to tell before just what manner of men they were and what they were trying to accomplish.

John Quincy Adams

The second volume of "The Writings of John Quincy Adams,"[5] edited by Worthington C. Ford, covers the period of his father's administration as President. The letters of this period are chiefly interesting as throwing light on the beginnings of American diplomacy in European capitals.

A College Professor's Life

Professor Oscar Kuhns, of Wesleyan University, relates in what he calls "A One-Sided Autobiography,"[6] the story of his intellectual life, describing particularly the books that he read in his youth and the satisfactions of various sorts that he derived from them.

[1] Village Life in America: The Diary of a School Girl (1852-1872). By Caroline Cowles Richards. Holt. 225 pp., ill. $1.30.
[2] A Confederate Girl's Diary. By Sarah Morgan Dawson. Houghton Mifflin. 440 pp., ill. $2.
[3] Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz. Edited by G. R. Agassiz. Houghton Mifflin. 454 pp., ill. $3.50.
[4] Gentlemen Rovers. By E. Alexander Powell. Scribners. 245 pp., ill. $1.50.
[5] The Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. Macmillan. 531 pp. $3.50.
[6] A One-Sided Autobiography. By Oscar Kuhns. Eaton & Mains. 236 pp. $1.



ALEXANDER AGASSIZ
(Whose "Letters and Recollections" have just appeared)



ROBERT FULTON
(From the painting attributed to himself and reproduced in the "Life and Works," by Dickinson)

Saint-Gaudens the Sculptor

During his latter years the sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, was frequently urged to write his reminiscences. He was always averse to doing this. During the last year or two of his life, however, he began to dictate certain portions of an autobiography, which now appears in two volumes under the general editorship of his son Homer.[1] It is a comprehensive record of the life and achievements of one who was undoubtedly America's greatest sculptor. Saint-Gaudens' early struggles and his later triumphs, his friendships with such men as John La Farge, Robert Louis Stevenson, General Sherman, Richard Watson Gilder, and others, are told to the accompaniment of many anecdotes and humorous bits, which, in a way, make up an art history of Saint-Gaudens' generation. The two volumes are very handsomely gotten up and copiously illustrated.

Fulton, Artist-Inventor

After all the Fulton literature that appeared four years ago in connection with the centenary of the *Clermont*, an English writer, Mr. H. W. Dickinson, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, has still found it quite worth while to bring together facts concerning Fulton's inventions and his work as an artist.[2] A good deal of the material in Mr. Dickinson's book has never before been published, and the author has been indefatigable in obtaining valuable assistance from America.

Madame Tallien

The life of the famous Madame Tallien, from the last days of the French revolution until her death as Princess De Chimay in 1835, has been translated from the French by J. Lewis May, and appears in the profusely illustrated volume from the press of John Lane entitled "A Queen of Shreds and Patches."[3]

Another translation brought out by this house is Lady Moreton's version of "The Story of Don John of Austria,"[4] as told by Padre Luis Coloma, S. J., of the Real Academia Española. This volume also is freely illustrated.

Byron Novelized

Maurice Hewlett's novel, "Bendish,"[5] draws one backwards in time a full century. Lord Bendish, an English peer, the last of his line, is evidently Lord Byron thinly disguised by fictitious incidents and the absence of Byron's physical infirmity. The book follows the career of Bendish up to the time when he awakens one fine morning to find himself famous because of the instant success of his great poem "The Wanderer" ("Childe Harold"). The young lordling-poet is sketched as a talented, peevish, impetuous, brilliant-in-streaks, insincere person wrapped in a mantle of assumed deprecation and self-pity that half concealed the fires of his mounting egotism. Hewlett writes of "Bendish": "He might have been the most distinguished peer in England but for his conviction that it was distinction enough to be a peer at all. Other careers attracted him for a time and he pursued them with a zest that soon tired: poetry, politics, love, philosophy, affairs. He found them flimsy stuff beside the solid fact of being a lord among commoners." In this sentence Hewlett has struck upon the subtle poison that actually corroded away the brilliant powers of George Gordon, Lord Byron. The poet, Gervase Poore, who writes a "Vision of Revolt" (The Revolt of Islam) is no other than Shelley, his wife Georgiana, probably Mary Wollstonecraft. Tom Moore figures in the novel under his own name. Much of the action takes place in Italy and as usual when Hewlett writes of Italy he is writing of Arcady. His character-drawing may be likened to the art of the cameo—a delicate chiseling of precious material in order to reveal that which is still more precious—a human soul. It seems probable that there will be a sequel to this book which will cover the remaining incidents of Bendish's career.

[1] The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Edited and amplified by Homer Saint-Gaudens. Century. 2 vols. 774 pp., ill. $7.

[2] Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist, His Life and Works. By H. W. Dickinson. Lane. 333 pp., ill. $3.

[3] A Queen of Shreds and Patches: Madame Tallien. By L. Gastine. Translated by J. Lewis May. Lane. 348 pp., ill. $3.50.

[4] The Story of Don John of Austria. By Padre Luis Coloma, S. J. Lane. 428 pp., ill. $3.50.

[5] Bendish. By Maurice Hewlett. Scribners. $1.35.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

TWO recent books on the Philippines are entitled "The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission,"[1] by Daniel R. Williams, and "The Progressing Philippines,"[2] by Charles W. Briggs. Mr. Williams's book is almost exclusively devoted to the work and impressions received by President McKinley's Commission of Five which went to the Islands in 1900 and 1901, while Mr. Briggs, who has been a missionary in the Islands, devotes his book largely to "attempting to describe how under American methods crude human stuff is swiftly undergoing moral and spiritual, as well as political change." Both books are illustrated.

The Philippines

"The competence of the National Government in making and enforcing treaties in relation to the reserved powers of the States"—such, treated historically and legally from documentary sources, is the subject of a monograph entitled "National Supremacy,"[3] by Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton University. This is particularly useful in connection with the California-Japanese disagreement.

Treaty Making Power

Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich's book on "The Orient Question"[4] deals with the problems of southeastern Europe in their relations to the older continents and to the world in general. He finds that the geopolitical situation of the Balkan peninsula brings it into important relationships with such world problems as Anglo-Russian and Anglo-German antagonisms, and the United States as a world power. The approaches to Suez and Panama are considered by him in this book as historic trade routes, and the great question of Islamism is discussed informingly. Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, who married an American lady, is the author, in collaboration with his wife, of a noted historical work on the Serbs, which we noticed in these pages some months ago, and which was entitled "The Servian People—Their Past Glory and Their Destiny."

Near and Far East

A very useful exposition and analysis of "Insurance and the State"[5] has been written by Dr. W. F. Gephart, author of "The Principles of Insurance," and now Professor of Economics in Washington University. Professor Gephart surveys the entire field of insurance, dividing his book into three parts under the general heads "State Life Insurance," "State Fire Insurance," and "Social Insurance."

State Insurance

A very stimulating study of "The Theory of Social Revolutions,"[6] by Brooks Adams, comes to the conclusion that our present social system is doomed, and that a new order is even now in the making. The headings of the chapters in which Mr. Adams considers his theory of progress by revolution will indicate the development of his thought. They are: "The Collapse of Capitalistic Government;" "The Limitations of the Judicial Function;" "American Courts as Legislative Chambers;" "The Social Equilibrium;" "Political Courts;" and, finally, "Inferences." In the course of this last chapter he gives it as his deliberate opinion that "American society as at present organized, with capitalists for the dominant class, can concentrate no further, and, as nothing in the universe is at rest, if it does not concentrate, it must begin to disintegrate. Indeed, we may perceive incipient signs of disintegration all about us."

Social Revolution

The business of making and exchanging goods all over the globe has more romance in it than is generally realized. Mr. James Davenport Whelpley, who is a veteran globe-trotter and a student of international economics and politics, has written a fascinating volume on "The Trade of the World."[7] He uses facts and figures to paint a picture of magnitude and appeal. The volume, which is illustrated, is made up of chapters under the following heads, which show its scope: "Trade Strategy," "The Commercial Strength of Great Britain," "Germany's Foreign Trade," "The Trade of France," "Belgium the Balance-wheel of Trade," "Austria-Hungary, the European Enigma," "Italy's Economic Outlook," "The Trade of Northern Africa," "Japan's Commercial Crisis," "The Trade of China," "The Trade of Russia," "Progressive Argentina," "If Canada Were to Annex the United States," "The Foreign Trade of the United States."

Trade Questions

A book which describes many of the odd activities of the useful government bureaus at Washington quite apart from politics is William A. DuPuy's "Uncle Sam, Wonder Worker."[8] This is really the story of unique scientific experiments conducted by the Government, such as growing cotton on trees, "inventing" new useful animals, solving some of the riddles of the sea, "stealing the 'persimmon's pucker,'" trading bugs with foreign countries, and other odd but useful activities.

Experimenting at Washington

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[1] The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission. By Daniel R. Williams. McClurg. 364 pp., ill. $1.75.
[2] The Progressing Philippines. By Charles W. Briggs. Philadelphia: The Griffith and Rowland Press. 174 pp., ill. 50 cents.
[3] National Supremacy. By Edward S. Corwin. Holt. 321 pp. $1.50.
[4] The Orient Question. By Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich. Duffield. 355 pp., ill. with maps. $1.25.
[5] Insurance and the State. By W. F. Gephart. Macmillan. 228 pp. $1.25.
[6] The Theory of Social Revolutions. By Brooks Adams. Macmillan. 246 pp. $1.25.
[7] The Trade of the World. By James Davenport Whelpley. Century. 436 pp., ill. $2.
[8] Uncle Sam, Wonder Worker. By William A. DuPuy. Stokes. 271 pp., ill. $1.25.

POEMS, STORIES, AND ESSAYS

READERS of Stevenson will welcome a complete collection of his poems and ballads which includes a "Child's Garden of Verse," "Songs of Travel," and the posthumous poems and ballads of the South Sea Islands.[1] Stevenson's explanatory notes (often prose poems in themselves) are appended to many of the verses. The poetic work of Robert Louis Stevenson increases in popularity as the years go by. His heart was brave, but he never failed to understand the purifying grace of humility. At the end of his life neither pride in his possessions nor in the measure of his praise from men occurred to his mind. He remembered only that he had received many favors and, to use his own words, was not "fool enough to be ungrateful." His poems explore the heart of childhood; they were born where he confesses he was born—in Arcady; last and best, they are loving. Alone, without the prose works, they justify his oft applied title in his later years—"Robert Louis, The Beloved."

Stevenson's Poems

Mrs. Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1825, and died only last year, at her home, "The Maples," at Rutland, Vermont. Her gift of poesy has for many years delighted an ever-increasing audience of readers. It is primarily womanly poetry—the essence of a fine, sweet nature that brought only blessing unto the world. To the end of her long life she continued to write good poetry, of which two volumes have heretofore been published. The posthumous book, "Last Poems,"[2] includes the two previously published, "Afterglow" and "Beyond the Sunset." Some of the lyrics bear a strong resemblance to the work of another similarly gifted woman, the late Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. The poem, "In Rock Creek Cemetery," written to the Saint-Gaudens memorial statue of Grief, is of exceptional beauty. The sonnet, "Thy Songs and Mine," is addressed to those singers who shall remain on earth after the writer has fallen asleep:

Mrs. Dorr's Last Poems

"I shall be silent with my song half sung;
I shall be dumb with half the story told;
I shall be mute, leaving the half unsaid.
Take thou the harp ere yet it be unstrung;
Wake thou the lyre ere yet its chords be cold;
Sing thou my songs and thine, when I am dead."

John Masefield brings out a new edition of his "Salt-Water Ballads,"[3] given to the world eleven years ago as poems written in the author's boyhood and early youth. This collection marks the beginning of Masefield's ascent toward the zenith of the poetic firmament, and these ballads of the sea, torn freshly from his then recent experiences, will quite likely remain to the end of his life the freshest and purest of all the Masefield poesy. They are written in the language "such as sailors use at sea"; they are reckless with youth and adventure; they are quick with love and brave with hardy courage. All the savor of youth flung into hardship and pain and wild adventure sings through the lines, all the bafflement of an old soul beginning in a new body its earthly pilgrimage. "To-morrow" voices the determination of youth that refuses to recognize defeat:

Masefield's Ballads

Oh, yesterday the cutting edge drank thirstily and deep;
The upland outlaws ringed us in and herded us like sheep;
They drove us from the stricken field and bayed us into keep.
But to-morrow,
By the living God, we'll try the game again.

Oh, yesterday our little troop was ridden through and through;
Our swaying, tattered pennons fled, a broken, beaten few,
And all a summer afternoon they hunted us and slew.
But to-morrow,
By the living God, we'll try the game again.

And here upon the turret-top the bale-fire glowers red;
The wake-lights burn and drip about our hacked, disfigured dead,
And many a broken heart is here and many a broken head.
But to-morrow,
By the living God, we'll try the game again.

If a man gives his highest talent to the production of poetry, how much of literary worth and inspiration may we expect to find in his prose? This question drives the reader with sharp curiosity through John Masefield's volume of short stories, "A Mainsail Haul."[4] Therein are sixteen stories of ships, sailormen and the sea—a few historical, others imaginary and fantastical, a few strung together like a necklace of bright bits of folklore and legend of the sea. Of this latter kind, none excel the "Port o' Many Ships," with the great sea-snake coiled in a blue cavern underneath the Gulf of Mexico, with a crown of gold on his horned head, unless it be the story of the galleon, *Spanish Rose,* which the Lord of Alva built for his lady—a galleon where in every cabin "was a silver crucifix above an old censer of flowered copper, studded with jewels, which sent up smoke at the canonical hour." In these tales are splendid passages of description; that of the store kept by the "Johnny Dago," in the sailor's yarn, shows the astonishing fidelity of the author's power of observation and the range of his memory. The five historical papers are concerned with Captain John Ward, a "most notorious pirate," Captain John Jennings, Captain Robert Knox, Captain John Noton, and the "Voyage of the Cygnet."

Stories by Masefield

[1] The Poems and Ballads of Robert Louis Stevenson. Scribners. 367 pp. $2.
[2] Last Poems. By Julia C. R. Dorr. Scribners. 206 pp. $1.50.
[3] Salt Water Ballads. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 112 pp. $1.
[4] A Mainsail Haul. By J. Masefield. Macmillan. 189 pp. $1.25.

The most valuable and profitable book of essays for the month is Mr. Arthur Christopher Benson's "Joyous Gard."[1] Mr. Benson has long been certain of a hearty welcome; he has grown increasingly to be our companion in our inner meditative natures; he has given us such simplicity and common sense and spiritual advisement that each new book from his pen comes as the counsel of a well-tried friend. The key to all Mr. Benson writes, the secret of his wide influence is explained in a single paragraph from "Joyous Gard":

Essays by Benson

"We must say to ourselves that whatever happens the soul shall not be atrophied, and we should be as anxious about it, if we find it is losing its zest and freedom, as we should be if we found the body were losing its appetite."

"Joyous Gard" was, as we all remember, Sir Lancelot's castle in "Morte d'Arthur." The author has called his book by this name because it "speaks of a stronghold we can win with our own hands," a fortress of beauty and spiritual peace—in other words, the Christ spirit, the refuge of those who listen to the divine words, "Come unto Me all ye who are weary and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." To be explicit, it deals with ideas, art, love and life, poetry and wonder, progress, growth, faith, science, vitality, sincerity, and many other things of good report. Its style is wholly without effort; it runs with the limpidness of clear water. Upon the last page of "Joyous Gard" Mr. Benson writes "The end," but it is an error. Books of the quality and perception of this volume of essays never come to an end; they write themselves over again endlessly in a reality of gracious bounty and helpfulness to the world.

OTHER BOOKS OF THE MONTH

A USEFUL reference manual is the "Negro Year Book,"[2] the fiftieth anniversary edition, which has appeared under the editorship of Monroe N. Work, for some years in charge of records and research at Tuskegee Institute. His book includes a review of the progress of the negro race during fifty years, with various deductions from the census figures, much legal data and statistical description, and bibliographical material very generously supplied.

Negro Progress

"The First Principles of Evolution,"[3] by Dr. S. Herbert, who has many degrees from European universities, is the sequel to his former volume, "The First Principles of Heredity." It is the outcome of a series of lectures given in Manchester to a class of working men. "The Meaning of Evolution,"[4] on the other hand, by Dr. Samuel Christian Schmucker (Biological Sciences in the West Chester State Normal School, West Chester, Pa.), is a more detailed study of evolution historically and from the modern point of view. Dr. Schmucker's book is illustrated with portraits of great scientists.

Evolution

Two attractively illustrated volumes on Indians are "Blackfeet Indian Stories,"[5] by George Bird Grinnell, and the "Book of Indian Braves,"[6] by Kate Dickinson Sweetser. Mr. Grinnell tells simply and interestingly the legends of the Blackfeet tribe, while Miss Sweetser takes a wider field for her writing and considers many historic Indian personages of different tribes.

Indian Lore

When Pierre Loti writes about India his idea seems to be to dream about the Buddhist faith, describe the ruined temples of the ancient gods, comment languidly on Oriental music on moonlight nights, and experience all sorts of indescribable terrors and nameless dreads. He visits sacred cities, weeps over famine sufferers, and converses with high priests of theosophy—all this to the accompaniment of some very vivid pictures in color and odd pen sketches.[7]

Loti's India

"Publishing," Mr. Charles Scribner, head of the great firm of that name, is once reported to have said, "is neither a business nor a profession, it is a career." With this remark, Mr. Robert Sterling Yard, now editor of the *Century Magazine*, closes a very readable little volume entitled "The Publisher."[8] Mr. Yard knows whereof he speaks—or writes—and he writes well.

Some suggestive studies on "The Significance of Art"[9]—sculpture, the minor arts, painting, music, art, and nature—have been gathered in book form by Eleanor Rowland, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology in Reed College. There is a good deal in Dr. Rowland's little book which finds confirmation and even elaboration in Mr. Royal Cortissoz's "Art and Common Sense."[10] Mr. Cortissoz, who has a long list of books on art topics to his credit, including monographs on John La Farge and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, endeavors to bring the mysterious and esoteric term art within the comprehension of the multitude, without being didactic—which is an art in itself.

Art's Meaning

A subject about which the general public knows very little is treated in Mr. George Laing Miller's little book on "The Recent Revolution in Organ Building."[11] Mr. Miller has intended his book primarily for those who have to do with the purchase and reconstruction of an organ, but he has added much information that will be useful to the professional or amateur organist. There are also short biographies of the principal inventors. The text is supplied with numerous illustrations and diagrams.

Organ Building

[1] Joyous Gard. By Arthur Christopher Benson. Putnams. 267 pp. $1.50.
[2] Negro Year Book. By Monroe N. Work. Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press. 348 pp. 25 cents.
[3] The First Principles of Evolution. By S. Herbert. Macmillan. 346 pp., ill. $3.
[4] The Meaning of Evolution. By Samuel C. Schmucker. Macmillan. 298 pp., ill. $1.50.
[5] Blackfeet Indian Stories. By George Bird Grinnell. Scribner's. 214 pp. $1.
[6] Book of Indian Braves. By Kate Dickinson Sweetser. Harpers. 184 pp., ill. $1.50.
[7] India. By Pierre Loti. Duffield: 283 pp., ill. $2.50.
[8] The Publisher. By Robert Sterling Yard. Houghton Mifflin. 180 pp. $1.
[9] The Significance of Art. By Eleanor Rowland. Houghton, Mifflin. 189 pp. $1.
[10] Art and Common Sense. By Royal Cortissoz. Scribner's. 445 pp. $1.75.
[11] The Recent Revolution in Organ Building. By George Laing Miller. New York: The Charles Francis Press. 191 pp. ill. $1.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE persistency with which financial writers have urged the necessity of buying stocks at bottom rather than at top is plainly beginning to have its effect. Signs are not wanting that investors grow more cautious. Long insistence on their tendency to buy when a boom is on, whereas the so-called "insiders" are alleged to buy always when prices are sinking, is bearing fruit in an increasing shrewdness—an instinct for and knowledge of bargains.

No fault can be found with the desire to buy stocks, and bonds, for that matter, as cheaply as possible. But this desire may go too far, or, rather, it may take the wrong direction. The word cheap is open to many constructions. It appears to have several different meanings, and unfortunately, one of its stock-market synonyms sounds very much like worthless.

Investors in search of bargains have recently been much attracted toward the preferred and common stocks of the Rock Island Company and the 4 per cent. collateral trust bonds of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company. Rock Island preferred stock is now selling at 21 and the common at about 13. The preferred stock paid 4 per cent. dividends in the years 1903-1905, and nothing since. The common has never paid dividends. Now, regardless of the actual merits of the railroad property which these stocks, as will presently be seen, rather distantly represent, the stocks themselves cannot be looked upon as in any sense investments. The man who buys them locks up his money without interest and deprives himself of the return which he would get from a savings-bank deposit or a good bond or mortgage.

A non-dividend-paying stock yields no return unless sold at a profit. But selling at a profit is purely speculative. Let not the buyer of Rock Island or Erie common or of such common shares as Frisco, Chicago Great Western, Alton, Clover Leaf, Kansas City Southern, Iowa Central and Katy regard himself as an investor. Low-priced shares may be low-priced because there is something the matter with the company, because its stock has been freely watered or because earnings are meager. All this may seem quite elementary to many of the readers of this page, and it is elementary. But there is something elusive and seductive about low-priced stocks, which even the most sophisticated fall victims to.

A man often feels more filled, as it were, with ten shares of stock selling at $10 a share than with one share at $100. Seven shares of Rock Island common are selling for about the same amount that one share of Northern Pacific brings. Only the most strong-minded would prefer one share of the latter to seven of the former. The efforts of promoters to interest investors in worthless mining, oil, rubber, and other risky stocks is nearly always aided by making these shares of low par value. Any number of persons will buy a thousand shares of a new and unheard of oil stock at $1 a share who would not think of buying one share of the old Standard Oil Company at $1000 a share.

The great advantage of the stock which has paid 7 per cent. dividends for a number of years, and which is sure to pay at least 5 per cent. for years to come, and in all probability its regular 7 per cent., is that the workings of compound interest will pile up money so fast that the non-dividend-paying stock will probably never be able to catch up as far as actual return to the investor is concerned. An ambitious enterprise sold large blocks of stock about five years ago, made great promises, and has never paid a dividend. Compound interest works so fast that a man who bought $1000 of that stock five years ago would have to receive a 28 per cent. dividend in a very short time now to be as well off as the man who bought a 5 per cent. bond five years ago. Rock Island common will soon have to pay a 65 per cent. dividend if the man who bought that stock when the company was formed is to be as well off as if he had bought a 5 per cent. bond.

Actual operation of this large and important railroad system is conducted by the old Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, whose stock is nearly all exchanged for the 4 per cent. collateral trust bonds of the *railroad* of the same name. These are the bonds

which are now quoted at 52, and interest upon them is derived solely from the dividends paid on the stock of the old *railway* company. About 5 per cent. in dividends is needed to pay interest on the bonds, and that is what has been paid, with earnings in the last few years only a trifle in excess of the 5 per cent. Now, on top of these two companies is superimposed another, known as the Rock Island Company. This corporation owns all the stock of the railroad company, and in turn has issued its own common and preferred stock, about $90,000,000 of the former and $50,000,000 of the latter. These are the stocks which are quoted and actively dealt in on the Stock Exchange. Just what they represent is rather difficult to say, except that ownership of the preferred carries ownership of the whole system.

The men who formed this inter-corporate group are understood to own enough of the preferred stock to control the system, this stock having a majority of the voting power, and the board of directors being so classified that no difficulty arises in perpetuating that control. Assuming that these men hold one-half of the preferred stock, which is probably twice or even three times as much as they actually need to hold in practice, the market value of the controlling interest in companies with $327,000,000 of bonded indebtedness is now only about $6,000,000.

Possibly these stocks are attractive speculations, but even when one speculates there is great advantage in buying a dividend-paying security, because the dividend takes care of the expense of a speculative account, which is considerable when carried on margin.

Attention has recently been drawn to the Reading Company, partly because the Government has just entered upon another desperate attempt to force the company to give up its ownership of coal lands. The common stock, selling now at 161 and paying 8 per cent. dividends, earned last year, according to the recent annual report, between 15 and 16 per cent. Probably the earnings were far greater than that since, in view of the many Government suits, too complete a disclosure of prosperity is not advisable. But even if the Government wins its case, the company cannot be forced to sell its coal lands at a loss. After they have been sold there will still be the coal to transport. Moreover, freight earnings from other traffic than coal have increased 40 per cent. in five years. Passenger earnings also steadily grow. Finally there has been no increase in indebtedness for a number of years. Last year the debt was actually decreased by $904,000.

Or consider the Norfolk & Western Railway. Dividends have slowly and gradually increased from 2½ per cent. in 1902 until they are now 6 per cent. The stock sells at 104, making a net return of 5.77 per cent. Here is another company whose capitalization has shown no increase to speak of. In 1903 its gross earnings were 14.59 per cent. on its total capitalization, and to-day they are 18.64 per cent. of the bond and stock issue. This is a record to be proud of in view of the increase in capital on other railroads, such as the New Haven. Total fixed charges have grown only about half as fast as those of the country's railroads as a whole.

These two railroad companies are by no means lone exceptions. They are mentioned solely as timely examples of companies whose stocks, while far from low-priced, may in the long run prove to be much cheaper than most of the so-called cheap stocks.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 494. AMERICAN WOOLEN—WELLS FARGO—SECURITIES

Would you advise the purchase at present prices of American Woolen preferred, or Wells Fargo & Company? I am a young man with salary more than sufficient for my present needs, and have no one dependent upon me yet. American Woolen preferred looks to have had a good dividend record, and I thought its accumulated surplus might tide the company over any temporary embarrassment due to tariff changes. Is Wells Fargo likely to cut its present high dividend on account of parcels-post competition? And, even in that event, will not the company's well-established business in the United States and present or prospective business in South America practically assure a fair income yield on its stock?

There is, of course, something to be said in favor of these two stocks along the very lines you have indicated, but, in our judgment, not enough to justify the purchase of the stocks other than as pretty highly speculative issues. American Woolen's accumulated surplus is undoubtedly the source of a good deal of strength to the company, but it is by no means certain that it represents the kind of assets that would prove wholly effective in forestalling dividend changes in the event of unforeseen contingencies arising out of the tariff situation. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the company may not be able to adjust its business to the new conditions so as to make unnecessary any serious sacrifices on the part of the stockholders. In giving his views on the new tariff law, not long since, President Wood, the head of

the Woolen Company, said, among other things: "It (the new law) deserves a fair trial, and it certainly will have this from the American Woolen Company. We shall do our level best to maintain a full volume of business and to pay our stockholders the dividend which they have steadily received ever since the company was founded. No part of the great American market—the best market in the world—is going to be yielded to foreign manufacturers without resolute and determined efforts to retain it. We know the efficiency and completeness of our equipment, than which there can be no better in the world. The magnitude of our operations is a great aid to us. We are ready to fight it out with the enemy this year, and next year, and next. More than this no man can say at the present time." Nor is anyone able to say with what success Wells Fargo and the other express carriers are destined to meet in their efforts to adjust their business to the new conditions arising out of parcels-post competition, and an attitude of antagonism, not only on the part of some of the State railroad commissions, but also on the part of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has taken the form of orders for radical reductions in the companies' rates of charges for their services. There seems to be a growing feeling among those who have studied the question in a detailed way that these companies are going to find it more or less difficult from now on to justify their existence on the grounds of economic necessity. In various ways the situation becomes more complex continually, and surrounds the express companies' stocks with an increasing amount of uncertainty.

No. 495. REAL-ESTATE BONDS

The trust companies here loan money on city real estate secured by first mortgage. They claim to loan only one-half the cash value of the property. These loans are secured by mortgage bonds, attached to which are two sets of coupons—one set for 1 per cent. and the other set for 5 per cent. The bonds are sold to investors at par and accumulated interest. The companies retain the sheet of 1 per cent. coupons. So the bonds yield 5 per cent. to the investor. The bonds are given for the entire amount of money loaned on a single property. They run for five years and interest is paid every six months. Some of my friends are putting money into the bonds of certain New York City real-estate companies. As regards safety, what, in your opinion, are the comparative merits of these investments?

It is hardly fair to undertake a comparison of this kind without some knowledge of the responsibility and experience of the trust companies to which you refer and the character of the properties on which it is customary for them to make their loans. In other words, we think such comparison, to be worth very much, ought to be, not between the two classes of securities, but between specific issues. However, the plan you outline, in its general aspects, is one which has been adopted with great success by numerous trust companies in different parts of the country, in their efforts to popularize investment in sound real-estate mortgages, which not so very long ago were considered available only to the capitalist. The bonds to which the operation of the plan gives origin differ in one fundamental and important way from the other kind of securities to which you refer—a point which will be clear if you bear in mind the fact that most of the widely advertised securities issued against improved New York City property do not have the security of first mortgages behind them, but are issued either in the form of plain, unsecured debentures, or under a kind of mortgage which conveys to a trustee for the benefit of the bondholders merely the issuing company's equities in the properties it controls and operates. There are a few strong and ably managed companies issuing securities of these types. But, given the right amount of responsibility and experience on the part of the trust companies, we should be inclined to recommend their issues in preference to the others. Local mortgages issued under such conditions, and especially in cases where the mortgagor may be personally known to the investor, make ideal investments to hold for income through to maturity.

No. 496. NEW YORK CITY "BABY" BONDS

I understand that the City of New York issues bonds at ten dollars par value—coupon. Please tell me how I can procure them. Is a bond of this character easily negotiable, or does the fact that being issued for such a small amount make them difficult to sell?

You are correct in your understanding that the city issues its bonds—or corporate stock, as the long-time obligations are called—in denominations as low as ten dollars, but it does not make them available in coupon form. The fact that only registered bonds are procurable in the small denominations, taken in conjunction with the facts that the demand for anything under $100 is very limited, and that there is more or less trouble and expense connected with having the larger denominations split up into small pieces, preventing the dealers hitherto from offering much encouragement to the development of business of that character, makes these bonds difficult to negotiate at times. At the last public offering of bonds by the city itself, there were a number of successful bidders for $10 denominations. These were probably intended to be permanent investments—perhaps the starting points of the purchasers' investment experience—and it is doubtful if any of them have come into the market. You might communicate with one or two specialists in New York City issues, to find out about the chances of being able to obtain any of the small pieces.

No. 497. MORTGAGES FOR INCOME

I am inexperienced in investment matters, and having a small amount of money to put out at interest, I should like to have you inform me about the securities I have seen offered to return up to 7 and 8 per cent. It is said that higher rates of interest are allowed in the West and South, making it possible for an investor to obtain more yield than on the conservative Eastern investment, and without making a corresponding sacrifice of safety.

You probably have reference to mortgage loans placed in the West and South, in localities where capital supplies are to some extent limited, and where capital of all kinds demands and secures higher rates than those which prevail in the East, where the supply of loanable funds is more nearly equal to the demand. These securities are straight mortgages, in buying which the investor obtains actual possession of the power to enforce the payment of both interest and principal. Bought through firms of good reputation—firms that are known for the careful way in which they discriminate in selecting the securities they offer to the public—such mortgages make excellent investment media for income to hold through to maturity. They are not liquid investments; that is, they are not readily convertible into cash in cases of emergency, but ready convertibility is a virtue which the average investor would not infrequently find to be unnecessary if he stopped to analyze his situation.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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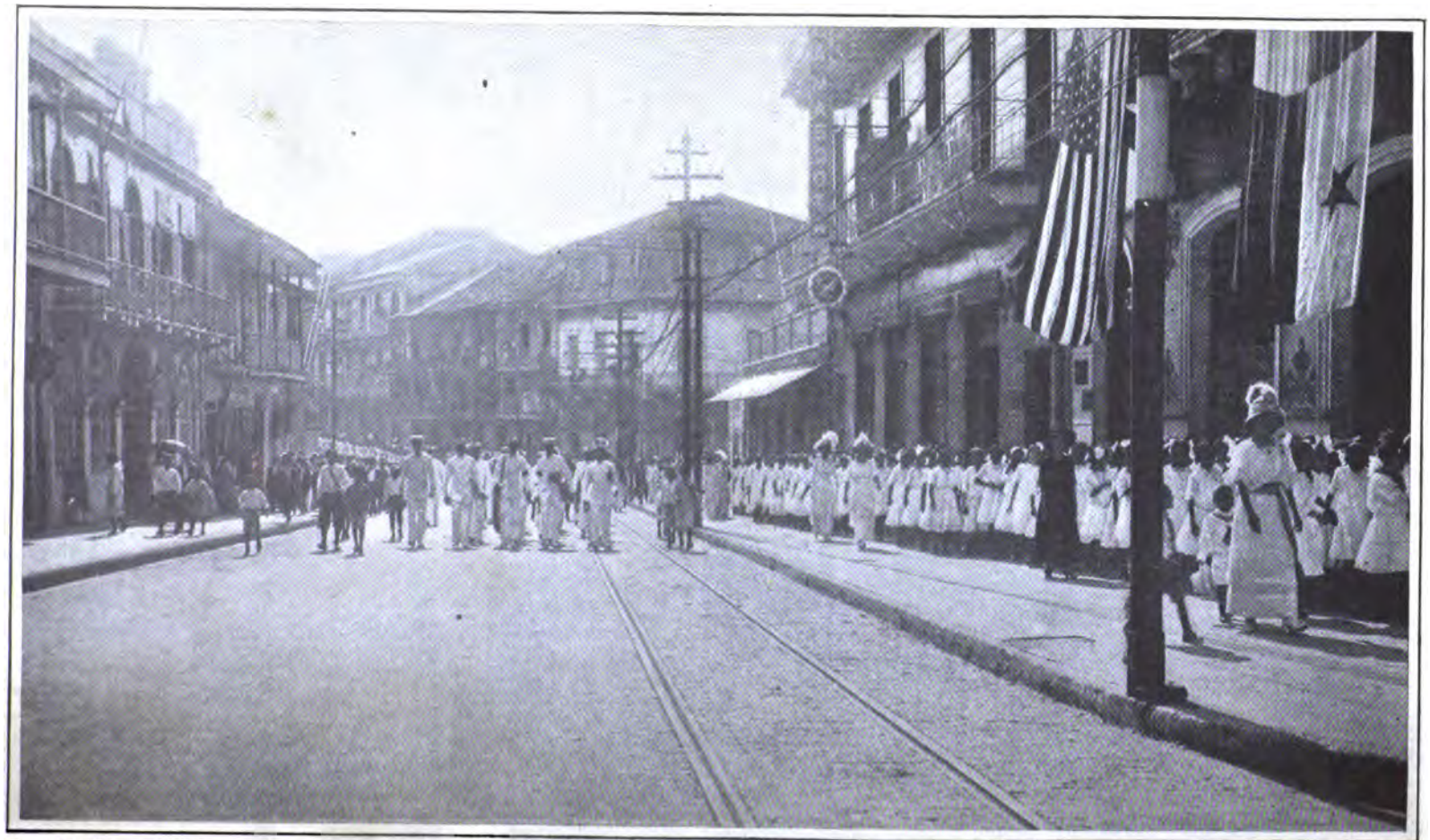
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CELEBRATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF PANAMA'S INDEPENDENCE

(The Republic of Panama asserted its independence on November 4, 1903, and was soon afterward recognized by the United States and European powers. The parade of the school children, pictured in the above scene, was one of the features of the celebration in the City of Panama last month)

THE AMERICAN
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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Question of Banking and Currency

With the regular session of Congress opening on the first day of December, it became evident early in November that the extra session would expire without the passage of the pending Currency bill. As had been agreed well in advance, the public hearings before the Senate Committee ended on October 25. Strong differences of opinion had developed within the committee, and the threshing out of various features of the Glass-Owen bill, during the many days of criticism and discussion by bankers and experts, had not tended to result in full agreement. No witness produced so marked an effect upon the minds of the Senators as Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York—this being the largest bank as respects capital, deposits, and operations, of any in the country. Mr. Vanderlip, who is still a young man as age counts among men of large affairs, has not grown up in the atmosphere of Wall Street. His boyhood was one of hard work on a Western farm, and his excellent education was obtained through his own efforts at the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago. He became financial editor of the Chicago *Tribune,* remaining with that paper for five years. When Mr. Lyman J. Gage became Secretary of the Treasury, in 1897, he brought Mr. Vanderlip to Washington, where for four years he served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. It was from that position that he was called to be vice-president of the National City Bank, by reason of his financial ability and his high personal qualities. After eight years as vice-president, he became Mr. Stillman's successor as president of the bank, at the end of 1908, practically five years ago. Mr. Vanderlip is greatly interested in education, and in all that makes for public welfare. The impression that he made before the Senate committee was only half due to his arguments in relation to the pending Currency bill. A large share of the impression was due to the quality of the man himself, his broad knowledge, his force of thought and conviction, and the clear evidence that he was speaking as a citizen and a publicist, having the country in mind, rather than as a private financier representing the big banks and money interests of New York.



WANTED—THE COMBINATION!
From the *R. W. Satterfield Cartoon Service* (Cleveland, Ohio)

Vanderlip In Favor of Government Control

In one essential point Mr. Vanderlip agreed with the position taken by President Wilson and firmly maintained in the Glass-Owen bill. He agreed that the central controlling and supervising body, in an American system for regulating currency and banking, ought to be purely governmental. He disagreed entirely with those bankers who had contended

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MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP
President of the National City Bank, New York

that the banking interest itself ought to name some of the members of the central federal reserve board. Our readers will remember that in an editorial analysis of this proposition we had shown that it was entirely fallacious and unworkable to allow one private interest to select members of a public board. Mr. Vanderlip perceives that the President of the United States must be trusted to name the members of the governing body. But instead of a series of regional reserve banks, coming under the supervision of a federal board at Washington, Mr. Vanderlip would have a central bank, with as many branches and agencies in different parts of the country as experience should find to be desirable. He would have the branch banks and agencies fully controlled by the central bank, with its governing board of seven members appointed by the President. The capital stock of the central bank should be supplied either by the Government itself, or else by popular subscription or *pro rata* by the national banks of the country. Mr. Vanderlip's objections to the regional bank districts are summarized on page 728 of this REVIEW.

Mr. Glass and His Proposals

Mr. Glass, chairman of the House committee, had taken the ground from the beginning that the Democratic Congress would be governed by its own explicit party platform, which favors currency reform but opposes the plan of a central bank. The Vanderlip plan meets the objections of those who do not wish the country's money system to be controlled by bankers or private financiers. The Glass plan is a very ingenious one, which provides us with a definite national system, whereas at present we have none. The Vanderlip plan is more mature, logical, and permanent in its nature than the Glass plan. But from the standpoint of practical statesmanship it is to be remembered that the Glass bill had already passed the House of Representatives, and that with some modifications, which would probably improve it without weakening it, the bill had good prospects of passing the Senate. It has not seemed possible at any time that the present Congress could be induced to create a central bank, even though the Vanderlip bank would be a very different one from that which was proposed under the Aldrich plan. If the Glass-Owen bill, with certain desirable amendments, should become a law, it would mark a great stride in the right direction. Future legislation, based upon experience, could develop the system further without undoing or reversing the essential parts of what had been accomplished. The regional banks could, by degrees, assume the character of branches of a central institution, and the federal reserve board at Washington could be given more power until its members found themselves in effect the directors of a great central fiscal agency for the Government, a reserve center for the ordinary banks, and an elastic system of currency capable of meeting all emergencies.

Congress Entitled to Credit

The Democrats have undertaken to give the country a certain measure of currency reform without creating a central bank. The bankers had admitted that this could be done, but had claimed that they ought to appoint some of the members of the central board. Mr. Vanderlip has rendered service in pointing out the advantages of a central institution directly controlling its branches. But the bankers, taken as a whole, have strengthened rather than weakened Mr. Glass and Senator Owen in their advocacy of the pending bill, because the positions taken from time to time by the bankers have been so in-

consistent and vacillating that Mr. Glass has been partially justified in saying that he cannot find out what it is that the bankers really want. The discussion upon the whole has been a very creditable and encouraging one. Members of both houses of Congress have shown sincerity and patriotism, and have grown enormously, during the past few months, in their knowledge of the principles of banking and monetary science. It is now generally believed that there have been advantages in the protracted study of this subject at Washington, and that we may hope to have a bill passed in January that will be fairly acceptable to the entire business community, while creditable to the determined efforts of President Wilson and the good faith and serious-mindedness of both branches of Congress.

Public Opinion Lending Support

The truth is that this bill is going to become a law through its gradual acceptance by the public opinion of the country, rather than through the pressure of a party majority. The same thing was true of the passage of the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill. That measure was finally passed without any well-organized or intense opposition. Republican Senators made their criticism of the Tariff bill in a dignified and able way, as a matter of record, but the country has accepted the measure as something necessary and inevitable and as a broad advance in the direction of reform. If, indeed, there had been strong public feeling against the Administration tariff bill, the new income tax, or the pending plan for reforming our currency and banking system, we should have had very clear indications of the crystallizing of such a sentiment in the elections that occurred on the 4th of November. But in point of fact the elections indicated that President Wilson, after eight months of assiduous devotion to his duties as President—with his mind always concentrated upon the essentials of his program and the larger aspects of his office—stands very strong with the country.

Mr. Wilson and the Elections

The Administration has had the good sense not to chatter or gabble in public or to do its own boasting of vindication or success. It has too much serious work on hand to be boastful or to rest on its oars. But it may well have felt some quiet sense of encouragement when the election returns came in from various directions. Mr. Walsh had been elected Governor in Massachusetts, Mr. Fielder had been reëlected Governor in New Jersey, Mr.



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HON. CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA
(Who has won the respect of the bankers in his fight for the Currency bill)

Blair Lee had been elected United States Senator at the polls in Maryland. These were typical contests. There were four candidates for Governor in Massachusetts. Governor Foss, who had been elected as a Democrat and was very popular, had decided to run independently, on the ground of his decided opposition to President Wilson, to the new tariff, and to the Administration's policies in general. The result was that he came out of the contest a very bad fourth. Lieutenant-Governor Walsh, nominated as a strong supporter of the Administration at Washington, was elected by a large plurality. The Republican candidate, Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, Senator Lodge's son-in-law—also representing direct and marked opposition to the party in power at Washington—was third in the race, and was considerably behind the Progressive candidate, Mr. Charles Sumner Bird, whose views were much more in accord with those of Mr. Walsh than with those of Mr. Gardner or Mr. Foss. The Progressive party, as such, was much elated by the Massachusetts election; but the Administration at Washington had even better ground for satisfaction. Its tariff policy had been approved in New England.



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HON. BLAIR LEE OF MARYLAND
(Who was victorious in the popular election for United States Senator)

Parties in New Jersey

In New Jersey, the Republican candidate, Mr. Edward C. Stokes, was a strong and popular choice, but Governor Fielder, with the marked support of President Wilson, won a handsome victory. Mr. Everett Colby, the Progressive candidate, did not secure the support that had been expected. His vote was less than a fourth that of Governor Fielder, and less than a third that of Mr. Stokes. It must be remembered, however, that Mr. Colby has long been a fighting reformer of great courage, in a State where reform was desperately needed. The very fact that Mr. Colby and the Progressives are in politics in New Jersey has had much to do with the bringing forward, in that State, of such strong and excellent men as President Wilson, Governor Fielder, and Mr. Stokes. If the Democrats and Republicans had been content to name candidates who would have pleased the old political machines, we should have seen Colby and the Progressives sweep the State. Thus, from the standpoint of indirect influence at least, Mr. Colby and the New Jersey Progressives have rendered good service. They have compelled the other parties to put their best men forward.

Maryland and the Progressives

The election in Maryland, which resulted in the popular choice of Blair Lee as United States Senator, derives national interest from the fact that Mr. Lee is a Democrat of decidedly progressive character and quite out of sympathy with the old-line bosses and machine organization of the Maryland Democracy. The Republicans had, indeed, expected to see Blair Lee beaten, because they thought that the Democratic party bosses and their followers would cut this Wilson progressive severely at the polls. But he won his victory by a very decisive plurality over Mr. Parran, the Republican candidate. Mr. Lee received more than 111,000 votes, practically the same number as were cast for President Wilson last year. Mr. Parran received 70,000 votes, as against 54,000 for Mr. Taft last year. The Progressive candidate for Senator was George Wellington, who was ill and made very little active canvass. The Republicans of Maryland, meanwhile, had done everything in their power to bring the Progressives back into the fold. The negro element that had followed Roosevelt last year abandoned the Bull Moose standard in a mass. The Republican platform, adopted in September at Baltimore, was practically copied from Bull Moose platforms, and included such planks as initiative and referendum and woman suffrage. The platform was presented to the convention by Charles Schirm, who was one of the Bull Moose leaders last year; and Colonel Carrington, who was one of Colonel Roosevelt's chief supporters at Chicago last year and the Bull Moose leader in Maryland, telegraphed to the Baltimore convention his support of this year's platform and ticket.

When "Fusion" Does Not Work

Thus the Maryland Republican ticket and platform last month meant an almost complete reunion of Progressives with the older party. The Republicans had adopted Progressive principles, and the Progressives had adopted the Republican name. Under these circumstances, Mr. Wellington and the remnant of third-party Progressives made a very small showing at the polls. But the main result is worth some pondering. Last year the progressive Democrats supporting Woodrow Wilson polled 112,000 votes. This year the

progressive Democrats, inspired and urged by Woodrow Wilson, cast 111,000 votes for Blair Lee. Last year the Republicans and Progressives, voting separately for Taft and Roosevelt, polled a total of 112,000 votes, ust the same number as those cast for Mr. Wilson. But this year the Republicans and Progressives, amalgamated under the Republican name, with a progressive platform, olled only 70,000 votes. If this means nything, it would seem to mean that the rogressive voters had not followed their eaders back into the Republican camp, but hat a considerable part of them had voted or Blair Lee as a progressive Democrat. t is evident that the future of political arties is by no means determined, whether Maryland, New Jersey, or Massachusetts, y the results at the polls last month.

The Victory in New York City

The most significant election of all was that held in New York City, where Mr. John Purroy Mitchel was elected Mayor by a vote of pproximately 356,000, against a vote of 5,000 for Judge Edward E. McCall, who as the candidate of the Democratic party represented and controlled by Tammany Hall. Mr. Mitchel's vote was more than 50 per cent. greater than that of Mr. McCall. This was an overwhelming victory, when one considers that New York City has traditionally been a Tammany-governed town. Thus the late Mayor Gaynor had been nominated and elected by Tammany, as had his predecessor, George B. McClellan. Mr. Mitchel was at the head of a non-partisan citizens' ticket, which had been named by a large committee and subsequently ratified and accepted by the Republican party, he Progressive party, several groups of inlependent Democrats, and some other elements. This so-called Fusion ticket had comprised three offices for the city as a whole—namely, the post of Mayor, that of Comptroller, and that of President of the Board of Aldermen. Mr. Prendergast had been renominated for Comptroller, and was elected by a majority much less than that of Mr. Mitchel. Mr. George McAneny, who is completing his four years' term as President of the Borough of Manhattan, was elected President of the Board of Aldermen. Mr. Marcus M. Marks, the Fusion candidate, succeeds Mr. McAneny as President of Manhattan Borough.



HON. JOHN PURROY MITCHEL
(Elected to the mayoralty of New York)



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MR. PRENDERGAST AND MR. M'ANENY

Mr. Prendergast was reëlected as Comptroller of York City, having direct oversight of expenditures inting to nearly $200,000,000 annually. Mr. Mcıy will be President of the Board of Aldermen)



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MR. JOHN A. HENNESSY, OF NEW YORK
(Whose speeches won the election)

Hennessy Caused the Landslide

The great size of Mr. Mitchel's plurality was not chiefly due to the positive and intelligent desire of the people of New York to have a thoroughly good municipal government. The Fusion ticket ought, indeed, to have won on its merits under normal conditions, and it had a fighting chance thus to win. But it happened that Tammany's fight against Governor Sulzer, and its success in securing his conviction upon impeachment charges, had resulted in sensational exposures of the real reasons that had impelled Murphy and the Tammany ring. It was shown clearly that Sulzer had been impeached, not for his faults, but for his virtues. He had started out as Governor to expose the mismanagement of State departments and the robbery of the State by politicians and contractors in the expenditure of two or three hundred million dollars upon State canals, highways, prisons, and so on. A part of the work of investigation for Governor Sulzer had been performed by Mr. John A. Hennessy, an experienced newspaper man of New York City. Mr. Hennessy took the platform during the intense period of the municipal campaign, and gave to New York a series of speeches, the like of which had never been known in the history of the metropolis for clean courage, graphic power of statement, concrete and definite accusations, and an irresistible quality of carrying conviction. Mr. Mitchel, Mr. McAneny, and the others, made decent and dignified presentations of the municipal situation. They spoke with knowledge of their tasks, as, of course, did Mr. Prendergast. Mr. Mitchel grew in favor from the beginning to the end. Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had been promptly named for the legislature as a Progressive in the old Sixth Assembly District, on the upper East Side, and his meetings were attended by countless thousands of sympathetic citizens who arose in passionate determination to vindicate an honest Governor against his corrupt and infamous opponents. But the great campaigner, who made it clear to every intelligent and decent man that Tammany must be crushed in city and State, was John A. Hennessy. Fusion won fairly enough on its own merits; but Hennessy made the landslide, and was the hero of the election.

The Administration Against Tammany

It should be remembered that Mr. John Purroy Mitchel had been taken from the office of President of the Board of Aldermen and made Collector of the Port by President Wilson. The Collectorship is the principal Federal office in the State of New York. Mr.



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CHARLES F. MURPHY, HEAD OF THE TAMMANY ORGANIZATION

[itchel was a well-known anti-Tammany ndidate for the mayoralty at the time when, st summer, President Wilson made him llector. It was declared when he took e Collectorship that he had not renounced s ambition to be Mayor. He was per-tted by President Wilson to retain the llectorship until after his election as ayor had been made certain. There was ry indication that President Wilson was ongly supporting Mr. Mitchel and the sion ticket against Murphy, McCall, and Tammany domination, whether in New rk City or at Albany. At the very climax the municipal campaign, Mr. Dudley Field alone, who had been made an Assistant retary of State, came to New York and ivered a scathing attack upon Murphy l Tammany, and made a brilliant plea on alf of Mitchel and the Fusion ticket. is was naturally and properly regarded showing that President Wilson and his ministration are just as much opposed to mmany and its scoundrelism in New York Mr. Wilson was opposed to the Demo-tic machine in New Jersey. President lson, almost immediately after the elec-n, nominated Mr. Dudley Field Malone Mitchel's successor in the great office of lector of the Port of New York. Thus sident Wilson has shown not merely cour-and right-mindedness, but the highest of political skill and judgment in seizing right moment, and using the right means, do his part in delivering the Democratic y from Tammany as an incubus. The



AT LAST!
From the *Herald* (Washington)



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HON. DUDLEY FIELD MALONE

(Who has been nominated by the President, and confirmed, for the important post of Collector of Customs at the Port of New York. For the past six months Mr. Malone has been serving as Third Assistant Secretary of State)

time, of course, is wholly ripe for a real Democratic party in the city and State of New York that shall manage its own affairs openly and decently, instead of submitting itself to the autocratic mastery of the boss of Tammany Hall. It is a shame for a great political party to do its business through a private agency, such as that which the Tammany organization maintains under Murphy's leadership in Fourteenth Street. There is no such thing as reforming Tammany, in the sense of regarding Tammany as equivalent to the Democratic party.

The New Legislature of New York

The most important aspect of the State election was the control of the Assembly, or lower branch of the legislature. It is the opinion of many well-informed men that the present legislature, the lower branch of which goes out of office on the first day of January, is the most flagrantly corrupt in the history of the State of New York. Both Senate and Assembly have been dominated by Tammany Hall, and have been regarded as merely echoing the mandates of Charles F. Murphy. The present Senate holds over for another



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER

year. But in the State of New York members of the Assembly are elected for one year only. The body has 150 members. No two authorities are in agreement as to the exact number of members elected respectively by the three contending parties. Several Progressives were elected who had the endorsement of no other party. Several were elected who had Republican endorsement. Several others were elected who had Democratic endorsement. On the other hand, a number of Republicans were elected who had Progressive endorsement. There are about twice as many straight Republicans as straight Democrats; but if one counts the three Progressive groups as likely to work together upon important matters, it may be said that the Progressives hold the balance of power, and will have to be reckoned with.

The Spirit of the Assembly

There has been a great fight in the State of New York for State-wide primaries. The Republican and Democratic machine organizations have wished to retain the State conventions, and also to continue the use of party columns on the ballot paper. The Progressive elements of all parties wish to give up State nominating conventions and party designating committees, and would also like real ballot reform. Predictions are without much value; but the work of the new Assembly will speak for itself in the near future. The Republican machine is assuming a most virtuous and exemplary tone, and professes enormous joy over the defeat of Tammany and the so-called "redemption" of the Assembly. The truth of the matter is that the government of the State of New York has been permeated by graft and corruption, and that those who are trying to bring about real reform, and who are now exposing the dishonesty of politicians and contractors, have intimated that so-called "organization politics" of the Republican brand has been only less mercenary than that of the Tammany-Democratic brand. Meanwhile there are plenty of good men in all parties, and the cleaning-up of dishonesty in the expenditure of public money is not an affair of parties, but one of good citizenship. The kind of fusion that has secured a thoroughly honest and a highly competent government for the city of New York, is just as greatly needed for the State of New York.

Sulzer's "Downfall" and Uprising

The election of William Sulzer to the new legislature is not merely sensational; it is a political affair of large importance. Mr. Sulzer as Governor has rendered the State of New York an almost superlative service. The prospect for good government in the metropolis and in the State is better than it has been at any time for half a century



Copyright by John T. McCutcheon

MR. SULZER AND MR. MURPHY
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

and this result is due to lzer more than to any ıer man. He had a chance, Governor, to make a nomi- ly good record for himself, l yet to avoid all serious uble. Tammany would ve allowed him to accom- ;h many things that could ve borne the reform label. . that Tammany asked of ı was not to investigate tain situations too sharply, l to consult Mr. Murphy ut a few appointments. spite of all kinds of threats exposure that would dis- ce him and break him vn, Sulzer persisted in ıg men like Hennessy, ke, and Carlisle to investi- ; corruption and misman- ment in the affairs of the te. Sulzer demanded that the Tammany ate expel Stilwell for being concerned ı legislative bribery. Upon Tammany ers, the Senate whitewashed Stilwell: ereupon Sulzer caused his indictment, and well was sent to the penitentiary.



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DISTRICT ATTORNEY CHARLES S. WHITMAN CONDUCTING THE "GRAFT" INQUIRY BEFORE MAGISTRATE M'ADOO

The Impeachment and Its Results

If Sulzer had not called the extra session, in his effort to secure direct-primary legislation, Tammany could not have got at him with its impeachment charges during the lifetime of present Assembly. The impeachment , brought in an extra session, was as ıly contrary to the constitution as ex- t language could make it. It was equally ı that the Sulzer impeachment was an k of desperate scoundrels upon an hon- nan. Nothing was brought out in the er trial that was even distantly related hose offenses for which Governors can roperly impeached. It is not even now lly clear that Sulzer made an incorrect rt of his campaign expenses. The ob- of the law is to prevent men from spend- money lavishly in improper ways, and e that what is spent is duly reported. er seems to have reported whatever was . But he collected money he did not l in his campaign. Those who put this ional money in his hands might have lained, but they did not do so. Most ıem were willing to have him use the y to relieve himself from personal debt mbarrassment. Judge Cullen, who pre- over the impeachment court, thought that Sulzer had not behaved, in those matters, as an honorable gentleman, but Judge Cullen held that Sulzer had done nothing for which he could be properly impeached. The scoundrels who were mixed up in the orgy of canal and road-building graft were so shortsighted as to suppose that if they broke down Sulzer they would discredit Sulzer's accusations against them. But this was the very opposite of what happened. Their impeachment of Sulzer focused the attention of the whole world upon their own



BEGINNING TO SQUEAL
From the *Herald* (New York)



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GOVERNOR MARTIN H. GLYNN, OF NEW YORK

iniquities. It aroused the entire State of New York to a sense of public danger and public duty. Mr. Sulzer became merely an incident. The important thing was the work of cleaning out the grafters that Mr. Sulzer had set himself to perform.

Getting on the Grafters' Trail

Even before Mr. Hennessy had finished his speeches in the last ten days of the campaign, he was giving testimony before Chief Magistrate McAdoo, of New York City, in an inquiry which had been set on foot by the District-Attorney, Mr. Whitman. The District-Attorney, as our readers are aware, had shown himself to be a great investigator and prosecutor in his exposure of the corrupt element in the New York police force that was in alliance with politicians, gamblers, and criminals for mercenary ends. Information began to pour in on Mr. Whitman from all parts of the State, and there was good reason to believe that the work to which Governor Sulzer had addressed himself last winter would go forward relentlessly during the present winter.

Mr. Glynn and His Attitude as Governor

The removal of Governor Sulzer had elevated Lieutenant-Governor Martin H. Glynn to the vacant seat which, under the law of New York, he will hold until the end of 1914. It became necessary for Governor Glynn to decide quite definitely whether he would put himself on the side of the victorious and determined reformers, or whether he would consult the Tammany elements that had been so anxious to put him in the Governor's chair. It will require at least a few months' time to decide whether his very admirable expressions of adherence to the views of the reformers are to be taken in dead earnest, or regarded as a temporary "pandering to the better element." The fight against graft must go very deep before it touches bottom; and it is likely enough to implicate some of Governor Glynn's political friends. It takes stern character to do one's full duty in high office under such circumstances. Mr. Glynn has lived a long time in Albany, and nobody should know better than he how rotten the State government has been. Many things of which he must have had some knowledge ought to have troubled his conscience in the past—perhaps a little more than it has seemed to show disquietude. A man who takes the office of Governor from any motive short of rendering the State the finest and highest possible service of which he is capable can hardly avoid going out of office with the



HARD WINTER FOR TAMMANY UP STATE
From the *World* (New York)

ecord of a Dix. It is for Governor Glynn o remember that even Sulzer—thrown out f his office in supposed disgrace at the hands f a high court of impeachment—will unquestionably go down to history, along with Tilden, Roosevelt, and Hughes, as one of he great reform Governors of the State of New York, whose courage in defying the orrupt combination of crooked politics and rooked business led to great progress in the ong-suffering but noble cause of good government.

Good-Will for Governor Glynn

Meanwhile, the great, good-natured public longs to give every man a chance to do his best. And the eagerness of the newspapers and the citizens of all political parties to upport Governor Glynn in his professions f honest intent, and in his advocacy of specific reforms, has been almost without a discordant voice. Nothing important was to e expected, however, from the extra session hat Governor Glynn proposed to call in the xpiring days of a thoroughly discredited egislature. Governor Glynn might expect oöperation from the new Assembly in right bjects; but a hold-over Senate, with a Tammany majority, could not be regarded as a eliable instrument of reform. There was ome talk of bringing Mr. Sulzer forward s a candidate for Speaker of the new Assembly, to which he was elected by an overwhelming majority. But the Speakership will presumably go to a Republican of Progressive tendencies, and of such personal tanding as to inspire confidence. Mr. Sulzer's leading position, however, in the fight or reform in the State government, and is long experience as a legislator at Washington, will make him the most conspicuous personality in either branch of the legislature. His need now is to lay aside his personal ambitions, while throwing himself unselfishly into the most important work it as ever fallen to his lot to perform on behalf f his fellow-citizens.

Various Municipal Contests

The entire country was interested in the municipal election in New York, because the metropolis, in a very real sense, belongs to the larger public as well as to its resident population. But many other cities in the country had municipal contests which were as engrossing to their own citizens, even if not as sensational, as the fight in New York City. The election in Philadelphia was not for a Mayor, because Mr. Blankenburg's term has not expired, but for members of the "Select" and "Common" Councils. The Fusionists were not successful, the old Republican machine coming to the front again. In Pittsburgh, the Republicans supported Joseph G. Armstrong, who won against the candidate supported by independents and progressives. Mayor Baker was reëlected in Cleveland and Mayor Karb in Columbus, presumably upon their good records, and not as partisans. But in Cincinnati the Republican organization was successful as against Mayor Hunt, who was supported by Democrats and non-partisan municipal reformers. Judge Frederick S. Spiegel was elected Mayor. In Buffalo, Mayor Fuhrmann was reëlected as an anti-Tammany Democrat. A citizens' movement, supported by Progressives, took second place, and the Republicans came out third. In Syracuse, the Progressives elected their candidate, Mr. Louis Will. The Republicans were second, and the Democrats third, all three parties being nearly equal at the polls. In Rochester, the Republicans reëlected Mayor Edgerton. The Socialists did not succeed in reëlecting Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, although he had a larger vote than two years ago. It took a fusion of Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives, with Mr. J. Teller Schoolcraft as their candidate, to beat the Rev. Dr. Lunn, who seems to have been one of the ablest and most efficient mayors in the history of the State. Indianapolis, in the midst of the confusion of a street-railroad strike, elected the Democratic candidate for Mayor, Mr. Joseph E. Bell, while Louisville chose John Buschemeyer.



A TALE OF TWO CITIES
(The reform movement triumphed in New York, but in Philadelphia it was unsuccessful)
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



Photograph by Matzene, Chicago — Photograph by Baker, Columbus

Frederick S. Spiegel (Republican, Cincinnati) — Louis Will (Progressive, Syracuse) — Carl H. Keller (Republican, Toledo) — Joseph E. Bell (Democrat, Indianapolis)

FOUR NEW MAYORS OF IMPORTANT CITIES

Reform in Counties and Localities

There were evidences of unusual activity in a vast number of local contests throughout the country. Political and administrative reform is in the air. A new set of men is coming forward determined to put intelligence, efficiency, and public motives into the business of managing counties, towns, and villages. Groups of men and women are awakening to the needs of their immediate localities, and striving to make the local governments not merely free from dishonesty or neglect, but positive and intelligent agencies of service to their communities. In most parts of the Union the system of county government is hopelessly bad. This magazine published an article not long ago which showed the absurd lack of all principles of efficient organization in the average American county government. The counties have been the peculiar prey of Republican and Democratic party machines, and the "court-house rings" stand for intrenched evil. Good citizens ought to redeem county government by making it free from the shackles of parties. An attempt at such deliverance has been made in the great suburban county of Westchester, New York, lying just north of the metropolis. Westchester has been victimized for two or three generations by rival party machines which have been more or less in partnership with one another. This year the Republicans ran a straight ticket, and the Progressives and Democrats supported a fusion, or non-partisan, ticket, the sole object of which was to get the great county offices out of the hands of professional politicians. There was much splitting of tickets, which in itself was a hopeful thing and which points to the need of a ballot that does not allow party designations upon county, town, or village tickets.

A Local Victory of the Right Type

A notable triumph was the election of Mr. V. Everit Macy as Superintendent of the Poor. Mr. Macy has long been actively concerned with important educational and philanthropic undertakings in New York City. But of late he has become especially interested in the suburban county where he lives. He is a man of wealth and large affairs; but he proposed, if elected, to devote his whole time and energy, at whatever personal sacrifice, to the best possible administration of his office and to the general service of the county. Mr. Macy was elected by a plurality of more than 5000 votes, although the Republican ticket was in general successful. In a letter from which we are at liberty to quote, Mr. Macy makes the following remarks, which will interest readers not merely in one county but in hundreds of counties, east and west, north and south:

> The salary of $5000 paid the Superintendent of the Poor in this county is sufficient to attract a well-trained institutional manager. Such a man could doubtless save the county more than his salary, and at the same time provide more comforts for the inmates of the hospitals and almshouse. Our city hospitals have the best of management, and the superintendents of our city almshouses are trained men; yet in the rural districts the county hospitals and almshouses are still

the prey of political strife. In the hospital at Eastview there are 200 to 225 patients, and the resident physician receives the extraordinary salary of $250 a year.

After the general county situation is put into shape we must take up the poor relief as administered by the towns. The relation between the Superintendent of the Poor and the local town Overseers of the Poor is very loose and unsatisfactory. Before we have really efficient government we must overhaul the smallest units, such as our town and village governments. Naturally we see the results of bad management in the larger units first, such as our State governments, then in our large cities, now in the counties, and lastly in the townships and villages. In these latter units the results of mismanagement may not be so spectacular, but in the aggregate they are more wasteful than the inefficiency in our State departments.

Our local governments can only be improved by fighting out local campaigns on local issues, free from State or national complications. This is what was done in this county this year. The time has now come, I believe, when some constructive steps can be taken in our county government. The present form of county government developed when Westchester was a thinly settled farming community, but it is wholly inadequate, now that it has a population of 300,000 and assessed values of $360,000,000.



MR. V. EVERIT MACY
(Elected to a county office in New York State)

Guarding the Public Health

In the midst of political upheavals there are great public movements that go steadily forward. Our methods and achievements in the field of education are advancing, and science is steadily aiding public administration in safeguarding the health of city and country. A new landmark in the hopeful fight against tuberculosis is the great hospital built by New York City and opened last month for the victims of the white plague. It stands on high ground, on the Staten Island shore in New York harbor. Two articles of remarkable value and interest which appear in the present number of the REVIEW, give us the best knowledge concerning efforts to combat the increasing plague of cancer. Dr. Roswell Park, the eminent surgeon of Buffalo, who is chairman of the governing board of the New York State Institute for the Study of Malignant Disease, writes wisely and with great knowledge as to the nature and present treatment of cancer. Dr. Howard A. Kelly, the famous gynecologist of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School, of Baltimore, in a companion article gives chief attention to the use of radium as a remedial agent in cancer cases. Dr. Park and Dr. Kelly entirely agree as to the necessity, in our present knowledge, of relying chiefly upon surgical operations. While Dr. Kelly's article is in the form of an interview, our readers may be sure that it is wholly authentic, having been carefully revised by Dr. Kelly himself. Both of these articles show how seriously and earnestly the great leaders in medicine and surgery are devoting themselves to discoveries for the welfare of humanity.



raph by F. A. Walter, Brooklyn

YORK CITY'S NEW HOSPITAL FOR THE TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS

Advancing Medical Education

Among the most important of the recent announcements in the educational field is that of a gift by the General Education Board to the Johns Hopkins University, of approximately



DR. HOWARD A. KELLY
(Professor of gynecology at Johns Hopkins University, and gynecological surgeon at Johns Hopkins Hospital)



DR. ROSWELL PARK
(Professor of surgery at the University of Buffalo, and surgeon to the Buffalo General Hospital)

$1,500,000, as an addition to the endowment of the Medical School, for the specific purpose of providing salaries that will enable the leading professors of medicine and surgery in the so-called clinical departments to devote their entire time to research, teaching, and hospital practice without accepting any personal fees. The tender of this gift was not meant as a reflection upon the brilliant services of professors who at Baltimore, as in all other American, English, and French medical schools, are accustomed to support



THE HOSPITAL OF THE NEW YORK STATE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF MALIGNANT DISEASES, AT BUFFALO, OPENED ON NOVEMBER 1



DR WILLIAM H. WELCH
'hairman of the administrative board of Johns Hopkins University)



DR. WILLIAM L. POLK
(Dean of the Cornell Medical College, in New York City)

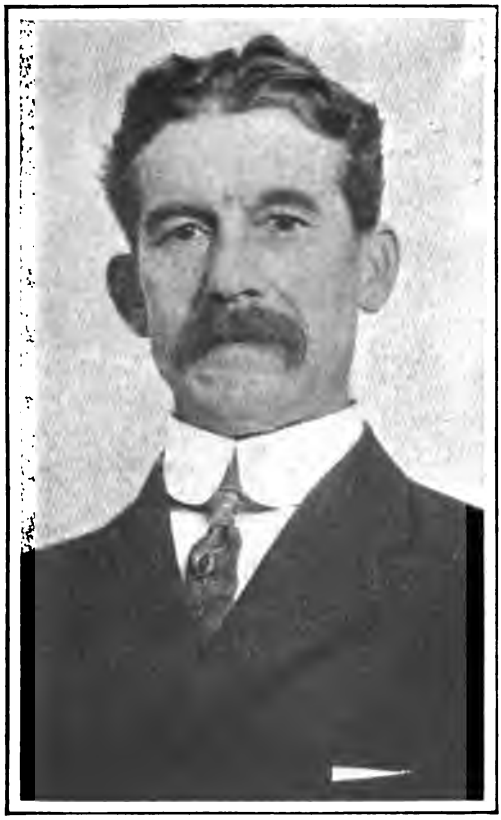
emselves by private practice while doing eir university work as well as they can un- r the circumstances. All of the professors the Johns Hopkins Medical College were ıited in advocating the desirability of the ırposes for which additional endowment as provided. Very great results are expect- , in the long run, to follow from this step. he new endowment bears the name of Dr. 'illiam H. Welch, the distinguished pathol- ;ist of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and ıairman of the administrative board of the)hns Hopkins University. Following the ınouncement of the new endowment at Bal- nore, were newspaper statements heralding rge gifts to the Cornell Medical College in ew York. While these statements were id to be prema'ure, they brought to public)tice the large sums that have actually been ven to support medical education and re- arch in New York, Boston, and elsewhere.

'orto Rico's sw Governor

The new Governor of Porto Rico is Dr. Arthur Yager, of Kentucky, who sailed from New ork last month to his new home in the Gov- nor's palace at San Juan. Dr. Yager has en for a long time president of Georgetown ollege, and was an associate of President 'ilson in the Johns Hopkins University, here he took his degree in political science d economics. He is a man of sagacity, and will quickly adapt himself to the important work of his office. Porto Rico has made great progress in the fifteen years since its fate became involved in the results of our war with Spain. Governor Yager advocates the giving of full American citizenship to those Porto Ricans who desire it. He will be earnestly concerned with the economic and educational welfare of the people, and will work for their harmonious agreement upon a practical program which may result in some valuable amendments to the Foraker Act, under which Porto Rico was organized and is still governed.

Where Shall San Francisco Obtain Water?

San Francisco is in great need of adequate and permanent water supply. Los Angeles has constructed a marvelous aqueduct, about 240 miles long, which brings an abundant supply of water from high mountain sources. New York is completing its great project which brings water from the Catskills. But San Francisco is inadequately served by a private water company, which dates back to the early days. A dozen years ago, when the Hon. James D. Phelan was mayor of the city, and the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, now Secretary of the Interior, was San Francisco's city attorney, these public-spirited and excellent servants of San Francisco devised a bold and admirable project of bringing water



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

DR. ARTHUR YAGER
(Governor of Porto Rico)

by aqueduct 140 miles from the Hetch Hetchy Valley, in the Sierra Mountains. This valley had, however, been added to the Yosemite National Park, and it was necessary for the city to secure the consent of the Secretary of the Interior and of Congress. The matter has been pending for a long time, and has been involved in much controversy. The damming of the Tuolumne River would flood the Hetch Hetchy Valley and make it a great natural reservoir. The proposed dam would be about 200 feet high, and it is estimated that there would be developed 140,000 horse-power, by means of which San Francisco could operate her street railways. Opposition has come from several sources. The defenders of our great national parks, led by John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, do not think that one of them should be given over in part to a public or a private corporation, unless the need is shown to be clear. These defenders of the park show that San Francisco can obtain an ample water supply from the Sacramento Valley or elsewhere by spending more money.

Conflicting Arguments

A more practical criticism of the project, however, comes from those who declare that the entire flow of the Tuolumne River must in due time be used for the full development and great enrichment of parts of the San Joaquin Valley, which cannot otherwise obtain water for irrigation. These critics assert that San Francisco can obtain a far greater supply of water from other sources—water which is now going to waste and which will never be needed for irrigation. We do not profess to know what is the wisest course to be pursued in this matter. But some little study given to counter statements and arguments has been enough to convince us that few of the people who have come out so positively upon one side or another of this controversy have fully considered all of the facts. San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy bill passed the House of Representatives several months ago. It is set for discussion in the Senate on December 1, and it was agreed some time ago that the vote should be taken on December 6. If San Francisco cannot readily obtain a good and permanent water supply without damming the Tuolumne River and flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley, the argument in favor of the pending bill would seem strong,—at least so far as a part of the opposition is concerned. But if it should be true that San Francisco can get plenty of water elsewhere, and that the San Joaquin Valley requires for its future prosperity the entire flow of the Tuolumne River, then there may be ground for hesitation on the part of the Senate, and reason for a really searching study of all the questions at issue. No such study seems as yet to be available.

Arbitrators Give Higher Railroad Wages

On November 11 the Arbitration Board published its award in the controversy between the Eastern railroads and their conductors and trainmen as to an increase of wages. The arbitration was conducted under the Newlands Act, an amended form of the Erdman arbitration law. The employees were given an increase of about seven per cent. in pay, which was considered by the Board to be a fair recognition of the increase in the cost of living since 1910. The trainmen had asked for twenty-one per cent., on the plea that their wages would, with this addition, only about equal the pay for corresponding services on the roads of the South and West. The railroad officers answered that wages had always been higher in the West, and that if there was an evening-up of pay the country over, the Western men would



THE BOARD OF ARBITRATION IN THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE EASTERN RAILROADS AND THEIR CONDUCTORS AND TRAINMEN

(Seated, from left to right: Lucius E. Sheppard; Seth Low, Chairman; and D. L. Cease. Standing: W. W. Atterbury, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Dr. John H. Finley; and A. H. Smith, vice-president of the New York Central lines)

insist on an increase for themselves to make good the usual differential; which, when won, would at once cause the Eastern men to demand a new evening-up. The news of the award was almost immediately followed by a serious strike on the Southern Pacific system, which had been in a wage controversy with its men for nearly a year. It is estimated that the award to the Eastern trainmen will cost the roads about $6,000,000, falling most heavily on the anthracite group. This increase of operating expense is added to that caused by the extra-crew laws, which means an item of $4,000,000 in the expenses of these Eastern roads. The "cost of living" for the railroads throughout the country, augmented as it is by numerous money-devouring improvements demanded by the public but returning no additional income, is making the railway administrators anything but a happy one, and is leading to open talk of eventual Government ownership.

he Railroads Ask for an Increase of reight Rates

Among business men it is very generally conceded that there is now at least a fair question whether the roads should not be allowed some crease of freight rates that will allow them stand the higher wage schedules and other hanced expenses and still have something t over to invite capital. The new capital must be had, in great volume, to furnish the better facilities, safety appliances, and comfort that the country demands. Railroad men have decided to ask for a horizontal general increase of five per cent. in rates, and argument on this demand was scheduled to begin before the Interstate Commerce Commission on November 24. It is announced that the Commission has retained Louis D. Brandeis to act as its counsel in examining the evidence in favor of higher rates that will be brought forward by the roads. There is a division of opinion as to the outcome of the railroads' request. On the one hand it appears clear that many of the roads must be aided in this way or skimp their service to the public. On the other hand, it will obviously be difficult in the present state of feeling toward the roads, to persuade Congress and the people to allow any increase in the general cost of living that operates directly to increase the profits of such roads as, say, the Delaware and Lackawanna, already paying 20 per cent. annual dividends. Furthermore, with a Federal program under way for physical valuation of the roads, the Commission must of necessity be reluctant to allow rate increases until the data is at hand which Congress considers to have an essential bearing on rate making. However, the work of making a physical valuation of the roads will take years.



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"DICTATOR" HUERTA AS HE APPEARED LAST MONTH

The Sham Election In Mexico

Last month we remarked that "votes do not govern Mexico, have never governed it in the past, and are not likely to govern it for a long time to come." There could not be a better demonstration of the truth of this statement than the results of the farcical election held in Mexico on October 26. According to the paper constitution, by which it is assumed that Mexico is governed, a president is chosen by electors balloted for in districts. Some 10,000 electors are supposed to be chosen by the voting populace at large, and these 10,000 vote for president. At the election on October 26, as we noted in these pages last month, there were four candidates, Señor Gamboa leading the Clericals, General Felix Diaz, the nominee of the so-called Labor party; Señor Calero as Liberal candidate, and Dr. de la Fuente, running as a Liberal Republican. General Huerta, it was announced, would not be a candidate. According to the most reliable reports that reached the United States, only 10,000 voters out of 80,000 in the Mexican Federal District, in which the capital is situated, went to the polls. Throughout the entire country the vote was light, and in the northern states, where Carranza's forces were dominant, there was practically no voting at all. The army, whether directed or otherwise, voted unanimously for Huerta, adding the name of General Blanquet as vice-presidential candidate.

Some Consequences

Since the constitutionally required number of one-third of all the voters had not gone to the polls it was expected that Congress, which was to have met on November 10, would declare the election null and void. Señor Moheno, who succeeded to the position of Secretary of Foreign Affairs when Gamboa resigned to be a candidate for the presidency, announced that the votes for Huerta would be cast out on constitutional grounds, that Blanquet would take the place and hold it pending a new election, in which "it might be possible that General Huerta would be a candidate." After the balloting, Diaz was threatened by some of Huerta's men, and, fearing for his life, fled to an American warship in Vera Cruz harbor for safety. Later, in Havana, he was attacked and seriously wounded in a café by Mexicans believed to be emissaries of Huerta. Immediately after the election Huerta issued a decree announcing an early increase of the army to a maximum of 150,000 men. The month before, it will be remembered, the dictator had cast into prison 110 members of the Mexican Congress, accusing them of conspiracy with the Constitutionalists. At the general election, held on October 26, a new Congress was chosen, most of them, it was alleged, creatures of Huerta. In fact, up to the middle of last month, there had been no official announcement of the results of the election except that the immense majorities of Huerta's son, his brother-in-law, and his private secretary, as members of the Chamber of Deputies, were announced. The Congress did meet in defiance of the wishes of the United States. Dissension, however, soon arose in Huerta's cabinet, resulting, on November 16, in the forced resignation of the Minister of the Interior, Señor Aldape, who had advised making some concessions to the United States.

The Chaos—and Carranza

The economic and political situation throughout the entire republic was reported to be becoming progressively more unfavorable.

Business was at a standstill, miles of railroad had been torn up, interest on all sorts of investments, including foreign bonds, was defaulting, and general stagnation seemed to be creeping over the land. Early last August Huerta issued a decree making bank notes legal tender for any amount, further disturbing business, since it was virtually certain that there was no specie reserve behind the paper. General Venustiano Carranza, the leader of the Constitutionalist forces in the states bordering on American territory (Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora), was continuing to extend the area under his control. Carranza was reported to be a man of the Madero type, only more practical. He is said to be a student. In appearance he is more of the professor than the soldier, as his photographs indicate. He is a large land-owner, but a land-owner with ideals, and yet withal a soldier, a man of blood and iron. He and his forces are contending for a constitutionally elected President and Congress for Mexico. It was reported on good authority that the Constitutionalist organization had ample funds, and that if the American embargo against the purchase of ammunition and arms in this country were lifted, there would be a fund of more than $3,000,000 available to spend on munitions of war.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

GENERAL CARRANZA, LEADER OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS, AND A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF

President Wilson's Consistent Attitude

Despite the newspaper reports of ultimatums and rumors of the despatch of American and European warships to Mexican waters, it has been evident all along that the policy of President Wilson and the State Department towards Mexico has been one of firm moral suasion, with removal of the embargo against selling arms to the Constitutionalists as a possibility, and armed intervention only as a last resort. For several weeks the tension between the United States Government and the administration of Provisional President Huerta, at Mexico City, had been almost at breaking point. Several communications from President Wilson or Secretary Bryan to Huerta, the contents of which were not made public, had been sent through Mr. Wilson's special envoy, John Lind, who remained at Vera Cruz, or Nelson O'Shaughnessy, who, as chargé d'affaires since the resignation of Henry Lane Wilson, in August, has been the head of our embassy in Mexico City. Secretary Bryan denied that anything in the nature of an ultimatum had been sent to the Mexican Government. On the other hand, the State Department did not contradict the rumor that the position of the United States Government was substantially as follows: We would not in any way recognize as valid the recent "election" in Mexico; would not approve of the plan for a new balloting ordered by the Congress just chosen by and undoubtedly subservient to Huerta; and, finally, that the elimination of Huerta himself, and the assurance that no one of his way of thinking would succeed him, was an absolute *sine qua non* of American recognition.

Conferring with the Constitutionalists

Early in November Mr. Lind, President Wilson's special representative, left Vera Cruz for Mexico City. On November 11, after delivering a message to Huerta, which, it is believed, called for the dissolution of the recently "elected" Congress, Mr. Lind left Mexico City and returned to Vera Cruz, stating that he would not return to the Mexican capital until the Congress had been dissolved. It had been constantly rumored in the press that President Wilson favored removing the embargo on the exportation of arms and ammunition to the Constitutionalist

insurgents. On November 12, Dr. William Bayard Hale, the journalist and magazine writer, who has all along been recognized as one of President Wilson's unofficial agents, crossed the border and had a long conference with Carranza at Nogales. It was believed that at this conference Dr. Hale inquired pointedly of Carranza whether, if arms were permitted to be taken across the border, "their use would be limited to the responsible Constitutionalists," and not permitted to fall into the hands of bandits. It is probable also that Dr. Hale endeavored to satisfy himself as to whether the Constitutionalists themselves had made war in a civilized fashion, and whether they could be trusted to maintain their disinterested patriotic attitude of working for orderly government. Carranza is opposed to any intervention. He is certain he can defeat Huerta without aid.

Europe's Stake and Influence

The presence of large numbers of the subjects of European nations and the vast amount of European capital invested in Mexico, in the aggregate almost equaling that of the United States (which has been recently estimated at more than $1,000,000,000), has made the voice of European governments very influential in the readjustment of Mexican affairs. Ever since, in February last, Madero was assassinated and Huerta assumed the reins of power at Mexico City, one of the most disturbing factors in the problem before President Wilson was the efforts of Europeans in Mexico, often openly made through their representatives, to induce their own governments to intervene or to precipitate some radical action by the United States. The recognition of Huerta by the British Government, which was afterwards declared to be only temporary pending the election of a constitutional president, was undoubtedly brought about through the persistent efforts of powerful British commercial interests which had received concessions from the elder Diaz and Madero, and which looked to Huerta for protection of such interests, aiming at their future extension. The influential British firm of Pearson's, which has done so much to develop Mexican natural resources, and which has recently been reported to be negotiating with the government at Bogotá for mineral and other concessions on a large scale in Colombia, has also been very instrumental in financing the Mexican Government. Lord Cowdray, as Sir Weetman Pearson, was at the head of the British railroad interests in Mexico.

Supporting Wilson's Policy

Some fear of difference with England over the Mexican situation had arisen when, on the day after President Huerta raided the Chamber of Deputies and sent 110 members off to prison, Sir Lionel Carden, the British Minister at Mexico City, bluntly declared that the Washington administration did not understand the situation in Mexico and had "made a mistake in failing to recognize Huerta." It was reported also that the envoys of Spain, France, and Germany had criticized what they called President Wilson's drifting policy. On November 10 Premier Asquith, of Great Britain, denied any friction or difference of opinion between the two governments, and declared that Great Britain was quite willing to let the United States dominate the situation. Later it became evident, not only from the official utterances of the British and German governments, but from the attitude of the press in Europe generally, that the older continent was backing up the course adopted by President Wilson. Then it gradually became clear that Mr. Wilson had made sure of the attitude of Europe before each step in the negotiations with the de facto government at Mexico City.

"Starving Out" Huerta

By the middle of last month it was reported on reliable authority that British, German, and French bankers, at the "suggestion" of their governments, had agreed not to advance any money to the Huerta régime. In this way it became practically assured that Huerta would be financially starved out. In general it may be said that the press of Europe and this continent, outside of the United States, has supported President Wilson. Several influential Canadian journals, however, have been demanding that the Government at Washington "do something radical" or consent to a modification of the Monroe Doctrine. The official organ of Carranza, *El Democratica,* "published at different points in the Constitutional territory," commenting on President Wilson's general policy towards Mexico and his recent addresses (to which reference is made on another page this month), openly denounces foreign powers, including the United States, as the sole cause of Mexican revolutionary troubles, but then insists that, "in President Wilson, the Latin-American countries have found a champion." The Government of the United States, says this paper, has always "abetted in power any ruler who



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT WELCOMED AT RIO DE JANEIRO

(Colonel Roosevelt stands on the bottom step, surrounded by the members of the reception committee. Next to him—at his left—is Dr. Lauro Müller, the eminent Brazilian who recently visited this country. The building is the magnificent Guanabara Palace where Colonel Roosevelt was the guest of the government)

afforded the most profitable concessions to American capital." But now:

Let us rejoice that the destinies of our sister republic have been confided to a great man, an apostle of justice. Woodrow Wilson sheds glory on the United States; he is the hope of Latin America and an example to the world. To the United States he gives a great name on the pages of history. He will free Latin America from the foreigner.

Colonel Roosevelt in South America

During the early days of the present month Colonel Roosevelt will be making his way into the interior of Argentina, and then northward to Brazil, to hunt in the wilderness and collect specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. His visit to the wonderful cities of southern South America, and his addresses before learned bodies of Brazilians, Argentinians, Uruguayans, and Chileans, were received always with cordiality and frequently with enthusiasm. Arriving in Rio de Janeiro, on October 21, he was welcomed by the Brazilian Government and populace with military honors. In all his addresses in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, in Brazil; Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay; Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Santiago, Chile, he dwelt upon the duty of men of character to participate in the affairs of government, the necessity for doing away with corrupt bosses in politics, and the opportunity and duty before the nations of the western hemisphere to act in concert for the common benefit in a united, ethical spirit of Pan-Americanism. His addresses teemed with expressions of good-will for South America and admiration for the prowess of her leading nations in establishing the foundations of their national life.

An Argentine Opinion

Colonel Roosevelt declared himself delighted with his reception in the Brazilian and Argentinian capitals. It was expected that, instead of going through the celebrated Andean tunnel by the railroad to Chile, he would cross the Andes in an automobile over the old post-road. In commenting on Colonel Roosevelt's visit, *La Nacíon,* leader of the conservative press of Argentina, eulogized the ex-president for having modernized the Monroe Doctrine. It recalled with appreciation the fact that it was Mr. Roosevelt who, when President, sent Secretary Root on his famous South American tour to explain the Monroe Doctrine, and that again it was Mr. Roosevelt who "did more than any other man to transform this into a Pan-American doctrine by the economic solidarity which gives it force."



LLOYD GEORGE, "THE MOSES OF THE BRITISH MASSES"
(From a charcoal sketch appearing in the New York *Sun*)

Canadian and Newfoundland Politics

The third conference of Canadian provincial representatives, since Confederation, in 1867, was held in Ottawa, on October 27. The premiers of all the provinces were present as delegates, Premier Murray of Nova Scotia presiding. Among the subjects discussed was the demand of the Maritime Provinces for an amendment to the British North America Act (the law which established the Dominion) so as to provide that "the representation of the Maritime Provinces in the Parliament at the time of their entry into confederation should be restored and made irreducible." As has already been explained in these pages, representation in the Canadian Parliament depends on the relative increase of the population of the provinces, Quebec with its sixty-five members, a number that never changes, being the basis. The growth of population, as determined by the last census (1911), shows that the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) are increasing so slowly and the Western provinces so rapidly that unless some amendment to the organic act of the Dominion is made the representation of the Eastern seaboard provinces will eventually disappear. The premiers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick demand an "irreducible minimum" of representation. The administration of justice throughout the Dominion is regarded as costing too much, and means of reducing this cost were also discussed at the Ottawa meeting. Other subjects discussed were provincial rights over highways, and grants to agriculture. A general election in Newfoundland, Britain's other self-governing colony in North America, was held on October 29. The chief issue was the extension of the railway system. The result was the return by substantial majorities of the government of Sir Edward Morris, which has been in office since May, 1909.

Britain's Land Reform Scheme

Chancellor Lloyd George, of the British Exchequer, speaking before a Welsh audience on October 23, for "an absolutely unanimous cabinet," made a momentous declaration of the Government's proposals for dealing with the land problem. These are based on the resumption by the state of the complete control of land. There is to be a Ministry of Lands which will absorb the functions of the present Board of Agriculture, and have, in addition, new and larger powers for the control and development of city and country land. This land ministry will act through what are to be known as judicial commissioners. These agents will have authority to deal with all small holdings, disputes between landlords and tenants, the new system of land transfer, and the reclamation of waste and uncultivated soil. The main points of the proposed law are as follows:

Afforestation schemes for waste land will be carried out on the systematic lines adopted on the continent.

The land ministry will have full power to acquire uncultivated and undercultivated lands at a reasonable price and to take all steps necessary for their cultivation up to the limit of their possibility.

The commissioners will have power to fix the price of land required for public purposes.

Security of tenure will be established for the farmer through the powers given to the commissioners over ejection from holdings.

As regards rent, the small farmer will have power to appeal to the commissioners against the existing rent, or against an increase in rent. The



Photograph by Paul Thompson

THE BRITISH HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE ON ITS WAY FROM WESTMINSTER ABBEY TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS

(The highest judges in England in their official robes leaving the service at Westminster and on their way to be received by the Lord Chancellor at the House of Lords. Sir Rufus Isaacs, the new Lord Chief Justice, and Sir John Simon, the new Attorney General, march at the head)

appeal of the large farmer will be against increase of existing rent.

If agricultural wages are raised through state action, the farmer can appeal to the commissioners for a reduction of rent.

An amendment of the game laws will provide protection for the agriculturists.

The cumulative effect of the provisions for farmers is that under the new powers it will not be easy to turn a farmer off the land so long as he does not farm badly.

A living wage, decent houses, reasonable hours, and a prospect of a bit of land are to be secured by state action.

The state will establish a minimum wage, suitable to conditions, and if the farmer thinks he cannot afford to pay it the commissioners, on his appeal, will have power to abate his rent to enable him to do so.

The commissioners will also have power to regulate the hours of agricultural labor so as to render them reasonable.

As to houses, of which it is estimated 120,000 are wanted in rural parts, the state itself will build them. Money for the housing scheme is to be found in the Reserve Fund under the National Insurance Act, which is to be adequately safeguarded. An economic rent will be charged for the houses provided, so that nothing will fall on the taxpayers.

Every house must have a garden sufficient to enable the occupier to supply himself and his family with vegetables all the year round.

Housing provision will not be confined to agricultural laborers alone. Other workers who want to dwell in the country will also have a claim, the policy of the government being to encourage people to live in rural dwellings.

We have given space to the provisions of this remarkable law because of its probable revolutionary effect on all British economic and social life. It is an "ideal towards which the Liberal party is ever moving," said Mr. Lloyd George.

It is a task which, when it is accomplished, will in our judgment bring Britain a long march nearer the dawn. I believe it will have the effect not merely of filling the countryside with a happy, prosperous, contented peasantry, but it will do more than that—it will free towns from the nightmares of unemployment, sweating, and slums.

Home Rule and Ulster

Mr. Asquith's intimation, in an address made at Ladybank, Scotland, on October 25, that "the northeast corner of Ulster might remain under the imperial parliament for a limited period," but that "there must be no insuperable barrier erected which might permanently sever the unity of Ireland," while offering a possible compromise in the Home Rule puzzle, was categorically rejected a few days later in speeches by Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster Unionists, and Bonar Law leader of the English Conservatives in t House of Commons. Mr. Law went f ther and pledged the support of the Unio party to Ulster even to the extent of forc



CROWN PRINCE FRIEDRICH WILHELM, HEIR TO THE GERMAN THRONE, AND HIS ELDEST SON



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LUDWIG III, THE NEW KING OF BAVARIA

resistance to Home Rule. Meanwhile the cabinet insists that the program of Home Rule for all Ireland will be carried through. The appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Attorney General, to be Lord Chief Justice in succession to Lord Alverstone, was made on October 19. Sir Rufus is an English Hebrew, the son of a London merchant. He has literally come up from the ranks, having fought his way by sheer merit through all grades of the legal profession to the highest rank in the British judicial system.



THE GREAT MONUMENT AT LEIPZIG TO COMMEMORATE THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON IN 1813 BY THE GERMAN ALLIES

Some Troubles of German Royalty

While the German Kaiser, with pompous ceremony and spectacular acclaim, was inaugurating, on October 19, the splendid monument to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, when, in 1813, the allied sovereigns defeated the armies of Napoleon, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Crown Prince, was being reprimanded by his imperial father for a letter to the Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, which inadvertently became public. The Prince, in this letter, protested against permitting Prince Ernest August of Cumberland, husband of his sister, the Princess Victoria Louise, to mount the throne of the Duchy of Brunswick without expressly renouncing his claims to the throne of Hanover. Hanover, it will be remembered, was absorbed by Prussia in 1866, although the descendants of its one-time rulers have al-

ways maintained their rights to the succession. Recently the heir to the German throne has been more and more frequently making his opinion known in affairs of state, and the Kaiser has apparently resented this. A few days after the monument dedication Ludwig, the Prince Regent of Bavaria, who, during the past year, has ruled in the name of the mad King Otto, signed a proclamation deposing Otto and announcing that he, "by the grace of God exercising his kingly rights," would henceforth rule as Ludwig III.

Spanish Politics and France

The comments in the French and Spanish press on the recent visit of President Poincaré to Madrid indicate that in both countries this visit is regarded as not merely an act of political courtesy, but as pointing to "a momentous decision of state." In these words the *Temps,* of Paris, concludes an editorial characterizing the visit as one of political necessity and as indicating the consummation of a cordial understanding between the two countries, which will, it is believed, eventually make Spain a silent partner in the *Triple Entente.* During the hard bargaining over Morocco the relations between the two governments had gradually lost cordiality. Thanks to M. Poincaré's activities, first as Premier, and later as President, an understanding has now been reached which safeguards Spanish interests in Morocco, and the republic and the kingdom are very near to being formal allies. This fact may have important influence on the equilibrium in the Mediterranean, also permitting France to relax her watchfulness on her southern border. Another cabinet crisis in Spain, late in October, resulted in the resignation of the Liberal Premier, Count Romanones, and the formation of a Conservative ministry under Señor Eduardo Dato, at one time President of the Chamber of Deputies. King Alfonso was anxious to retain the Liberals in power in order that their reform program, with which he is in sympathy, might be carried out. But a vote of confidence in the Romanones ministry was lost and the King was forced to turn to the Conservative leaders, Señor Dato at last forming a cabinet.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

SEÑOR EDUARDO DATO, THE NEW PREMIER OF SPAIN



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

PRESIDENT POINCARÉ OF FRANCE AND QUEEN VICTORIA OF SPAIN

The Government Wins in Italy

The first election in Italy under the new electoral law providing for almost universal suffrage was held on October 26. A second ballot was taken on November 2. More than 8,000,000 voters were entitled to vote, as against 3,000,000 at preceding elections. The government won and the Socialists made heavy gains. It is rather significant that the Socialist leader, Bissolati, was one of the deputies elected from the city of Rome, from the district which includes the Quirinal, the royal



HIS EXCELLENCY LI YUAN-HUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

(This statesman, who is also leader of the Kung Ho Tang, or so-called Republican party, is a firm supporter of Yuan Shih-kai in his "reform" of the Chinese parliament)

Palace. This means a triumph for the ministry of Giolitti, which conducted the war in Tripoli. This administration, which is the most popular and firmly established since the time of Cavour, has governed Italy almost without interruption for the past fifteen years. Signor Giolitti at once issued a report or message to King Victor Emmanuel recounting the achievements of his administration and outlining his future program for advancement all along the line of national development, economic, colonial, agricultural, and educational.

No Conviction for Ritual Murder

The ritual murder trial at Kiev, Russia, about which we had something to say in these pages last month, was ended on November 11 by the acquittal of Mendel Beiliss, the young Hebrew accused of having tortured to death a Christian boy for ritual purposes. The prosecution was especially appointed from St. Petersburg, and its efforts to convict were seconded by many notorious "Black Hundred" lawyers. The simple-minded but honest peasant jury, however, could not be induced to render a verdict of guilty when no real evidence against the accused was produced. The children—witnesses for the prosecution—broke down under the gentle but able cross-examination of the eminent counsel for the defense, among whom, it is interesting to note, was the liberal brother of the reactionary Minister of the Interior Makalov. They told the court that they had been coached by detectives to testify against Beiliss. The reactionary elements, behind whom it is believed the imperial government at St. Petersburg was working, partly accomplished their purpose by so wording the questions to the jury that it was made to appear that the murder was committed at the brick works where Beiliss was employed, and, further, that, while he might not have been implicated, there was such a thing as the practice of ritual murder.

Poles Boycotting Jews

This insinuation, offering, as it does, material for anti-Semitic comment, has already led to outbreaks against the Jews. The condition of this unhappy people in Russia has become worse during recent years. Even in the Polish provinces of the empire, where the bulk of the Jews live, and where they have, as a rule, been treated well, the leaders of the reactionaries have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of racial and religious hatred. The anti-Semitic journals have, apparently, managed to inflame the Poles, usually very tolerant of the Jews, to a boycott against them. All business and social intercourse throughout Poland between the Poles and the Jews has practically ceased, and it is reported that the animosity has reached such a stage that recently firemen in Warsaw refused to rescue a Jewish family from a burning house. It is one of the creeds of reaction in Russia that internal strife among the Poles and Jews is an advantage to the cause of Russification.

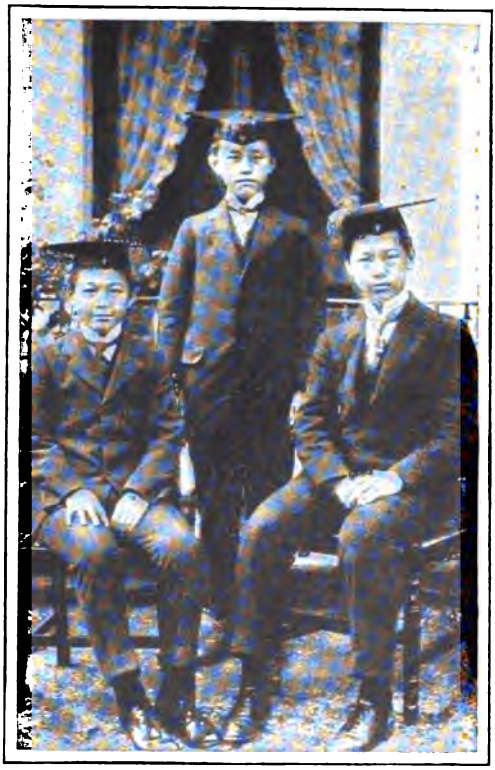
The Ever-Shifting Balkans

Last month the strange spectacle was presented in the Balkans of impoverished, defeated Turkey being able to borrow money in French and German markets, while, it was reported in the French papers, the valiant little Greek army was to be disbanded—or fight—since the financial strain of keeping it on a war footing in time of peace was too great. As the air in the Near East begins to clear it is seen that while the theory of an independent Turkey is to be kept up because of industrial and other concessions, the end of the sovereign Mohammedan power in Europe has

come. The Turk has still a large area and population to mortgage to the money-lender, and his tax-payers are docile and not inquisitive. The holders of these mortgages on Turkish resources, chief among whom are Russia, Germany, and France, with Great Britain and Italy following close behind, will, however, demand their interest regularly, or foreclose, and then—sooner or later—will come the end of the Turk.

Greeks and Turks Agree?

Last month the Greek and Turkish delegates at Athens reached an agreement on the point of frontier delimitation. The question which still remains to be settled is regarding the fate of the Egean Islands, and this may yet precipitate a general European disagreement. During the Turkish war with Italy, it will be remembered, the latter power occupied some of these Egean Islands which she has never given up. Now it is rumored that Germany has agreed to support the Turks in keeping certain others. To complicate matters still further, it is also reported that England and France have encouraged the Greeks to demand that all the islands be turned over to them. Meanwhile Russia is smiling on the Servians, and it looks as though Balkan history were entering on a new phase in which this ambitious Slav people would play the chief part. All this is being jealously watched by Austria.



SONS OF YUAN SHIH-KAI AT CHELTENHAM COLLEGE, ENGLAND

Suppressing the Chinese Parliament

Following almost immediately upon the election (on October 6) of Yuan Shih-kai to be President of the Chinese republic for the regular term of five years, came the news that, having been in session since April 8 last without obtaining a quorum, the Chinese Parliament was to be dissolved and a new Administrative Council to take its place. The parliament, consisting of 596 Representatives and 274 Senators, has been unable to gather together enough members to transact business. At various times, on various charges, members have been arrested or expelled. On November 5, Yuan issued a proclamation expelling from Peking more than 300 members of the Kwo Ming Tang, or Democratic party, formerly led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the largest in the house, and made up largely of members from the southern provinces, claiming that they had conspired to overthrow the government, and to curtail the power of future presidents, making them entirely dependent on parliament. Dr. Sun himself has been in hiding, in Japan, for some months. It is reported that Yuan has put a price on his head.

Will Yuan Become Dictator?

It is very generally admitted by experienced foreigners in new China that the parliament has not justified the expectations of its friends, and that Yuan's demand for a reconstitution of the assembly is reasonable. Grave doubt, however, is expressed as to his methods, which apparently indicate a desire to become dictator. Meanwhile, the great province of Mongolia is slipping away from Chinese authority. Late in September, we have just learned from a letter addressed to this REVIEW, a so-called constitution was drawn up at Kalgan by certain Russian agents and the Lama High Priest. This constitution, which it is proposed to have ratified by a non-existent Mongolian "legislature," recognizes the full authority of Russia in Mongolia and wholly ignores China. This is the usual first stage in the absorption of territory by Russia. It has been the way most of Siberia was acquired. The Empire of the Czar is now within threatening distance of the capital city, Peking. It would seem that another step had been taken in the partition of China.

Brooklyn, New York City, with representatives from fifty nations.

October 25.—Congress Hall, in Philadelphia, is rededicated upon the completion of its restoration to its original appearance, President Wilson delivering the principal address.

November 1.—Indianapolis street-car traffic is suspended following a strike of motormen and conductors, recently unionized.

November 4.—Thirty-nine persons are killed in a railroad wreck near Paris.

November 5.—Two thousand members of the Indiana National Guard are assembled at Indianapolis to preserve order during the street-car strike.

November 7.—An agreement is reached between the Indianapolis Terminal and Traction Company and its striking employees. . . . An earthquake at Abancay, Peru, kills more than 200 persons.

November 9-10.—A winter storm sweeps over the Middle West and the Great Lakes, causing the loss of more than 100 lives, the destruction of many vessels, and the interruption of railroad traffic and telegraphic communication.

November 10.—The arbitration board in the dispute between the Eastern railroads and their conductors and trainmen makes its award, granting wage increases of approximately 7 per cent.



COL. WILLIAM LEE PATTON

(Colonel Patton, who died on November 2, was prominent in the commercial, agricultural, and political life of Louisiana and Mississippi)

November 11.—The Nobel Prize for physics is awarded to Prof. Heike Onnes, of the University of Leyden, Holland, and that for chemistry is awarded to Professor Werner, of Zurich.

November 12.—The International Conference on Safety at Sea, with delegates from twelve nations, holds its first meeting at London.

November 13.—The Nobel Prize for literature is awarded to Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet. . . . The American College of Surgeons is inaugurated at Chicago by 1000 leading surgeons, selected as fellows. . . . Twelve passengers are killed in a railroad wreck on the Central of Georgia Railway near Clayton, Ala. . . . Several thousand employees quit work on the Sunset Division of the Southern Pacific Railroad, following the failure of negotiations over demands for higher wages and shorter hours.

OBITUARY

October 16.—Ralph Rose, holder of the world's record for the shotput, 28.

October 17.—Sir George Orby Wombwell, last of the officers who took part in the charge of the Light Brigade, 81.

October 19.—Charles Tellier, discoverer of the cold-storage process, 85. . . . William Garrott Brown, writer of histories of the South and biographies of Southerners, 45.

October 20.—Theodore Dubois, a well-known French composer, 76.

October 21.—Gen. Samuel J. Crawford, third Governor of Kansas, 78. . . . Dr. Philip Reese Uhler, a prominent natural scientist of Baltimore, 78. . . . Miss Mary A. Lathbury, the noted hymn-writer and author of juvenile stories, 52.

October 22.—Reuben Gold Thwaites, the noted historian (see page 670). . . . Col. Ashley Horne, a prominent merchant of North Carolina, 72. . . . Dr. Just Lucas-Championnière, a noted French surgeon, 70. . . . Ludwig Max Goldberger, Commercial Privy Councillor of Germany, 65.

October 23.—Rt. Rev. William John Kenny, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine, 60.

October 24. — Rear-Admiral Washburn Maynard, U. S. N., retired, 68. . . . Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, a leader in prison reform, 68. . . . Samuel E. Gross, of Chicago, a prominent real-estate operator and author, 69.

October 25.—Charles A. Millington, Assistant United States Treasurer in charge of the Sub-Treasury at New York, 58.

October 26.—Col. John Cox Underwood, a prominent Confederate veteran and ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, 73. William Nelson, editor of the Salt Lake *Tribune*, 74.

November 2.—Col. William Lee Patton, prominent in Louisiana and Mississippi as a merchant and publicist, 90.

November 3.—Price Collier, the American author of books on European countries, 52. . . . Edward Morris, the Chicago meat-packer, 47. Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller, a noted author and editor of juvenile magazines, 80.

November 5.—Charles W. Amory, a prominent Massachusetts textile manufacturer, 71.

November 6.—Sir William Henry Preece, a noted English electrical engineer, 79.

November 7.—Alfred Russel Wallace, the British scientist (see page 685), 90. . . . Dr. Charles McBurney, the noted New York surgeon, 68.

November 8.—Henry Elias Howland, a prominent New York lawyer, 78.

November 9.—Harlan Page Amen, principal of Phillips Exeter Academy (New Hampshire), 60.

November 10.—Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, 63.

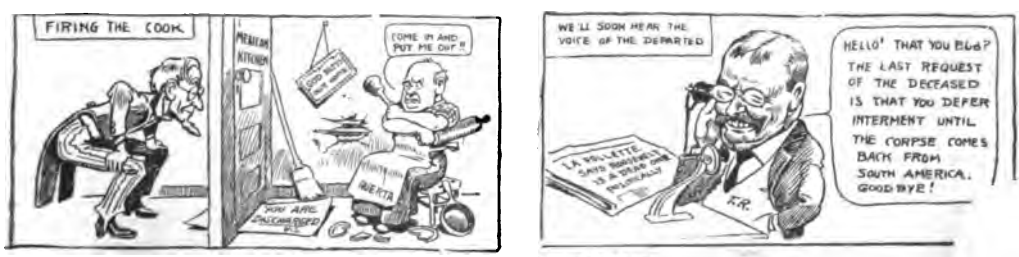
November 11.—C. Russell Hewlett, dean of the School of Applied Design at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, 41. . . . Prof. Ora Willis Knight, State Assayer and Consulting Chemist of Maine, 39.

November 14.—Dr. Zachariah Taylor Miller, a noted homeopath of Pittsburgh, 60. . . . Gilman H. Tucker, secretary of the American Book Company, 77.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



A GAME OF PATIENCE
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle, Wash.)



JUDGE HENRY WADE ROGERS

(Judge Rogers, dean of the Law School at Yale, was recently appointed by the President to the United States Circuit Court. The portrait which was printed in these pages last month, as Henry Wade Rogers, was that of Justice Watson M. Rogers, of Watertown, N. Y., who died recently. The photograph had been furnished to the press with an erroneous label)

In Maryland, Blair Lee (Dem.) is chosen United States Senator over Thomas Parran (Rep.), 112,000 votes to 71,000, in a popular election under the provisions of the recently adopted Seventeenth Amendment.

Four Representatives in Congress are chosen, to fill vacancies caused by deaths and resignations: Calvin D. Paige (Rep.), Third Massachusetts District; George W. Loft (Dem.), Thirteenth New York District; Jacob A. Cantor (Dem.), Twentieth New York District, and Charles P. Coady (Dem.), Third Maryland District.

In New York City, the Fusion (anti-Tammany) ticket is successful by large majorities, John Purroy Mitchel being chosen Mayor by 355,900 votes to 234,700 for Edward E. McCall (Dem.); William Sulzer, the deposed Governor, is elected to the Assembly as a Progressive.

In Philadelphia, the Fusion (anti-Republican) ticket, for minor offices, is unsuccessful.

The following Mayors are elected in other cities:

Albany—Joseph W. Stevens (R.).
Buffalo—Louis P. Fuhrmann (D.).*
Cincinnati—Frederick S. Spiegel (R.).
Cleveland—Newton D. Baker.†*
Columbus—George J. Karb (D.).*
Indianapolis—Joseph E. Bell (D.).
Louisville—John Buschemeyer (D.).
Pittsburgh—Jos. G. Armstrong.†
Rochester—Hiram H. Edgerton (R.).*
Schenectady—J. Teller Schoolcraft (Fusion).
Syracuse—Louis Will (Prog.).
Scranton—E. B. Jermyn.†
Toledo—Carl H. Keller (R.).
Troy—Cornelius F. Burns (D.).*
Utica—James D. Smith (D.).

*Reëlected.

† Non-partisan municipal elections.

In Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Schenectady, Syracuse, Toledo, and Utica, the mayors-elect defeat candidates of the parties at present in power.

November 5.—Judge Frank Park (Dem.) is elected Representative from the Second Georgia District, to succeed the late S. A. Roddenbery.

November 9.—Attorney-General McReynolds decides that the clause in the new tariff law which gives a 5 per cent. rebate on goods imported in American vessels is null, because it violates treaty obligations.

November 10.—The President nominates Dudley Field Malone to be Collector of Customs for the Port of New York, succeeding Mayor-elect Mitchel.

November 12.—The conference of Democratic Senators, called to consider the Currency bill, is ended by the announcement of Chairman Owen that the Committee on Banking and Currency will report on the measure within ten days. . . . Secretary of Labor Wilson addresses the convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Seattle, pledging his Department's coöperation with the trade-union movement.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

October 19.—Sir Rufus Isaacs is appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, and Sir John Simon becomes Attorney-General.

October 22.—Chancellor Lloyd George makes known the details of the British Government's plan for getting people back to the land.

October 25.—Premier Romanones and his Liberal cabinet resign following an adverse vote in the Spanish Parliament.

October 26.—General elections are held throughout Mexico for President, Vice-President, and Members of Congress; the results are not announced.

October 27.—Eduardo Dato, a former president



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MAYOR-ELECT MITCHEL AND HIS WIFE

(Shortly after his election as Mayor of New York City, Mr. Mitchel sailed on a vacation trip to Jamaica and Panama)

of the Chamber of Deputies, forms a Conservative cabinet in Spain.

November 3.—The regular session of the Cuban Congress is opened.

November 5.—President Yuan Shih-kai dissolves the Kuomintang, the largest party in the Chinese Assembly, and deprives 300 Deputies of their seats. . . . Ludwig, Prince Regent of Bavaria, deposes the mad King Otto, with the approval of the Diet, and proclaims himself King Ludwig III.

November 8.—At a by-election in Reading, England, the Unionist candidate captures the Parliamentary seat formerly held by a Liberal.

November 11.—The French Chamber of Deputies, during a debate on electoral reform, rejects a woman-suffrage amendment by vote of 311 to 133.

November 13.—The Chinese parliament suspends itself because of the impossibility of obtaining a quorum.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 18.—W. F. L. C. Van Rappand is appointed Minister from the Netherlands to the United States. . . . Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, repeats his invitation to Germany to postpone for twelve months the construction of new battleships. . . . Austria sends an ultimatum to Servia, demanding the evacuation of Albanian territory occupied by Servian troops.

October 27.—Gen. Felix Diaz, a candidate for President in the recent Mexican election, seeks refuge at the American consulate at Vera Cruz and is placed on board an American gunboat.

November 3.—It is reported at Mexico City that the United States has demanded the resignation of Provisional President Huerta as necessary to the establishment of peace within the Mexican Republic. . . . Secretary Bryan and the Honduran Minister at Washington sign a peace treaty.

November 9.—The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs presents a note to the representatives of foreign governments at Mexico City, maintaining the sincerity and constitutionality of the Huerta administration.

November 10.—Premier Asquith publicly declares that there has been no thought of political intervention in Mexican affairs on the part of Great Britain, and that there is the most perfect cordiality between the United States and England.

November 12.—John Lind, President Wilson's special representative, leaves Mexico City when President Huerta ignores his demand that the Congress recently elected shall not be convened; Dr. William Bayard Hale, also believed to represent President Wilson, confers with the revolutionist leader, General Carranza, at Nogales, on the Arizona border. . . . Bulgaria demands that Greece accord full rights to Bulgarians in Macedonia and release all prisoners of war.

November 13.—The treaty ending the war between Turkey and Greece is signed at Athens.

November 14.—The ministers of Great Britain, Germany, and other European powers call upon President Huerta of Mexico, and it is authoritatively reported, advise him to yield to the demands of the United States.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 15.—The American balloon *Goodyear* is declared the winner of the race for the James Gordon Bennett cup, sailing from Paris to Yorkshire.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MRS. EMMELINE PANKHURST

(The English Suffragette leader, who has been making a speaking tour of this country. The photograph shows her addressing a large audience in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 21)

October 17.—The British battleship *Queen Elizabeth* is launched at Portsmouth; she is to use oil for fuel, and carries ten 15-inch guns. . . . The new Zeppelin airship *L2* explodes while 900 feet above Johannisthal, killing twenty-eight passengers and members of the crew.

October 18.—Roland Garros flies from Marseilles to Paris (525 miles) in six hours, without stop. . . . On the one-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of the Allies, near Leipsic, an imposing monument is dedicated.

October 19.—The collapsing of a trestle near Mobile, Ala., throws a railroad train into a ravine and kills seventeen soldiers who were passengers.

October 22.—An explosion in a coal mine at Dawson, N. M., entombs and kills 263 miners. . . . The Graduate College at Princeton is opened with impressive ceremonies before a distinguished group of educators (see page 682).

October 23.—A series of storms in Louisiana causes the death of more than thirty persons in rural districts. . . . The World Woman's Christian Temperance Union meets in convention at

Brooklyn, New York City, with representatives from fifty nations.

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November 7.—An agreement is reached between the Indianapolis Terminal and Traction Company and its striking employees. . . . An earthquake at Abancay, Peru, kills more than 200 persons.

November 9-10.—A winter storm sweeps over the Middle West and the Great Lakes, causing the loss of more than 100 lives, the destruction of many vessels, and the interruption of railroad traffic and telegraphic communication.

November 10.—The arbitration board in the dispute between the Eastern railroads and their conductors and trainmen makes its award, granting wage increases of approximately 7 per cent.



COL. WILLIAM LEE PATTON

(Colonel Patton, who died on November 2, was prominent in the commercial, agricultural, and political life of Louisiana and Mississippi)

November 11.—The Nobel Prize for physics is awarded to Prof. Heike Onnes, of the University of Leyden, Holland, and that for chemistry is awarded to Professor Werner, of Zurich.

November 12.—The International Conference on Safety at Sea, with delegates from twelve nations, holds its first meeting at London.

November 13.—The Nobel Prize for literature is awarded to Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet. . . . The American College of Surgeons is inaugurated at Chicago by 1000 leading surgeons, selected as fellows. . . . Twelve passengers are killed in a railroad wreck on the Central of Georgia Railway near Clayton, Ala. . . . Several thousand employees quit work on the Sunset Division of the Southern Pacific Railroad, following the failure of negotiations over demands for higher wages and shorter hours.

OBITUARY

October 16.—Ralph Rose, holder of the world's record for the shotput, 28.

October 17.—Sir George Orby Wombwell, last of the officers who took part in the charge of the Light Brigade, 81.

October 19.—Charles Tellier, discoverer of the cold-storage process, 85. . . . William Garrott Brown, writer of histories of the South and biographies of Southerners, 45.

October 20.—Theodore Dubois, a well-known French composer, 76.

October 21.—Gen. Samuel J. Crawford, third Governor of Kansas, 78. . . . Dr. Philip Reese Uhler, a prominent natural scientist of Baltimore, 78. . . . Miss Mary A. Lathbury, the noted hymn-writer and author of juvenile stories, 52..

October 22.—Reuben Gold Thwaites, the noted historian (see page 670). . . . Col. Ashley Horne, a prominent merchant of North Carolina, 72. . . . Dr. Just Lucas-Championnière, a noted French surgeon, 70. . . . Ludwig Max Goldberger, Commercial Privy Councillor of Germany, 65.

October 23.—Rt. Rev. William John Kenny, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine, 60.

October 24. — Rear-Admiral Washburn Maynard, U. S. N., retired, 68. . . . Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, a leader in prison reform, 68. . . . Samuel E. Gross, of Chicago, a prominent real-estate operator and author, 69.

October 25.—Charles A. Millington, Assistant United States Treasurer in charge of the Sub-Treasury at New York, 58.

October 26.—Col. John Cox Underwood, a prominent Confederate veteran and ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, 73. William Nelson, editor of the Salt Lake *Tribune*, 74.

November 2.—Col. William Lee Patton, prominent in Louisiana and Mississippi as a merchant and publicist, 90.

November 3.—Price Collier, the American author of books on European countries, 52. . . . Edward Morris, the Chicago meat-packer, 47. Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller, a noted author and editor of juvenile magazines, 80.

November 5.—Charles W. Amory, a prominent Massachusetts textile manufacturer, 71.

November 6.—Sir William Henry Preece, a noted English electrical engineer, 79.

November 7.—Alfred Russel Wallace, the British scientist (see page 685), 90. . . . Dr. Charles McBurney, the noted New York surgeon, 68.

November 8.—Henry Elias Howland, a prominent New York lawyer, 78.

November 9.—Harlan Page Amen, principal of Phillips Exeter Academy (New Hampshire), 60.

November 10.—Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, 63.

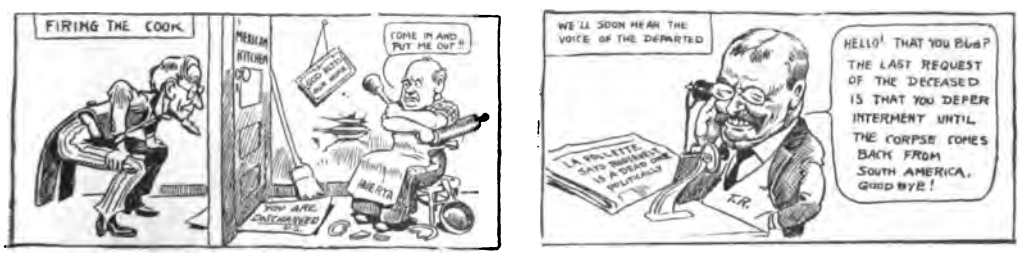
November 11.—C. Russell Hewlett, dean of the School of Applied Design at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, 41. . . . Prof. Ora Willis Knight, State Assayer and Consulting Chemist of Maine, 39.

November 14.—Dr. Zachariah Taylor Miller, a noted homeopath of Pittsburgh, 60. . . . Gilman H. Tucker, secretary of the American Book Company, 77.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



A GAME OF PATIENCE
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle, Wash.)



ELECTION DAY IN MEXICO
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



APPLICANT FOR THE JOB OF "PEACE ANGEL" (GENERAL CARRANZA)
From the *News* (Baltimore)



THE KITTEN AND THE BALL OF YARN BECOMING MORE TANGLED EVERY MOMENT
From the *Star* (Montreal)



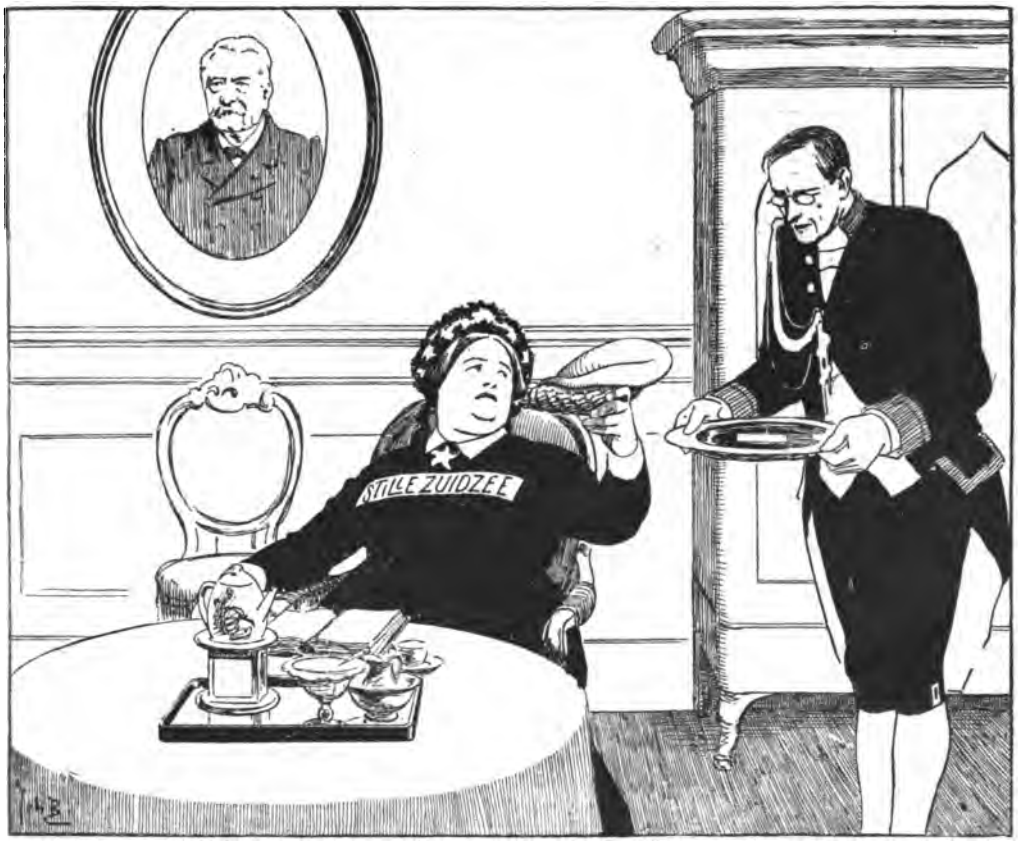
BUTTING THE STONE WALL OF CIVILIZATION
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



NOT AN ULTIMATUM, BUT—
(Wilson inviting Huerta to efface himself)
From the *Star* (Montreal)



WE CAN AFFORD TO PLAY A WAITING GAME
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



THE MEETING OF THE OCEANS AT PANAMA

PRESIDENT WILSON (presenting a sea-shell card to Madame Pacific): "Madame Atlantic to see you."
MADAME PACIFIC: "Show Madame Atlantic in." (Aside) "Now that the way is open, I shall doubtless be able to return her call very soon." (The picture on the wall is that of de Lesseps, the French engineer, connected with the earlier Panama Canal project.) From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE CORNERSTONE

(The quotation in the cartoon is from President Wilson's address at Swarthmore College, on Founders' Day, October 25)

From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)



OUR FOREIGN POLICY

(As stated by the President at Mobile on October 27)

From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)



ELECTION DAY IN MEXICO
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



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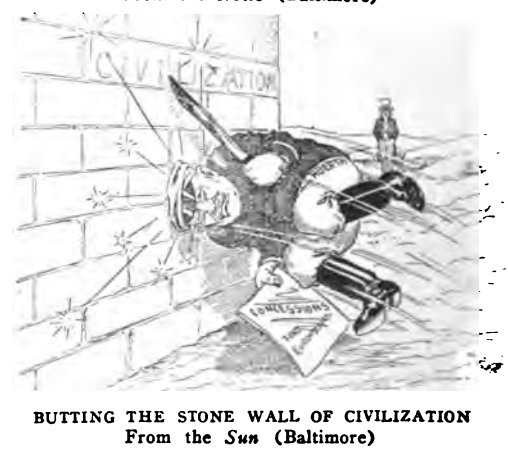
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WE CAN AFFORD TO PLAY
From the *Tribune*

York)

WHO DEFEATED TAMMANY
the Herald (New York)



HE NEEDS ASSISTANCE
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



HEAVY SLEDDING
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

The income tax has proved more or less of a puzzle to that portion of the general public coming within its provisions. There seems, in fact, to be more uncertainty regarding the ascertaining of one's individual tax than there is reluctance to pay it. Hence the cartoonists have pictured the average citizen as being driven to distraction in the endeavor to solve this official mystery.

The Owen-Glass bill is undoubtedly having "heavy sledding" in its passage through Congress. This has been due to the difference of opinion as to some of its features which has developed among senators, bankers, and other financial experts.

The taking of deputy internal revenue collectors and deputy United States marshals out of the competitive class by the President seems to have subjected him to criticism by the friends of civil service reform. The cartoon below refers to the subject.



WILL THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPER HEED?
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



"HEY THERE, CAPTAIN, YOU DROPPED SOMETHING!"
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)



CAN'T KEEP A GOOD MAN DOWN!
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

The cartoons on this page refer to the travels of Colonel Roosevelt, the New York City election, and the probability that the administration and Congress will shortly devote some attention to the trust question.



GOOD LUCK, MR. MITCHEL
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)



"HE WILL MAKE FINE PICKING THIS WINTER"
From the *Herald* (Washington, D. C.)



THE MAN WHO DEFEATED TAMMANY
From the *Herald* (New York)



PROFESSOR JOHN BACH McMASTER, AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES"

JOHN BACH McMASTER, HISTORIAN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

THIRTY years ago there was published in New York the initial volume of an ambitious attempt to chronicle the history of the people of the United States from the close of the Revolution to the beginning of the Civil War. It was announced that this work would be completed in five volumes, but as the years went by and each successive period of the history was found to require more than the allotted space for adequate treatment, the number of volumes was extended until, at last, in the summer of 1913, the eighth and final volume appeared, covering the years 1850-1861.[1]

The author of this work, Mr. John Bach McMaster, then instructor of civil engineering in Princeton College, was not in 1883 particularly well known to American historical students, and if his venture had depended upon the universities for sanction, it is probable that it might have waited for many years. As it was, the book was a long time in finding a publisher, and we are told that chance formed a considerable element in its final acceptance. It seems that when the manuscript was submitted to the Appletons, it fell into the hands of the head of the house. He took it home and read it to his children. Mr. Appleton instantly saw its unusual interest and value and listed it for immediate publication. This was in 1883. The success of the work was prompt and gratifying. There were three editions within a month.

One does not have to go far below the

[1] A History of the People of the United States. Vol. VIII. By John Bach McMaster. Appleton. 556 pp. $2.50.

rface to find the main cause of this unual popularity for a historical work of ch scope. A few years before, in England, Mr. John Richard Green's "A Short istory of the English People" had met ith a like reception. Although at first e schools and the scholars did not realize Green in England and McMaster in merica each represented a radically new eparture in the methods of historical wrig and research. So long as histories were be made up entirely of records of governental action and the doings of the ruling ass, historians made official documents the ief basis of their writings. But when the quirement was broadened and made to inude the progress of the whole people of nation,—in other words, when the task of e historian was humanized and made vital, became necessary to examine an entirely w group of materials, for the bare skeletons events to be found in government archives longer sufficed.

This enlarged conception of the field of storical investigation and of the historian's uty came very early to McMaster. In fact, was while he was a youth at school and llege in New York City, before he had lopted engineering as a profession, that he came absorbingly interested in certain lines historical research, although he did not bein work on his cherished plan until 1879, hile holding the instructorship at Princeton.

When the first volume of McMaster's ork appeared, only a few chairs of American history had been established in our unirsities and colleges. Judging from the views of the book that were written by prossors and students of these institutions, the ature of the McMaster history that most npressed them was the large use made of ewspaper files as contemporary sources of formation. Here and there a student had iscovered the value of this kind of material dealing with some particular epoch or indent, but up to the time of McMaster no nportant use had been made of newspaper les for an elaborate history covering an exnded period. The possible dangers arising rom the use of such material were well nderstood, and it is natural, perhaps, that ose who felt themselves responsible for the ccuracy of historical scholarship in this country should have been skeptical as to the value f such a method of research when employed y an unknown writer. It is a tribute to rofessor McMaster's judgment and common sense that, as the years went by and one volume of his history succeeded another, the distrust of his undertaking melted away, until, on all hands, his discriminating insight has been admitted and the permanent value of the greater part of his work freely acknowledged.

In a task occupying a whole generation for its completion, the author has undoubtedly schooled himself by the very process of surmounting difficulties. In Professor McMaster's case he was so truly a pioneer in this kind of historical work that he has had to be his own teacher and has had comparatively little aid from without. In the very year when the first volume was published, Dr. McMaster was himself called to one of the first chairs of American history in America, that of the University of Pennsylvania, where he has ever since remained. During the thirty years thousands of young men have come under his influence in the undergraduate and graduate schools, and many of these men are now themselves well-known writers and teachers. Among them are Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, C. H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan, Frederic L. Paxson and W. T. Root of the University of Wisconsin, Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, William R. Shepherd of Columbia, Albert Cook Myers, editor of the writings of William Penn; Ellis P. Oberholtzer, editor of the "American Crisis Biographies"; Herbert M. Friedenwald, Emory R. Johnson, Leo. S. Rowe, Roland P. Falkner, and Samuel M. Lindsay.

Since Dr. McMaster began his enterprise, interest in American history has been greatly stimulated throughout the country. Professorships of this subject are no longer rarities in our universities, and the work of the American Historical Association and the various State and local historical societies shows that the whole nation has a new feeling of responsibility in the matter. In all this Professor McMaster's own work has been a highly important contributing factor. A school history written by him is now used in all parts of the country and marks what amounts almost to a revolution in methods of elementary history-teaching. In the new emphasis that is placed both within and without the universities on our social and economic history, Professor McMaster no longer stands alone; he is now the dean, as it were, of an influential and vigorous school of writers.



PRINCETON'S NEW GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE third week in October witnessed a notable celebration and gathering of scholars at Princeton University. The occasion was that of the completion and opening of the beautiful "collegiate Gothic" buildings that are now the home of the Graduate College. At one of the corners of the main quadrangle stands a noble tower that is the dominant architectural feature of the group, and that was built in honor of the late Grover Cleveland and as a fitting memorial to the ex-President, who, in his last years, as a trustee of the university and a resident of Princeton, was especially devoted to the project of a proper housing and endowment of the Graduate College. On behalf of the donors of the memorial fund, Mr. Richard V. Lindabury made presentation of the tower to President Hibben and the Princeton trustees, and the Hon. William H. Taft delivered an oration in praise of the character and public services of Mr. Cleveland.

Princeton University has for nearly twenty years been doing some very excellent post-graduate work, which has been steadily growing in range and quality under the deanship of the well-known scholar and educator, Dr. Andrew F. West. But Dr. West and his associates have had an ideal, and they could not work it out satisfactorily until they should have secured a larger endowment and a distinct and appropriate home. The ideal has been admirably expressed by Dr. West, in a little book called "The Graduate College of Princeton." He has not desired to have a large number of graduate students, and would be content with perhaps a hundred, more or less. But these should be



CLEVELAND MEMORIAL TOWER AND ENTRANCE GATE FROM NORTHWEST

icked men, of qualities of mind and per-
ɔnality comprising something more than spe-
ial scholarship in one field of research.

At the Graduate College the students are to
ve in charming quarters in the low build-
ıgs that surround a delightful quadrangle,
nd they are to have their meals in common
ı a new dining hall so beautiful that one is
eminded of most famous "commons" in the
ɔlleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Some of
ıe professors are to reside in the quadrangle
ith the students, while the other professors
ill come and go freely.

Dr. West has emphasized three elements
ı composing the Graduate College:

First and foremost is a body of thoroughly first-
ıte professors, to be added to others now in the
ıculty—interesting men, scholars of high power,
ninent in their subjects and able to waken young
ıen. Do we need to say this is the capital A in
ıe alphabet? If so, let it be said again and
nderscored—because it would be absurd to say
ıything else.

The second element is a company of students of
igh ability—not a big crowd, but a moderate
umber—living as a community in the buildings
f the Graduate College. The number may be a
undred or so, perhaps more—but I hope not a
reat many more. Quality first, quantity after-
ards. Experience will settle the working limit.
he important thing is that they shall make a
udent community of high type, sufficient in num-
er to develop a society where every man may
ıow his fellows, find the variety he needs, and
ɔt be lost in the crowd. . . . The scholars who
re to be professors or teachers for life will proba-
ly compose the major part of the family. But
ıere will be others. There will be room for the intending lawyer or doctor or minister or engineer or architect who can give a year or so to the



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DR. ANDREW FLEMING WEST
(Dean of the Graduate School, Princeton University)



ɔtograph by the American Press Association, New York

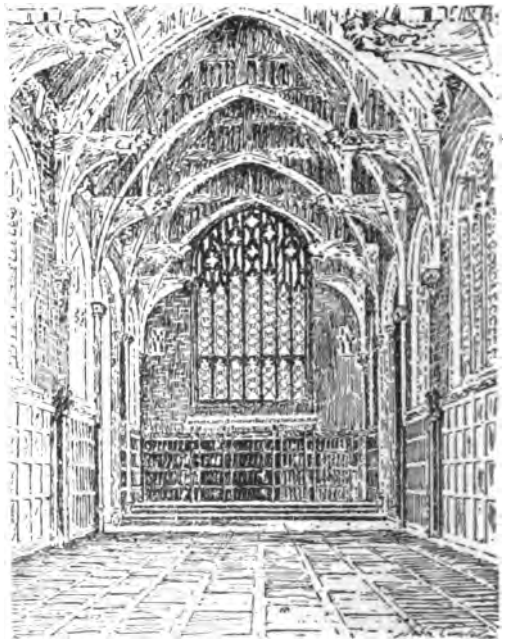
DISTINGUISHED GROUP AT THE DEDICATION EXERCISES

(From left to right: Francis L. Patton, ex-president of Princeton University; William H. Taft, ex-President f the United States; M. Taylor Pyne, chairman of the Trustees' Committee on the Graduate School; President libben; Dean West; and William C. Procter, of the Trustees' Committee on the Graduate School)

liberal studies underlying his future calling. Men may be trained here for the diplomatic and civil service. Still others, we hope, may be trained as writers. Future authors, investigators and discoverers, the men who want to study economic, social, or governmental problems, the entire range of seekers in the pure sciences, the student of historic art, the philosophic thinker, the lover of literature, the explorer of history—such as these may find a welcome here. It is much to expect, but not too much to desire.

The third element is the buildings, the material home wherein this community shall find the realization of its desires. The conditions of student life in Princeton are distinctive. They are not urban or suburban or rustic, but rural. Here is the only large old college in a very small town. Its dominant tradition is well rooted and comparatively pure. The Graduate College is the flowering of this root. Whatever may be true of other subjects, liberal studies at least take on new charm amid old associations, and find a natural home in the peace and sylvan beauty of rural life. In order to make the buildings attractive and beautiful the so-called collegiate Gothic was chosen—not "modified" Gothic, nor hotel Cothic, but the exquisite perpendicular type, so lovely in the few remaining examples in English colleges. Why do students naturally love such buildings? I think it is because, with the scenic setting, they look inviting, domestic, poetic, and seem in some way ancestral to universities. Quadrangles shadowing sunny lawns, towers and gateways opening into quiet retreats, ivy-grown walls looking on sheltered gardens, vistas through avenues of arching elms, walks that wind amid the groves of Academe—these are the places where the affections linger and where memories cling like the ivies themselves, and these are the answers in architecture and scenic setting to the immemorial longings of academic generations back to the time when universities first began to build their homes.

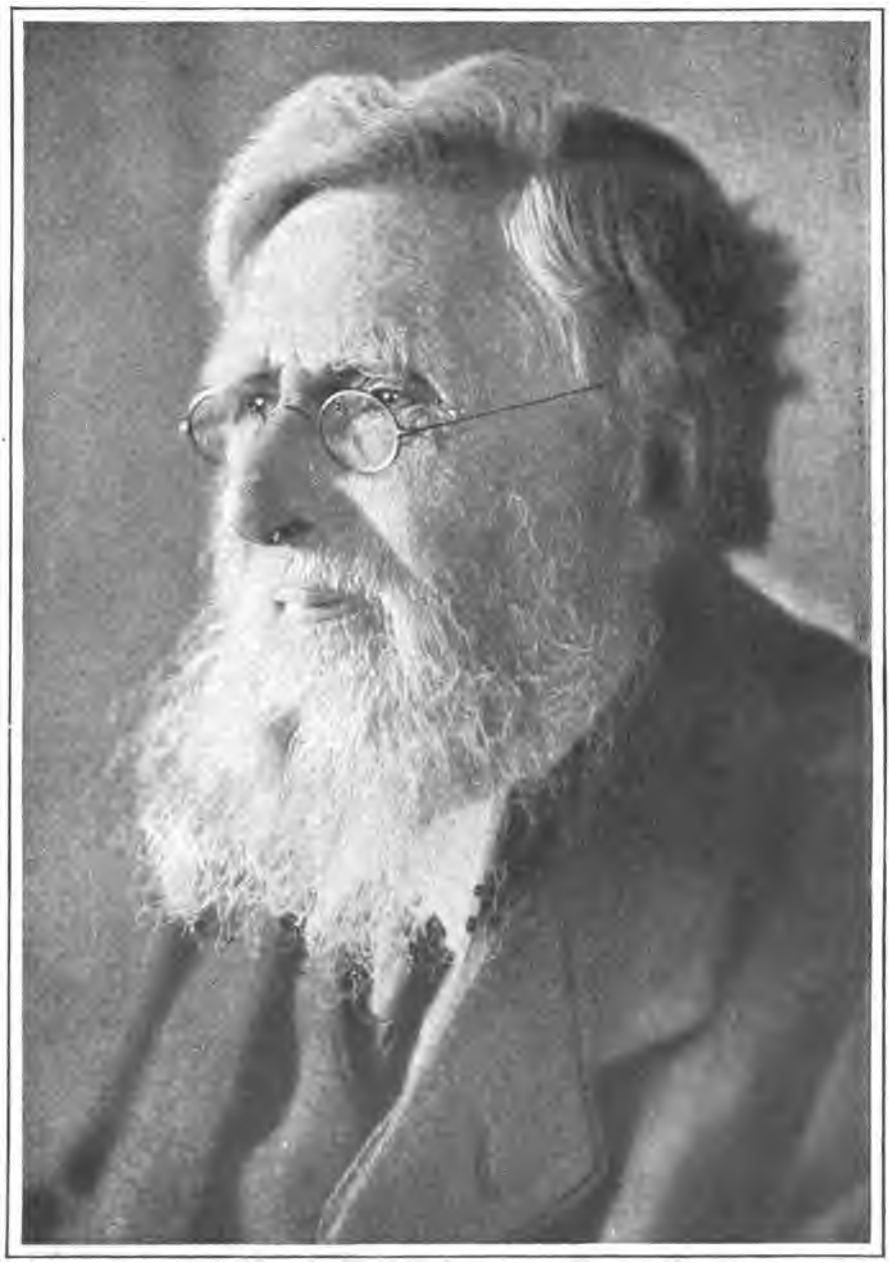
The Graduate College is not the only new group of buildings at Princeton that delights the visitor who loves beauty in architecture and fitness in the appointments of our famous institutions of learning. The new quadrangles built as dormitories for undergraduates are admirable examples of the architect's art as also they are well conceived from the standpoint of the educational life of Princeton.



INTERIOR OF PROCTER HALL

(The two line-drawings on this page, and the one on the first page of the article, are reproduced from a series by John P. Cuyler which illustrates a little volume entitled "The Graduate College of Princeton," written by the dean, Dr. Andrew F. West, and published by the Princeton University Press)





ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, co-discoverer with Darwin of the laws of natural selection, died last month at the ripe old age of ninety-one. Dr. Wallace was looked upon in Englai. as the last of the "giants," belonging to that wonderful group of English intellectuals that included Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Lyell, Tyndall—those daring investigators that revolutionized the thought of the world. He was the author of many books on evolutionary science. His last volume, "Social Environment and Moral Progress," reviewed several months ago in these pages, was a vigorous indictment of the failings of civilization and a plea for genuine social progress.

LI HUNG CHANG, STATESMAN, SOLDIER, SAGE

"ON THE SHIP READY TO SAIL FOR NEW YORK.—Good-bye to you, Czar and Czarina, and to you, Russia; good-bye to you, Kaiser, Bismarck, and my friend Herr Krupp, of Essen; good-bye to happy and gracious La Belle France; good-bye to Victoria, the Queen, and the Grand Old Man.

"I am going to Grant's country."

THIS entry, dated some time in "the twelfth moon of one of the years of the peaceful Jade Emperor," which, transferred to the language of the Western calendar, is the same as a day in September, 1896, marks, in the diary of Li Hung Chang, the departure of the Chinese statesman on his visit to the United States.

The course of Far Eastern history has proven that Duke Li was one of the greatest men the Chinese race has produced in modern times. Ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, who is certainly qualified to speak with authority, writes an introduction to the memoirs of Li Hung Chang, which have just appeared. Mr. Foster maintains that "in a combination of qualities he was the most unique personality of the past century among all the nations of the world."

These memoirs, edited by William Francis Mannix, give a surpassingly frank and intimate account of daily events set down by Li himself. They cover the activities of the shrewd, kindly old Oriental as viceroy of the famous Empress Dowager and as an ambassador from China to the United States.

Li was himself a man of letters. When he addressed the reporters who besieged him at New York, he said, "I am a journalist myself. While," he went on, "I have never published a journal, or acted as editor, the profession of writing is so noble that I am honored to claim membership therein."

When one young reporter seemed amused at Li's claim to be a newspaper man, the old Chinaman continued:

I have written a great deal that has been published in our Chinese papers, and which the editors didn't dare refuse. . . . They were decrees from the throne.

Evidently, sagely comments the old man, "that was all this young fellow needed for his article that day."

He left me immediately, after offering me a cigar, and the next morning I read in one of the New York papers that "Li Hung Chang is a writer who uses an axe on any man who dares blue-pencil his stuff."

He complimented the American newspaper men, saying that, "while they have not treat-



LI HUNG CHANG
(With Lord Salisbury and Lord Curzon)

ed my visit in the severe manner of the Germans, or in the half-patronizing attitude of the London and French journals, they have tried to get at the truth regarding China and the affairs of the Far East." Li liked Philadelphia, which he proposed to rechristen "The Place of a Million Smiles," and Washington. New York, however, he frankly regarded as "The worst city in the world —least suited to the life of Li Hung Chang, I mean,"—quaintly concluding with the remark: "Of course, they didn't think of me when they were building it."

He speaks very appreciatively of President Cleveland and Mrs. Cleveland. The American President, he says, "laughed till he cried when I told him that he undoubtedly possessed a secondary wife in each province, or perhaps more." Li never tired of referring to General Grant and his regard for the soldier who "put down the rebellion of the Confederates as I had put down the long turmoil of the Taipings."

Jotting down "some facts" after his visit to Grant's tomb, he said:

> I cannot shed tears as some people do. . . . But my heart is full of bitter sadness and sweet memory when I stand beside the tomb of my glorious friend, General Grant. . . . I told the spirit of my departed and illustrious friend that I had come all the way from distant China to look upon his tomb as I had looked upon his face so many years ago. . . . He came to China covered with the honors and plaudits of the whole world, and we honored him still more. We honored him as no foreigner before or since has been honored in our country. . . . I placed a booklet of prayers at his head in the tomb, and I asked his blessed spirit to think of me always and to give me welcome to the Land of Sunshine and Golden Hours.

Li's visit to the United States was made on his return trip to China after he had acted as special representative of the Chinese throne at the coronation of Czar Nicholas of Russia. He speaks appreciatively of the kindly, courteous treatment accorded him by the Czar, and becomes enthusiastic over the beauty of the Empress. Passing through Germany, he tells quaintly of his meeting with Herr Krupp, "the Emperor of Essen," and Prince Bismarck ("eventually may he join his fathers in the Happy Vale of Ancestral Longevity"). Bismarck, it seems, made Li drink some beer—"which I didn't like at all."

> We smoked our pipes together and enjoyed a long visit troubled only by those wretched interpreters who translated for us and by the servants who insisted on bringing pipes and drinkables.

France Li characterized as "oh land, most happy, beautiful, and gracious." He was received by President and Madame Faure and found them charming. Li had a touch of seasickness crossing the channel, but soon began to like England. Then, at "Hawarden," on the "eleventh day, in memory of the peaceful Jade Emperor," he met Gladstone. England's Grand Old Man finally induced Li to join him in cutting down trees—"although" (the old Chinaman rather pathetically remarks), "I had quite outgrown this habit, and I nearly cut my foot off."

The frankness and vividness of his comments upon his terrible mistress, the Empress Dowager, are among the most notable features of the memoirs. He tells of her treatment of the unfortunate Emperor Kwang-su in a paragraph dated October 9, 1898:

> The wretched Kwang-su was made to kneel in the palace and acknowledge that he was nothing at all. Her Majesty was a veritable lioness at the ceremony of obeisance, and treated the young Emperor worse than she treated unruly eunuchs. . . . She threatened Kwang-su with the loss of his life if he did not consent to live with the Empress Consort [the old Dowager's niece and spy], and the Emperor said he would live with her and love her. What an outrage when personally I know that he hates the sight of her.

Then, very pathetically, he tells about the young Emperor and his beautiful wife, Chen-Fei [because of her beauty of form and clearness of complexion known as "The Pearl"], who begged that they might be permitted to live together.

> Chen-Fei, whom the poor young Emperor loved as any young man desires to love his true wife, made a plea for him to Her Majesty, but the latter ordered her to be carried from the room and cast into a lone barred chamber in one of the administration palaces. After two years of solitary confinement, Chen-Fei was killed by being thrown, by order of the Dowager Empress, into one of the wells of the Forbidden City just before the allied forces entered Peking in 1900.

Writing in 1886, Li first mentions Yuan Shih-kai, now President of the Chinese Republic. He says:

> Yuan Shih-kai is one of the bravest of our men, and an excellent soldier. . . . Had he been possessed of two or three army corps in the war with Japan, the story of that conflict, I believe, would have been very different.

Li tells very frankly, almost pathetically, of his herculean and unavailing attempt to arouse the Chinese throne against the Boxers. The book is interesting from cover to cover. It contains a number of the poetic efforts of old Li, and throughout is saturated with the exotic color of the East.[1]

[1] Memoirs of Li Hung Chang. Edited by William Francis Mannix. Houghton Mifflin. 298 pp. $3.





WILD DUCKS—MALLARDS, BLACK DUCK, WIDGEON, WOOD DUCK, FEEDING IN A SMALL POND ON A PRIVATE SHOOTING PRESERVE AND GAME SANCTUARY IN CONNECTICUT

(The birds shown in this picture are absolutely wild birds that have had no assistance from artificial breeding or other encouragement than absolute sanctuary in one large marshy pond.

A CHAMPION OF WILD LIFE

BY GEORGE GLADDEN

There are probably millions of people who do not realize that civilized (!) man is the most persistently wicked and wasteful of all the predatory animals. The lions, the tigers, the bears, the eagles and hawks, serpents and fish-eating fishes, all live by destroying life; but they kill only what they think they can consume. If something is by chance left over, it goes to satisfy the hunger of the humbler species of prey. . . .

From the earliest historic times, it has been the way of savage man, red, black, brown, and yellow, to kill as wild animals do,—only what he can use or *thinks* he can use. . . .

It has remained for the wolf, the sheep-killing dog, and civilized man to make records for wanton slaughter which put them in a class together, and quite apart from the other predatory animals.[1]

THESE sufficiently blunt expressions I quote as characteristic utterances of Dr. William T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoölogical Park, on the subject which is nearest to his heart, the needless and stupid slaughter of birds and animals for "sport" or for gain. They reveal the profound sincerity of his attitude, and at the same time represent the manner in which he addresses the public in support of the cause which, beyond a doubt, he has done more to advance than any other single individual.

A NATURALIST WHO CAN FIGHT

Dr. Hornaday is not only a natural-born naturalist who takes wild-life conservation very seriously; he is a natural-born fighter, as those who have opposed his conservation causes have speedily found out. "The boldest policy is the best policy" has been his motto since he began to fight for the preservation of species in this country, and it is a fact that as soon as he gets thoroughly indignant he begins to get results.

This indignation does more than merely to arouse his natural combativeness; it increases his resourcefulness in presenting his case to the public, not only by language so strong and pointed that it is bound to challenge attention, but by the clever use of facts and statistics which come straight home to men's business and bosoms. For, though he is entirely sincere in classing "civilized man" who wantonly destroys animals, with the blood-thirsty wolf and the sheep-killing dog, he knows full well that once the issue between brutally slaughtering animals and birds, and permitting them to live their lives unmolested, to beautify and make more interesting the forests and the fields, is fairly presented, the before-mentioned "civilized man" will immediately find himself in the very small and very contemptible minority.

Viewed from another angle, Dr. Hornaday's position on this subject has a peculiarly eloquent significance. For many years a pro-

[1] W. T. Hornaday, "Our Vanishing Wild Life," pp. 8-10.



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BEAUTIFUL AND CURIOUS BIRDS WANTONLY DESTROYED FOR THEIR FEATHERS

(From left to right, beginning at top: Kingfisher, Bird of Paradise, Victoria Crowned Pigeon, Common Tern, Superb Calliste, Cock of the Rock)

characteristic *coup* against an enemy grown bold to the point of insolence. This *coup* was the "Bayne bill," designed to prohibit the sale of all native wild game in New York State.

"The idea," Dr. Hornaday tells me, "was born in a fit of anger at the market-gunners, game dealers, and milliners of New York who had organized to secure the repeal at Albany of the best bird protective laws on our statute books. I was informed that they were well organized, had plenty of money, and had three champions in the Senate and two in the Assembly. It made me so disgusted and angry that I determined then and there to carry the war right into their own camp, and do it at once. The Bayne bill was the first result."

The proposal embodied in the Bayne bill was greeted by much wagging of heads, and many protestations that it was wildly impracticable, even from avowed friends of wild-life conservation. But Dr. Hornaday went right ahead, regardless of doubts, ridicule, and early lack of support. The bill was duly drafted, and fifty persons subscribed $5025 to be used by the campaign manager as he saw fit in creating and enlisting public opinion in support of it. As the result of the skilful use of this fund in securing publicity, the kind of public opinion desired was not long in making itself heard. In due time the State League of Sportsmen, the Camp-Fire Club, the Audubon Society, the Boone and Crockett Club, and other organizations arrayed themselves solidly behind the bill, and worked hard for its success. The upshot was the passage of the bill (in 1911) by both houses of the Legislature, with but a single dissenting vote!

This episode of the Bayne bill was destined to make much history, and had far-reaching significance. It marked the beginning of what soon developed into a series of strongly aggressive State movements for the better protection of American wild life, by stopping the sale of game. What is even more satisfactory, that movement has since proceeded, not only with increasing momentum, but with increasing efficiency, and in the spirit of its originator.

STOPPING THE GAME SLAUGHTER FOR THE NEW YORK MARKET

It should be made clear in this connection that the Bayne law is by no means a measure by which New York State alone is affected. This is true because to New York City (by far the largest game market in this

MY PROGRAM.

Stop the sale of wild game.

Promote laws to prevent unnaturalized aliens from owning or using rifles and shot-guns.

Stop all spring and late-winter shooting.

Stop all killing of insectivorous birds for food, and of all birds for millinery purposes.

Increase the number of game preserves.

Oppose the use of all extra deadly automatic, auto-loading and "pump" guns in hunting, and secure the passage of laws against them.

Secure perpetual close seasons for all species of wild life that are threatened with extinction from our fauna.

DR. HORNADAY'S PLATFORM

WARNING TO THE NATION

Such is the situation as Dr. Hornaday sees it, and this is the case of which, as I have already said, I believe he has proved himself to be the most effective champion. This estimate of his actual efficiency in his work is made advisedly, and, being based solely on results actually accomplished, I think will not be challenged by any candid person who is familiar with the facts of the case. As is generally known, in his wild-life protection work he represents the New York Zoölogical Society, whose second declared "object" is: "The preservation of our native animals." No other scientific body, so far as I know, ever declared for such an object as that, nor ever "made good" so thoroughly in that cause. Without the Society's support, so many great victories could not have been won.

Dr. Hornaday's first definite warning to the general public of the alarming decrease of wild life in this country was contained in his report on "The Destruction of Our Birds and Mammals," made to the New York Zoölogical Society in 1898. About 10,000 copies of this document were distributed, and its contents were without doubt largely responsible for the formation at about that time of several organizations devoted to wild-life protection.

During the next decade the conditions described in that report grew steadily worse, with the result that, by 1910, the status of many forms of American wild life—and especially certain species of birds—had become nothing short of desperate.

HALTING THE SALE OF NATIVE WILD GAME

The army of destruction had been steadily increasing in size, efficiency, and arrogance, so that, as Dr. Hornaday described the situation, the wild life of North America was "being exterminated by law." The active protectors were everywhere vastly outnumbered by the active destroyers. The spring shooting of wild fowl (a particularly destructive practice) was prevalent wherever the hunted birds were most plentiful. Armed with the destructive modern automatic guns and "pump-guns," the market-hunters were making shambles of the waterfowl country in California, North Carolina, Louisiana, and other States. Millions of song-birds were being shot annually for food in the South, by negroes and "poor whites." In many States, *e. g.*, New York, Mississippi, the Dakotas, and Massachusetts, the destroyers were making deliberate and determined efforts to bring about the repeal of the best protective legislation.

Goaded to desperation by this state of affairs, Dr. Hornaday conceived his first





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(From left to right, beginning at top: Kingfisher, Bird of Paradise, Victoria Crowned Pigeon, Common Tern, Superb Calliste, Cock of the Rock)

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WILD GEESE (CANADA GEESE) ON A POND AT THE EAST HEAD GAME FARM, CAPE COD

country) were being shipped annually vast quantities of migratory waterfowl of many kinds, the great majority of which were killed during the fall and spring months in the wintering resorts of these birds all along the Atlantic coast, and especially in their great rendezvous, Currituck Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. To these resorts in the fall, come great flocks of waterfowl (representing no less than eleven species), which breed in the network of lakes, rivers, and marshes west and south of Hudson Bay, while from the Labrador region come other, though smaller flocks, representing about five species. In their semi-annual flights these waterfowl pass through sixteen States.

Now, probably 75 per cent. of the enormous number of ducks slaughtered on Currituck waters were shipped straight to New York City, where they were consigned to cold storage, to be used when they were needed by the metropolitan hotel and restaurant keepers. The passage of the Bayne bill entirely stopped all that slaughter for New York, put hundreds of market-hunters out of business, and to this extent—which is very considerable—afforded protection for no less than sixteen



YOUNG WILD DUCKS WITH BANTAM HEN FOSTER MOTHER
(Showing how wild duck breeding is conducted at the East Head Game Farm)



YOUNG REDHEAD DUCKS IN THEIR NEST

(This photograph was taken in the wilds of Northern Canada by Herbert K. Job, who collected live specimens of these delicious ducks to start breeding experiments in New England)

birds for food, and of all birds for millinery purposes."

The section of the tariff bill which has this purpose was written by Dr. Hornaday, acting for the New York Zoölogical Society, but in the very aggressive campaign in support of it, particularly during June, July, and August, 1913, Dr. Hornaday and Mr. T. Gilbert Pearson, secretary of the National Association of Audubon Societies, worked in close coöperation. The plumage importers and milliners opposed this measure in the Senate with the utmost stubbornness, and also with alarming success, right up to the very eleventh hour of their opportunity. Dr. Hornaday's measure was passed by the House without change and without opposition, but in the Senate, as the result of pressure brought to bear upon the "Sub-committee on Schedule N" of the Senate Finance Committee, it was almost completely emasculated.

Meanwhile Dr. Hornaday and Mr. Pearson had flooded the country with detailed information and appeals for support; and in consequence of this all Senators were deluged by letters from constituents who demanded the passage of the measure. Probably the most effective appeals in support of the measure were those which came from the women of the country, whom Dr. Hornaday and Mr. Pearson reached directly through their various clubs and societies. The upshot of it all was that on September 2, after a three-hours' fight, the Senate Democratic caucus reversed the action of the Finance Committee, and restored to the bill the clause which the Zoölogical Society had submitted.

The McLean bill, and the Hornaday bill, are, of course, designed solely for the protection of birds, but Dr. Hornaday's activities in the cause of wild-life protection have by no means been confined to the conservation of avi-faunal life. By his direction, the Bayne bill was drawn to include clauses which provide for the prohibition of the sale of all native wild game of New York. At the same time, however, it provided for the breeding in captivity, under the supervision of the State, not only of certain game birds (notably several species of old-world pheasants), but of the American white-tailed deer, and the fallow deer and red deer of Europe. The author of the bill ruefully remarks: "It cost my fund over $100 to draft the game-breeding section of that bill, and the game-breeders never contributed a penny of it."

SAVING THE BISON FROM EXTERMINATION

Of very great importance, also, were Dr. Hornaday's efforts for the perpetuation of the American bison, the largest, most impressive, and most characteristic of the hoofed animals of this continent, as the result of which this animal has been saved from the complete extermination which threatened it.

The first of these efforts (which well illustrated Dr. Hornaday's capacity for striking when the iron is hot) resulted in the establishment of a fine national herd of bison in Oklahoma. The opportunity presented itself when, in 1905, the Government decided to establish the Wichita Preserve. When this project was announced, Dr. Hornaday at once proposed the setting aside of a portion of the reservation as a permanent range for a herd of bison, to be presented by the New York Zoölogical Society, and owned by the Government. The proposal was at once endorsed by the New York Zoölogical Society, accepted by the Secretary of Agriculture, and quickly ratified by Congress in the form of an appropriation for fences and buildings. The final result was the selection for this purpose of twelve square miles of land well suited to the bison, the fencing of it, and the installation therein of a herd of fifteen vigorous animals presented by the Zoölogical Society. This herd has thrived and increased to forty-eight head,

birds were by no means ignored, the New York Zoölogical Society's campaign made specially powerful appeals to the press and the public generally, urging the economic importance of the insectivorous birds, because of their incalculably valuable services as destroyers of insect pests. This point, the validity and importance of which was established by incontrovertible statistics and facts, made a much stronger appeal to the public than had all the previous arguments for the protection of game-birds only. It enlisted the active support of more than twelve hundred newspapers and magazines, and many thousand individuals.

The promise given by this measure for the better protection of game birds (most of which are migratory) won for it the warm approval of all conservative sportsmen, that is to say, all *true sportsmen;* and emphatic indorsements of the bill were sent to Washington by such organizations as the well-known Camp-Fire and Boone and Crockett clubs, and the American Game Protective and Propagation Association. The last-named organization, under the direction of its president, Mr. John B. Burnham, was especially active in advocating the hearings on the original measure—that is, before it was amended so as to include the non-game migratory birds—and carried on an energetic campaign in support of the bill in its final form. The emphasis which was being placed upon the importance of preserving the insectivorous non-game birds enlisted also the valuable support of the National Association of Audubon Societies (devoted to the protection of those birds exclusively), and Mr. Pearson caused the distribution of an immense amount of effective literature on the economic value of such birds. The National and State Granges, the Knights of Labor and other powerful organizations likewise gave valuable assistance.

The result was that the bill easily passed the Senate, and thereafter was made an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill, in which form it was passed by the House on March 3, and was signed by President Taft the following day.

I am entirely convinced that this happy result was due chiefly to Dr. Hornaday's clear-headed comprehension of a somewhat complicated problem, and to his skill and persistence in presenting the correct solution of it. Acting under this measure, a committee of the Bureau of Biological Survey immediately proceeded to draw up a series of regulations for the protection by the Federal Government of all migratory birds within its jurisdiction. These regulations (which became effective on October 1), although they are in some respects open to criticism, prescribe for about 600 of the 1200-odd species of birds of this country much more efficient protection than is provided by the present inadequate or contradictory State laws.



CAN RUFFED GROUSE BE BRED?

(This essentially wild and wary bird, disappearing before civilization, was supposed by sportsmen to be entirely too sensitive to artificial surroundings for any breeding success. This remarkable photograph shows three-quarter grown ruffed grouse bred at the East Head Game farm and tamer than chickens)

PROTECTING BIRDS FROM THE MILLINERY TRADE

An even more remarkable victory for the cause of wild-life conservation is that which was won last summer by the inclusion in Schedule N of the new tariff bill of what has been quite properly called the "Hornaday bill," which now prohibits the importation into this country of all foreign wild birds' plumage except for scientific or educational purposes,—or, in other words, excludes such plumage for use in millinery. As far as I am aware, the first serious proposal ever made in this country to protect the birds of the world from the feather trade was put forth by Dr. Hornaday in November, 1911, in his printed "Program," and in the following words: "Stop all killing of insectivorous



YOUNG REDHEAD DUCKS IN THEIR NEST

(This photograph was taken in the wilds of Northern Canada by Herbert K. Job, who collected live specimens of these delicious ducks to start breeding experiments in New England)

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and gives every promise of further and rapid growth.

Again, in 1907, Dr. Hornaday, as president of the American Bison Society, proposed to that organization and to Congress the "Montana National Bison Range and Herd." This proposal was suggested by the announcement of the intended opening to settlement of the Flathead Indian Reservation in Northern Montana. Dr. Hornaday saw here a long-desired opportunity to establish another bison herd, and acted with characteristic promptness. He raised by subscription a fund of $10,525, which was used in buying the nucleus herd of thirty-seven bison, to which were added six more, presented by various interested persons. The herd was installed in 1909 in an enclosed range of twenty-nine square miles. Already this herd has increased to ninety-seven head, and Dr. Hornaday predicts a further increase of fully ten-fold within the next fifteen years.



"APACHE," A BUFFALO BULL OF THE HERD IN THE WICHITA PRESERVE

WESTERN GAME PRESERVES

The Snow Creek Game Preserve, in Montana, came into existence in 1911 solely as the result of Dr. Hornaday's initiative and efforts. The region involved was first brought to public notice by him and Mr. L. A. Huffman, of Miles City, Montana, through their exploration of it in 1902; and Mr. Huffman and Mr. W. R. Felton were largely instrumental in securing the passage of the legislative act that created the preserve. The tract includes about ninety-six square miles of land in Dawson County, fronting for ten miles on the Missouri River. It contains much good game country, and it is hoped that, in spite of the opposition of a few sheep-owners, there will soon be added to it, along its southern boundary, a narrow strip of excellent grazing ground for buffalo and antelope.

Late in 1906 Dr. Hornaday and Mr. John M. Phillips, of Pittsburgh, Pa., began to urge the government of British Columbia to convert about 450 square miles of fine mountain territory into a provincial game preserve. After two years of labor their efforts were successful. In 1908, the government created a splendid game preserve, comprising about 500 square miles, extending from the Elk and Bull Rivers northward to the White River country. In 1908 this tract was known to harbor about 1000 mountain goats, 200 sheep, a few elk and deer, and about fifty grizzly bears, and it is well known that this population has much increased during the past five years.

CONSERVATION OF FUR SEALS

After many years of anxious watching of the fearful damage done to the fur-seal industry of Alaska by the killing of female seals at sea, Dr. Hornaday instituted in Congress, with the very active and efficient support of the Camp-Fire Club of America, a movement (1) to abolish the leasing system under which the killing of the seals was being carried on, (2) to secure the enactment of international treaties prohibiting pelagic sealing, and (3) to provide a closed season of from five to ten years for the recuperation of the herds. All of these objects were accomplished in 1909, the closed season being fixed at five years. Dr. Hornaday believes that the fur-seal industry was saved by these restrictions, and that without them it is reasonably certain that the seal herds would by this time have been virtually exterminated.

DR. HORNADAY AS AUTHOR

Any account of Dr. Hornaday's achievements for the cause of wild-life conservation which failed to emphasize the importance of

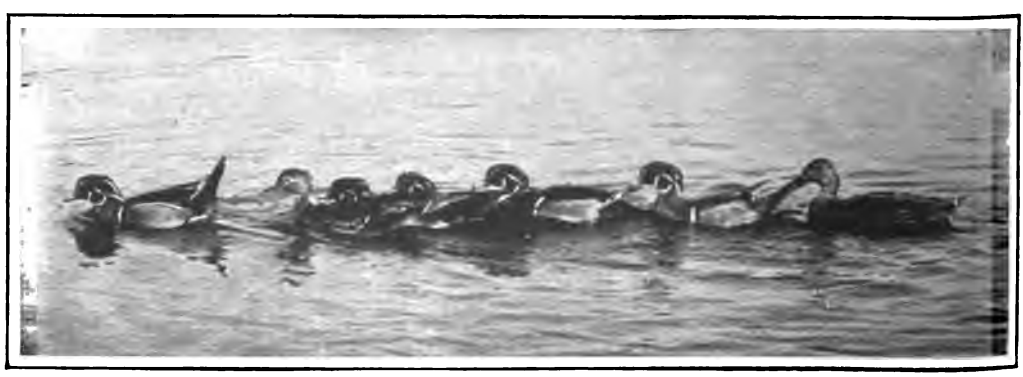


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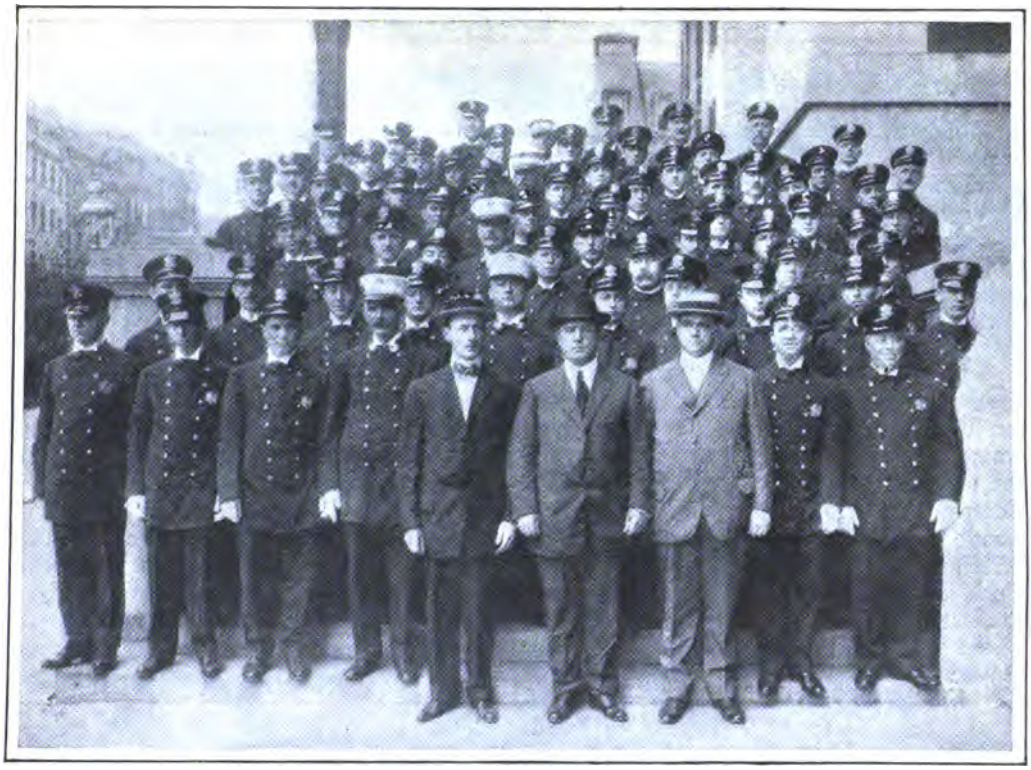
PHOTOGRAPH OF A MOUNTAIN GOAT IN HIS NATIVE FASTNESSES IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES
(From "Camp-Fires in the Canadian Rockies")

his recent remarkable book, "Our Vanishing Wild Life," would indeed be incomplete. This highly valuable contribution to the literature of the subject was designed especially to influence American lawmakers, judges, educators, and the press, as well as the general public. It is by all odds the most comprehensive and convincing presentation and discussion of the subject that has ever been produced. A labor of love by its author, its great value to the cause was at once recognized by Mr. Madison Grant, who, as chairman of the executive committee of the New York Zoölogical Society, proposed that the Society should meet the entire expense of publishing and distributing 13,000 copies of the book, in accordance with its author's plans. Mr. Grant raised by a board-of-manager's subscription about $10,500 for this undertaking, and the book was sent at once (that is, during January and February of this year) to each member of every State Legislature then in session, to all of the members of Congress, and to several hundred other persons in positions to assist the cause. There are not lacking evidences that the book has exerted, and will continue to exert, a powerful influence for the better protection of the remnant of the once abundant supply of wild life on this continent. From this book (p. 264) I quote the following significant and characteristic expression as to "credit" for work done in such a cause:

> Do not count upon receiving any credit for what you do in the cause of game protection, outside the narrow circle of your own family and your nearest friends. This is a busy world; and the human mind flits like a restless bird from one subject to another. The men who win campaigns are forgotten by the general public in a few hours! . . . The most valuable reward of a man who fights in a great cause, and helps to win victories, is the profound satisfaction that comes to every good citizen who bravely does his whole duty, and leaves the world better than he found it, without the slightest thought of gallery applause.



THE DISAPPEARING WOOD DUCK
(A small flock of them, the most beautiful of the duck species, followed by a mallard. The wood duck, or summer duck, is one of the disappearing species. Most States have prohibited shooting them until 1918)



THE STAFF OF NEW YORK'S BUREAU OF FIRE PREVENTION

FIRE-PROOFING A CITY

BY JOSEPH JOHNSON

(Fire Commissioner, New York City)

UNTIL recently the talent and ingenuity of fire engineers were expended almost entirely upon putting out fires. Some effort is now being made towards preventing them. The "ounce of prevention" is beginning to supersede the "pound of cure."

For many years the annual fire loss in the United States has ranged between $200,000,000 and $250,000,000. The "ounce of prevention" is helping now to cut down that loss. Last year we reduced our fire loss in New York City nearly $3,500,000, as compared with the preceding year.

There were 2067 fewer fires in New York during the first three-quarters of the present year than during the first nine months of 1912. The fire loss between January 1 and September 30, 1913, was about $2,300,000 less than during the corresponding period last year. Those figures show what fire prevention is accomplishing for us. They show that the work of "fire-proofing" New York has started well.

I do not wish to annoy the reader with statistics. I dislike them as much as anyone. But, in order to picture the situation that confronted our Fire Department when we tackled the fire-prevention problem, let me say that during the last ten years the annual number of fires climbed from 10,046 in 1903 to 15,633 in 1912; the annual fire loss jumped from $7,082,839 to $9,069,580, and the annual death roll of those who perished kept mounting steadily.

During those ten years the fighting branch of our Fire Department had been growing in size. Its numerical strength had been increased by about 1550 men. Its apparatus had been augmented. The cost of maintaining the department had grown, year by year. Yet the number of fires and the annual fire loss during that period kept on increasing. There was a year or two when the number of fires and the fire loss sagged down, but on the whole the situation was alarming. Something had to be done.

There was some desultory talk of fire prevention. It was a new idea, however, and, like most new ideas, needed funds to carry it out. So the talk led nowhere for a while. It required the Triangle Waist Company fire in 1911 to fully arouse the officials of the Fire Department, the public, and the legislators to the necessity for some radical remedy for a condition which permitted such a disaster to occur in New York.

THE FACTORY PERIL IN NEW YORK

As the result of that fire, at 23 Washington Place, 147 persons, most of them young women, perished. The Asch Building, on the top floors of which the Triangle Waist Company had its factory, was typical of many modern so-called "fire-proof" loft buildings which have been erected in New York during recent years—tall brick-and-stone structures occupied as factories. Some of them are fire-proof in the sense that they cannot burn down. Their contents, however, are not fire-proof. Nor are they panic-proof. As a matter of fact, the Asch Building did not burn down. The blaze was confined to the three upper floors, the eighth, ninth and tenth. Yet the toll of death from that fire was very large.

When the several investigations following the Asch Building disaster were finished, the situation crystallized itself into this: Better results in the supervision of factory buildings could be obtained by centralizing the responsibility for precautions against fire and against death by fire. Up to that time this responsibility had been divided between the State Labor Department, the Building Bureau of the city, and the Fire Department. Each was inclined to shift the blame for the Triangle Waist Company fire.

NEW WORK FOR THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—PREVENTION

The Fire Commissioner was agreed upon as the logical official to hold responsible in future for conditions which might allow a repetition of the Asch Building horror. But before he could be held accountable he must be given adequate tools with which to work. The fighting branch of the Fire Department had its hands full putting out fires. A fire prevention branch of the department had to be provided.

It was the business of the legislature to make such provision. And, while the legislators were about it, they decided to centralize in the Fire Commissioner the entire supervision as to precautions against fire and fire panic, not only in factory buildings but in all other buildings as well, except tenements. Supervision over the latter was allowed to remain with the Tenement House Department. Legislation to that effect was embodied in a Fire Prevention Law, which went into effect in October, 1911.

That was all very well, as far as it went. But it did not go far enough. I do not believe that tenements should have been exempted from the jurisdiction of the Fire Commissioner. We have to fight fires in the tenements just as well as in the factories, the stores, and the theaters. There is no distinction drawn as to fighting fires. But in preventing fires there is a distinction. We must keep our hands off the tenements. There are some 103,000 of these structures in New York City. In addition to the congested homes of the poor, they include thousands of high-class apartments which house a large percentage of our citizens. They are all tenements under the classification of the law.

The new legislation, centralizing in the Fire Commissioner supervision over all buildings other than tenements, called upon me to organize in the Fire Department a Bureau of Fire Prevention. It provided that the department be divided, in fact, into two parts—one a Bureau of Fire Prevention, the other a Bureau of Fire Extinguishment.

An appropriation of $200,000 was made for the employment of a fire-prevention force. This enabled the employment of 123 clerks, stenographers, inspectors, and executive officers for the Fire Prevention Bureau. It was not until March of 1912 that the employment of this staff was made possible.

In the meantime I had formed a temporary organization by grouping our fire marshals, inspectors of combustibles, and detailed firemen who were familiar with fire appliances. Later on, when the regular fire-prevention staff was employed I retained the original organization in the form of divisions in the Bureau of Fire Prevention.

Before taking up the method by which the first ounce of fire prevention was administered, it may be well to outline the scope of the fire-prevention law.

The new legislation charged the Fire Commissioner with the enforcement of all laws and ordinances relating to the prevention of fires, the storage, sale, and transportation or use of combustibles, chemicals, and explosives, the installation and maintenance of fire-alarm systems and fire-extinguishing equipments, the means of exit in buildings,



TESTING ELECTRICAL APPARATUS

Don't use naphtha or gasolene for cleaning purposes where there are open lights or fires.
Don't put hot ashes on a dumb-waiter.
Don't accumulate old beds and bedding or other trash in cellars.
Don't allow delivery boys to tie back the dumb-waiter door in cellar; by this means fires have spread throughout buildings.
Don't neglect to have the chimney flue cleaned once a year. You are responsible, not your landlord.

I frequently see these placards in service still. They have become part of the household furniture.

Our educational campaign did not stop with the business men and the housewives. We sought out the children. We have been teaching children in the public schools that they must not regard fire as a plaything. Now and then I get a letter from a schoolboy telling me that he and his playmates have organized juvenile fire-prevention squads and asking what they can do to spread the fire-prevention propaganda. I invariably encourage such youthful enthusiasts. All these things are contributory factors in fireproofing a city.

We have abolished fireworks in New York on the Fourth of July. Prior to the time when we forbade the use of fireworks the Fourth brought us from three to four times the normal number of fires. It also brought accidents a hundredfold above the average. We were accused at first of being unpatriotic. But now the community has come to look upon a "safe and sane" Fourth of July as an improvement over the noisy one



TESTING LABORATORY OF THE NEW YORK FIRE-PREVENTION BUREAU

ordered installed. And they were installed, quickly, too, for there was the club which allowed me to close up the place were the orders disobeyed.

Next we tackled the moving-picture houses —825 of them—and the dance halls, some 850 in number. I caused an individual inspection and report on each of these. It is a panicky crowd which patronizes the moving-picture houses of our city—mothers and children in the predominance—many of them of foreign birth.

Wherever my men found conditions which could be improved, from the standpoint of fire prevention, corrective orders were served. I caused an inspection of every public, private, and parochial school in the city and issued an individual corrective order against each. Every department store was inspected. In many of the latter we found fire prevention badly needed. The fire-proofing of stairways and elevator shafts, additional exits, rearrangement of stock in several instances, and many other safeguards against fire and the loss of life by fire were ordered by my men.

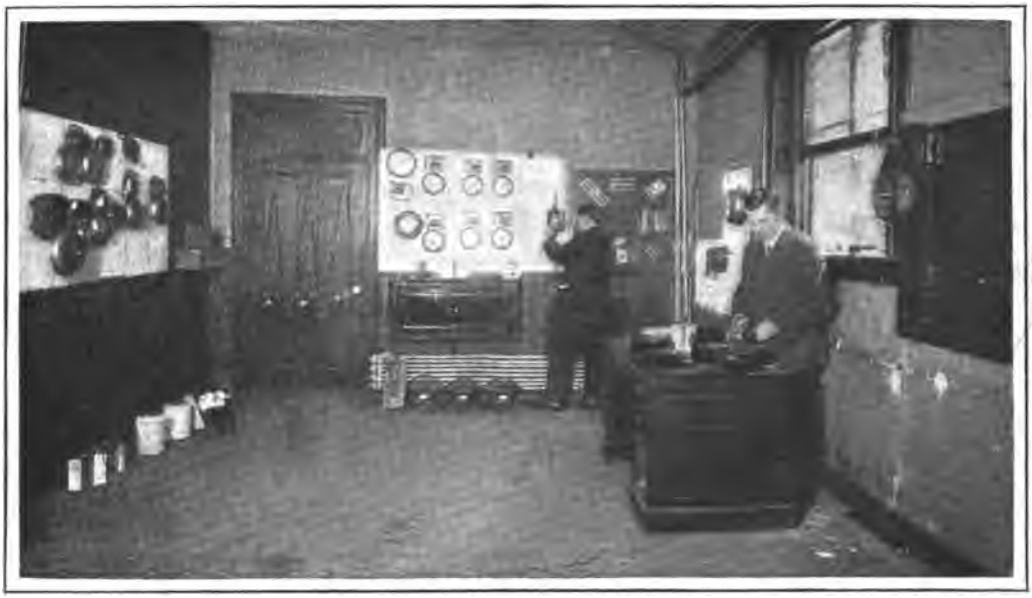
Our first concern in setting about to fire-proof the city was the safeguarding of life. Safeguarding property was a secondary consideration.

THE SMOKING EVIL

Experience had shown that many of our fires were caused by careless smokers. In fact, carelessness in handling cigars, cigarettes, and matches was responsible for more than 3000 of our fires in 1911. It was high time that something be done to curb such preventable fires. I found that under our penal law a person who jeopardized the lives of others could be held guilty of committing a public nuisance. This same law construed a public nuisance as a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment. Here was another handy club lying idle.

Certainly the smoking of a cigar, cigarette, or pipe in a factory was jeopardizing the lives of the factory workers. I consulted the Corporation Counsel and learned that my surmise was correct. I lost no time in getting after the smokers. There was an outcry at this. Personal liberty was being curtailed, some said. I could not see the logic of an argument against preventing smoking in any place where human lives were endangered. I enjoy smoking as well as anyone, but were I a factory worker I would confine my indulgence to the lunch hour or the time spent at home. The Triangle Waist Company fire was caused by a careless smoker.

At any rate we "went after" the factory smokers, hammer and tongs. Soon we placarded the factories and stores with signs which read: "Smoking prohibited in these premises under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both." A hundred thousand of these were tacked on workroom walls. I appointed a woman inspector to seek out the violators of this order. Several hundred violators have been haled into court and fined. The magistracy of the city has given us splendid support. In several instances factory smokers have gone to jail. The "smokers' fires" are on the wane.



ELECTRICAL INSPECTORS TESTING ELECTRICAL APPARATUS

The educational side of fire-prevention work was not overlooked. The average citizen regards fire as an enemy, next in importance perhaps to disease. There is another element of the community with whom this is not true, but I will come to that later on. I am dealing now with the predominating element—the law-abiding citizens who are willing and anxious to do anything in reason to avoid fire. Suggestions as to the best methods of avoiding fire are welcomed by this class. In placing these suggestions before the public, the newspapers of New York performed a valuable service to the community.

EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

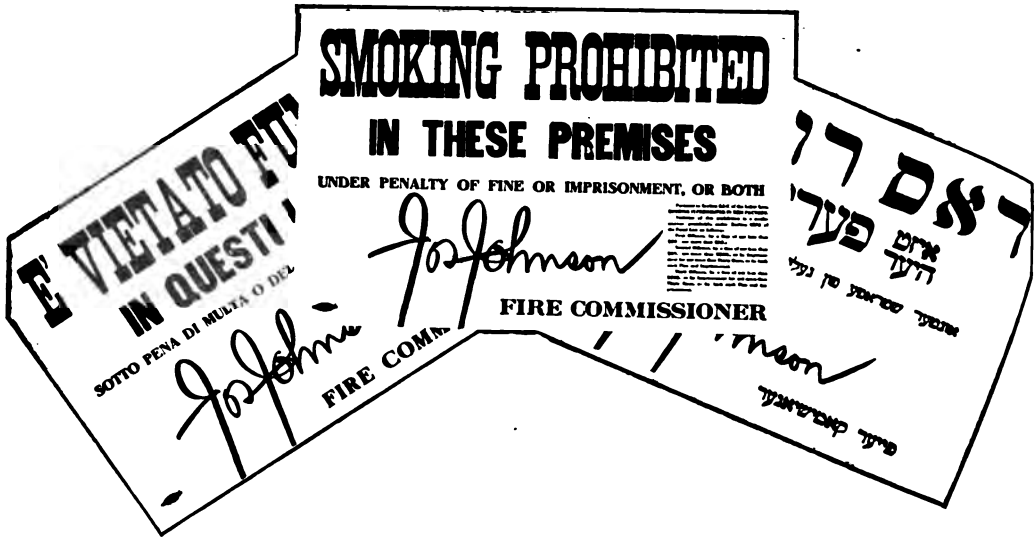
In connection with the educational campaign I had some 50,000 placards, containing "Fire Don'ts," distributed where they would do most good. Some of these fire-prevention "don'ts" read as follows:

Don't block the fire-escapes; you may need them yourself to-night.
Don't leave everything to the landlord; inspect your own house from cellar to garret and locate all exits.
Don't throw cigars or cigarettes out of windows. They drop on awnings and set them afire.
Don't allow children to play with matches.
Don't use matches or candles in dark closets or cellars.
Don't keep matches except in a tin box with cover attached.
Don't toss away a match unless completely extinguished, and then toss it into a metal or porcelain receptacle.
Don't fill lamps or oil-stoves while lighted.
Don't use kerosene oil in lighting fires.
Don't use naphtha or gasolene for cleaning purposes where there are open lights or fires.
Don't put hot ashes on a dumb-waiter.
Don't accumulate old beds and bedding or other trash in cellars.
Don't allow delivery boys to tie back the dumb-waiter door in cellar; by this means fires have spread throughout buildings.
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WARNING NOTICE IN THREE LANGUAGES POSTED IN FACTORIES AND STORES

of the past. Those who symbolize fireworks as the Fourth simply go into the country and shoot off rockets and giant crackers to their hearts' content. The danger of fire and accident is not nearly so great there as in the crowded city.

INSPECTIONS AND CORRECTIVE ORDERS

But to return to our inspection work. During our first year of fire prevention in New York my men made 132,601 inspections. This represents a large volume of work. Our inspectors were enthusiastic and indefatigable. They caught the true fire-prevention spirit and worked early and late. In the evenings they made out their reports on buildings visited during the day. I have never seen such untiring devotion to duty by a body of public servants. And at that they were only temporary employees, to be succeeded later on by civil-service appointees.

About 18,500 corrective orders were served during the year, each calling for the remedy of conditions which my men found to be incompatible with safety. The most important kinds of orders served were for the installation of standpipes and sprinklers, the construction of fire-escapes, additional stairways, the fire-proofing of stairways and elevator shafts, the prohibition of smoking in factories, and the removal of rubbish and trade waste. And, as I said before, in no instance was I obliged to use that club the Fire Prevention Law had given me. We were dealing with the honest, law-abiding element of the community.

THE ARSON "INDUSTRY" IN NEW YORK

I am coming now to the other element—an element which looks upon fire as a friend rather than a foe, one which deliberately sets fire to property for the purpose of defrauding insurance companies. This criminal element until very recently constituted the largest single factor in our great fire waste. Twenty-five per cent. of our fires in New York were of incendiary origin when we began to apply the ounce of prevention. That is a conservative estimate.

Just think of that! One-fourth of our fire loss caused by arson! When I first made that statement, more than a year ago, I had difficulty in convincing the public and the press of its truth. It was regarded as the error of a zealot. But I knew whereof I spoke, as subsequent events have demonstrated.

Men of long experience in the Fire Department assured me that arson for profit was a growing industry. The Fire Marshal in Brooklyn, an expert in the investigation of fires and their causes, assured me that, in his opinion, 40 per cent. of our fire loss was the result of incendiarism for profit. The Fire Marshal in Manhattan was more conservative. But he was not willing to place a lower estimate than 25 per cent., nor would the veterans of the fire-fighting force go lower in their estimate than 25 per cent.

ITS RELATION TO INSURANCE

My view of the matter was that such fires, to a large extent, were caused by the system of blind, loose, and large issuance of fire

insurance, without regard to the character of the assured, indeed without pre-inspection of his property and investigation of him. Life insurance was issued on a different basis. A man with a bad physical record could not obtain life insurance. But the man with a bad business record could obtain fire insurance—all he wanted, within reason. He could even get it over the telephone. Here was an alarming state of affairs for one seeking to cut down the fire loss of the city.

I set my forces at work to investigate thoroughly the matter of arson and its relation to fire insurance. For a whole year they pursued this pioneer work. In order to ascertain if it were actually true that reputable fire-insurance companies doing business in New York would issue policies to unknown applicants without previous investigation, my men in December, 1911, began taking out insurance on household effects located in apartments rented from time to time in various parts of the city.



A TYPICAL FIRE BREEDER

WORTHLESS PROPERTY INSURED BY REPUTABLE COMPANIES

Our first "plant" was a four-room flat in a tenement building at 239 East 101st Street, the very heart of our so-called "firebug zone." This flat was "furnished" with the following articles, purchased for the purpose by the Fire Department:

Two wooden chairs, at 81 cents each....	$1.62
One small gas heating stove with tube....	1.25
Three sash curtains, at 16 cents each.....	.48
One cuspidor	.09
Total value	$3.44

Upon these articles the Fire Department obtained fire insurance to the extent of $60,500. We even obtained some insurance at an address where there were no household effects at all. Altogether we obtained fire insurance amounting to $127,500 on articles costing $3.96. This insurance was in the form of 135 policies. Practically every company which is a member of the New York Board of Fire Underwriters issued insurance policies to my men.



THE INSURANCE COMPANIES ISSUED $60,500 WORTH OF ASSURANCE ON THESE TWO CHAIRS, ONE CUSPIDOR, AND A GAS-STOVE, WHICH COST THE FIRE DEPARTMENT $3.44

An inspection would have shown them that the property they were insuring was worthless. But no such inspection was made. Scarcely without exception, the companies did not consider it worth while to see what manner of household effects they were issuing insurance upon. They accepted the business without question.

INSURANCE METHODS ENCOURAGE ARSON

With such an object-lesson in our possession I had no hesitancy in openly accusing the fire-insurance companies of operating under a system which encouraged arson for profit. In a report to the late Mayor Gaynor on the subject I charged that the indiscriminate issuance of fire insurance to individuals and business firms without previous inquiry as to character or inspection as to risk was one of the principal causes of incendiarism in our city.

Some of the insurance men agreed with me. But in the main, the insurance company officials resented my criticism. They offered

as a defense that no losses were paid by the companies until the assured had submitted a satisfactory "proof of loss."

Such a defense would not hold water. It is not difficult for a crook to procure fraudulent bills of lading and fraudulent receipts purporting to prove that certain goods were in his establishment when a fire occurred. As to the physical evidence of stock or household effects, that is usually destroyed. The professional incendiary takes good care that his fire is made properly and that the contents of the place he seeks to destroy are really destroyed. Of course, the man who profits by arson is a crook. It is only logical that he would provide himself with satisfactory "proof of loss."

We opened an arson exhibit during the month of January, 1912. The 135 policies, together with the collection of household junk which had cost us $3.96, were placed on view in a large hall, hired for the purpose in the downtown section of Manhattan. Our exhibit was visited by about 200,000 persons during the four weeks it remained open. Later on the exhibit was carried to Albany and shown in the State Capitol as an object-lesson to the legislators through whom we sought relief, in the form of new legislation, for the evil we had uncovered.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS OF INSURANCE LAW

Our idea was that the laws should be amended to compel written application for fire insurance on the part of the insured, and that, further, such a written application should stand in the nature of an oath, violation of which should constitute a misdemeanor. We also believed that the best interests of fire prevention would be served by obliging the broker or agent of a fire-insurance company personally to inspect a risk, and that insurance should be issued by a company only upon recommendation by the broker or agent, following such inspection.

These measures were incorporated in a bill which was carefully drawn after consultation with the presidents of those few fire-insurance companies which conducted their business on the inspection basis. All harassment of the merchant was taken out of our bill by exempting from its provisions all merchandise in course of transit. This measure was backed by the leading commercial bodies of New York. It passed the Assembly by an almost unanimous vote. But in the Senate the bill was defeated.

The insurance companies had instructed their country agents to deluge the Senators with letters from their constituents, protesting against the measure. These protests were based upon false statements concerning the impracticability and expense of inspection. But they effectively blocked our bill. We tried to console ourselves with the thought that we had made a good start anyhow. And the fight had just begun.

Later on the Legislature passed a bill requiring that all fire-insurance brokers and agents be licensed by the State and placed under the general supervision of the State Insurance Department. Prior to this enactment they were controlled only by the Board of Fire Underwriters. That helped a little. But, like the Fire Prevention Law, it did not go far enough.

I am informed that the fire-insurance companies are exercising somewhat more care now in issuing policies. The moral effect of our crusade may have accomplished some missionary work with the companies after all. We are not done with them yet, however.

My exposure of fire-insurance methods was followed up with a vigorous campaign against "firebugs." At the psychological moment, while the eyes of the public and the press were wide open, our Fire Marshals began to round up large numbers of professional fire-makers, along with several crooked adjusters and brokers, who have since journeyed to Sing Sing, where they are serving long prison terms.

The surest proof that our arson crusade and the first dose of fire prevention have accomplished good results is the remarkable reduction in the number of fires and the fire loss in New York this year. In a growing city fires do not decrease without some pretty good reason. I think the reason is patent to anyone.

I have been asked why, if we have saved the insurance companies from the payment of such large losses, they are not with us in the crusade to eliminate the "crooked" element which seeks insurance. My only answer is that insurance companies, which operate practically as a trust through their Board of Underwriters, have found it more profitable to conduct their business on a large and loose scale, instead of on a small and tight one. They have found that profits are greater by putting the premium of the incendiary into a general pool with the premium of the honest insurer, and, like the bookmaker at the race-tracks, taking all bets, but making the odds so great in their favor that they cannot lose.

Of course it is unfair to the honest insurer. He is carrying the burden of the dishonest insurer. But the insurance companies earn large dividends for their stockholders under the old bookmaking system, and they are loath to change.

Fire-insurance companies take $300,000,000 annually from the pockets of insurers in this country. I do not believe they can long maintain their humiliating place in the front rank of unnecessary fire waste. I believe the time will come when the gigantic fire-insurance trust must shrink its business down in consonance with public welfare.

During our investigation of the subject of arson and its relation to fire insurance, we sent a representative abroad to study conditions in England, Germany, and France. In those countries the fire loss, per capita, is just one-tenth of our own per capita loss in the United States. Moreover, the fire-insurance premiums are only one-tenth. The fire-insurance companies attempt to account for this discrepancy by the more safe and conservative building construction abroad.

It is true that our fire hazard is greater than the fire hazard in Western Europe. But it is not nine times greater. Nearly all of our loft buildings in New York and most of our residential structures are required to be more or less fire-proof. Yet as many fires occur in these fire-proof buildings as take place in our wooden shacks.

Our investigator abroad discovered that some of the foreign fire-insurance companies which conduct without pre-inspection a tremendous business in the United States, pursue an entirely different method at home. In their own country they seek to learn every ascertainable fact about the applicant for fire insurance. They must know who the man is, what his business is, what is his line of credit, what is the character of the structure he occupies, what inflammable materials he carries, how many fires he has had, and why. In fact, they figuratively apply the X-ray to his past, present, and future. If he stands the test they issue insurance to the value of his property—no more. Such is the system in England and Germany. Yet these same companies, so careful at home, have adopted the American fire-insurance methods in doing business here.

The reason for this, of course, lies in the dissimilarity of the insurance laws here and abroad. In England, France, and Germany they administered the ounce of prevention years ago. They framed their insurance laws so that the dishonest insurance-seeker could not call up a broker on the telephone and have a policy handed him by the postman in the morning.

Well, our fight against the method of conducting fire-insurance business here is only in its infancy. Much of our work still lies ahead.

The job of fire-proofing New York is a big one. But some of the milestones have been passed. Our fires are on the wane and our fire loss is dropping as it never dropped before. Our ounce of prevention has shown that it is worth a pound of cure.



NEW YORK'S FIRST GASOLINE ENGINE—"THE GIANT"—AND MOTOR HOSE WAGON

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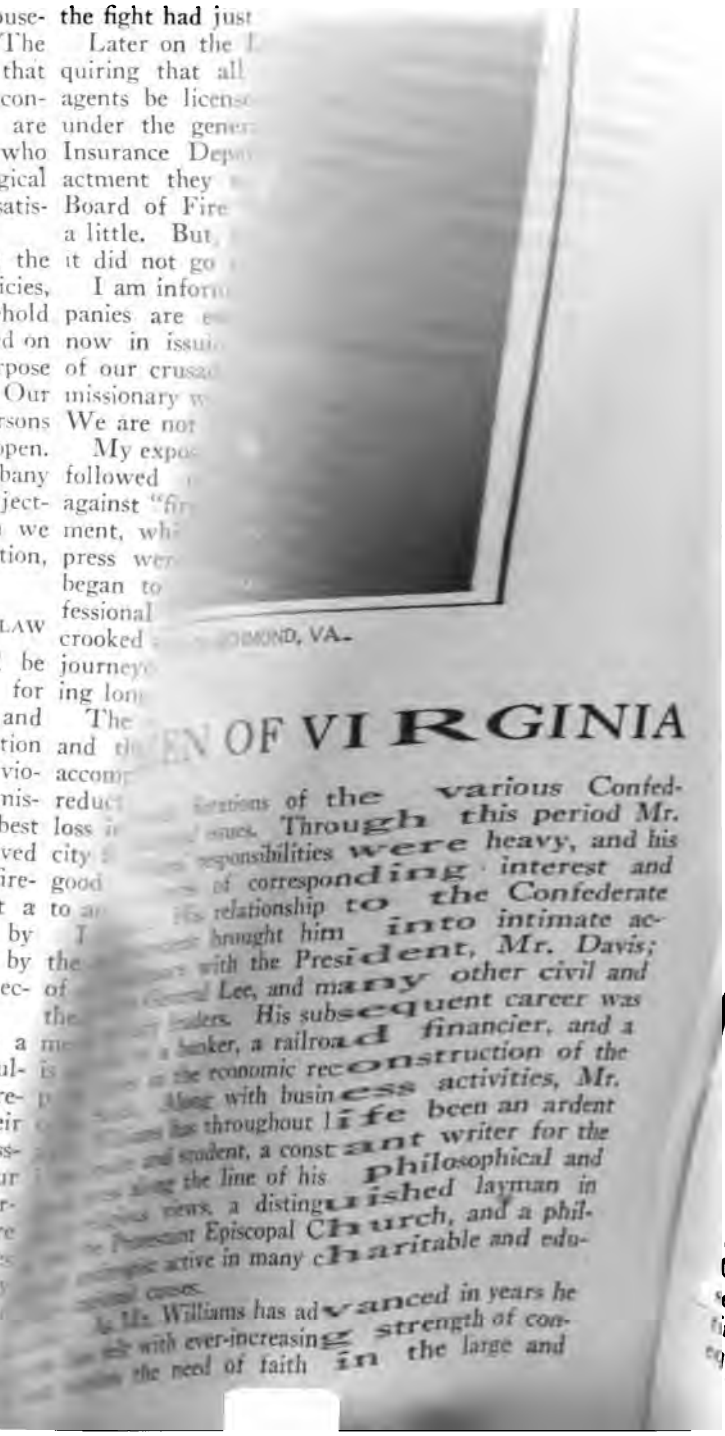
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...CESS OF THE SUNS"

...LANGBOURNE WILLIAMS

...the ages one increasing purpose runs,
...men are widened with the process of the suns.
TENNYSON: "Locksley Hall."

...ly days made
...candles, home-
...to make fires,
...stage-coaches for
...ur-horse wagons
...goose-quills; no
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MR. WILLIAMS, HIS WIFE, AND HIS MOTHER.
A DAGUERREOTYPE OF FIFTY YEARS AG

(Mr. Williams' mother, who is sitting in the ... was a great-grandniece of Mrs. George Was... Mrs. John L. Williams, who is standing, is a gre... daughter of Edmund Randolph, who was one ... closest of Washington's lifelong associates, ... Attorney General, and for a time his Secretary o...



HON. JOHN LANGBOURNE WILLIAMS, OF RICHMOND, VA.

AN HONORED CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA

THE Hon. John Langbourne Williams, of Richmond, Va., is one of those veteran citizens of marked personality and consistent career whose lives and records constitute a distinct asset of whatsoever community they may have been identified with. Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Charleston,—all of our older and more stable communities have had such citizens, honored by everybody and full of sustained vitality and interest in affairs through well-prolonged lives. Mr. Williams was born in Richmond, Va., July 13, 1831, and is therefore now in his eighty-third year. After graduation from the University of Virginia, with the degree of Master of Arts, in 1851, he began active life as a teacher, then practised law, and in 1858 became a member of a prominent firm of bankers in his native city of Richmond. It was this banking firm that acted as the fiscal agent of the Confederate government and provided the sinews of war through flotations of the various Confederate bond issues. Through this period Mr. Williams' responsibilities were heavy, and his experiences of corresponding interest and value. His relationship to the Confederate government brought him into intimate acquaintance with the President, Mr. Davis; with General Lee, and many other civil and military leaders. His subsequent career was that of a banker, a railroad financier, and a leader in the economic reconstruction of the South. Along with business activities, Mr. Williams has throughout life been an ardent reader and student, a constant writer for the press along the line of his philosophical and religious views, a distinguished layman in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a philanthropist active in many charitable and educational causes.

As Mr. Williams has advanced in years he has felt with ever-increasing strength of conviction the need of faith in the large and

eternal purpose that governs the destiny of men and worlds. In a recent letter he declared: "Without our holy religion, life is not worth living. The bases of our civilization are the Old Testament, with the great seal of the Ten Commandments, and the New, with the great seal of the Lord's Prayer. Our Savior, in His divine manhood, the desire of all nations, and the deep craving of humanity, is the only solution of the terrific and overwhelming problems of life."

Mr. Williams has been happy in being surrounded by children and grandchildren; and a very noteworthy photograph recently to be seen in the office of his son, the Hon. John Skelton Williams, First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, is that of a great group consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Williams, with the families of their sons and daughters.

It occurred to the editor of this REVIEW, a few weeks ago, to ask Mr. Williams to write for our readers something as to his point of view, his outlook upon life,—not as a magazine article but as a somewhat informal letter which might be publicly used. Mr. Williams might have written much in detail of the Virginia life of the twenty years before the war, and of the period that followed it. But it is the more natural habit of his philosophic mind to generalize in a large way about the history of mankind and the ethical and social progress that lies before us. Since it has been his thought to give us this picture or vision of men and nations in the forward movement of civilization, we print it for our readers, and it follows herewith.

"THE PROCESS OF THE SUNS"

BY JOHN LANGBOURNE WILLIAMS

Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
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TENNYSON: "Locksley Hall."

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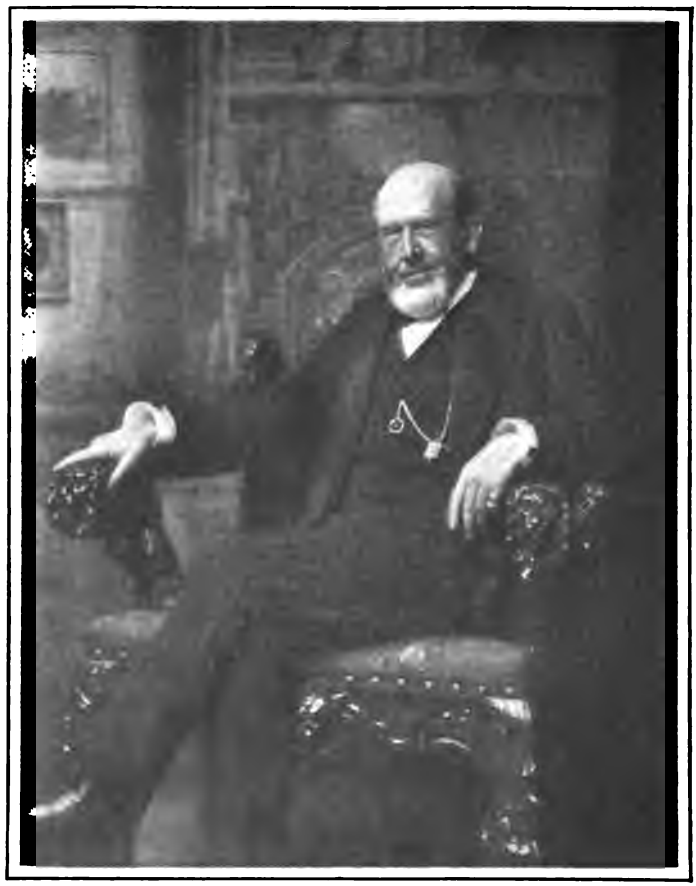
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AN HONORED CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA

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ing the earth with religious knowledge; farther and higher manifestations of Anglo-Saxon superiority and triumphs.

The century roars with wars and tumults, dire conflicts between great powers, all professing the Christian faith. Innocently and gently in the midst of enemies the friends of peace and happiness maintain their cause and are blest of Heaven. And wealth comes out of the depths of the earth, and out of the air and water for the good of mankind.

Beginning with the convenience of light and fire for common use in lucifer matches, giving fire and light to all, we turn to account and everywhere use the power of steam for transportation by land and water, and wherever power is needed. Then comes the perfecting printing press with all the facilities for typemaking and printing, and papermaking to supply the world with all knowledge. Then coal-gas and coal-oil, with their unlimited service and products. Then come the telegraph, telephone, wireless and graphophone, with all the wonders of electricity; itself making a new era, the borderland of the spirit, and suggesting a removal of the veil of the covering that shuts us from the immaterial world. The diffusion of knowledge and promotion of human happiness are the spirit of the age.

All these new powers and achievements and discoveries seem to have established new levels, not for rest, but as points of departure for new growth and combinations and powers. Each advance seems to give man gigantic power with Briarean arms.

The units of measure of all our enterprises are gigantic, and we say commonly that to modern energy nothing is impossible.

We are feeding on the risen cream of all the past: reaping the harvest of all the sowings of our predecessors. Our pastures are all in high places. We are in the concentrated light of all past study and experience and investigation. And the commonest and most familiar matters of life are met with helps and conveniences that seem miraculous. We are in the midst of fulfilled and fulfilling prophecies.

In spite of wars and oppositions of taste and interest, the spirit of organization that makes societies and clubs and brotherhoods and sisterhoods and corporations and syndicates and trusts and combinations and alliances and unions, for the defense and help of common rights and interests, for religion, philanthropy and commerce and education, is the manifestation of our high estate and amazing possibilities and growth.

Every branch of art, science, and enterprise glows and gleams with wonder and promise. To call a list is inspiring, marvelous!

Radium, X-ray, spectroscope, astronomical discoveries, medicine and surgery, aviation, submarine navigation, explosives, projectiles, hydraulics, dredgers, the thousand labor savers and substitutes and helpers, with the continuous improvements that in six months antiquate the latest achievements.

The record is that God made man of the dust of the earth, breathed into him the breath of life and intelligence, and gave him dominion over the earth and all things in it. And now man, by his electric wires, has given the earth a nervous system: given a sort of life to and utilized matter in all its forms and made all things serve him. His ultimate atom the electric positive and negative electricity suggests the marriage of the material and immaterial.



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND, VA.



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CANCER

Disease,

highest ever recorded up to that this country. Contrast that figure with the rate 63, which was the in 1900, and of 70, which was the or 1904. Or tabulated, we have these res: Annual death rate, per 100,000, r 1900, 63; annual death rate, per 100,000, or 1904, 70; annual death rate, per 100,000, tor 1910, 76.2.

One may thus decide for himself whether cancer is on the increase. He should remember, moreover, that not a small but a considerable proportion of patients suffering from cancer have been *prevented from dying* —and thus further swelling these figures— *i. e.,* have been *saved,* by judicious and early surgical operations; otherwise their cases would have perceptibly increased this rate.

Compare these figures with those which come to us from abroad, where vital and mortuary statistics are better arranged. According to Germany's most illustrious student of the subject (von Czerny), 50,000 people die every year of cancer in Germany alone.

During the period under discussion the annual death rate per 100,000 in England increased from 82 in 1900 to 87 in 1903, in Ireland from 60 to 69, in Holland from 92 to 99. Thus it will be seen that in our own country it was lower than in most of Europe.

The student of figures will be struck by the fact that in large cities the death rate is higher than the average for the Registration Area. This is easily accounted for by the fact that many cancer patients gravitate there for treatment, and die there, usually because they have waited too long.

Another fact is to be taken into the account. Sanitary measures have been now so generally popularized that a greater proportion of those who formerly died from preventable causes during the earlier or earliest years of life live now, under improved conditions, long enough to arrive at that age during which cancer more often occurs. In the United States the greatest proportion of deaths from this cause occur during the years from sixty to sixty-five, and, by the way, during the month of July, probably because heat prostration or enervation is at this time most common.

If we study the statistics of our cities it is found that the highest local death rates are those of Albany (138.5), San Francisco (113.5), Los Angeles and Boston (each 104.5), and Providence (101). To a perceptible extent this extraordinary death rate is due to access of non-residents, yet this will not account for all of it.

The annual death rate has been always higher among whites than among blacks, but the Registration Area includes scarcely any State where the colored population constitutes a factor of any importance.

Careful students of statistics maintain that the death rate is especially increasing in cases of cancer of inaccessible parts, as compared with the accessible, thus rendering an unintentional tribute to the efficiency and success of modern surgery, as showing what can be accomplished by radical measures if only instituted sufficiently *early.*

Limiting for a moment the scope of this inquiry to the State of New York, with which the writer is naturally more familiar, we have the following figures:

The total number of deaths from cancer in New York State in 1887 was 2363; in 1890, 2868; in 1895, 3554; in 1898, 4456; in 1902, 4984; in 1905, 6056; in 1909, 7034, in 1912 about 8000.[1]

During this period, from 1887 up to 1913, there has been no corresponding increase in population. Here, then, we are confronted by an enormous increase in the prevalence of this disease, explainable in only one way, viz., *that the disease is alarmingly on the increase.*

There are those who minimize the significance of such figures, and decry them as fallacious. Some hold that they may be to a large extent explained by an increasing accuracy in diagnosis, which permits a recognition of cancer in many instances where it was formerly overlooked. Even granting this, the argument loses its force when we remember that the same improvement in our ability to recognize and differentiate cancer leads to the exclusion of probably fully as many cases that were formerly classified under this heading, as well as the still more important fact that nowadays many who would have died of the disease and thus have swelled the list are now saved from it by operation, to die, of course, eventually from some other disease, under whose name their deaths are finally recorded.

CANCER DEFINED AND DESCRIBED

A few definitions will now be of material assistance in discussing the subject with which this article deals. The profession are constantly asked, What is a tumor? What

[1] Figures for the last month of 1912 were not at hand when this paper was prepared, therefore the 8000 deaths occurred during eleven months.

is a cancer? And are they the same? It is impossible to formulate a scientific definition to which no exception can be taken, at least by an expert. But for all practical purposes a tumor may be said to consist of an abnormal or permanent new formation built up of cells resembling those among which it originated, and having no useful nor physiological purpose. A cancer may be described as a tumor which manifests a tendency to extend, to involve adjoining or even distant parts, usually to break down, thus in one way or another to destroy locally, and sooner or later to kill the individual.

These definitions need some further description. When we say a new or abnormal formation, we mean something which is quite a departure from the standard type, shape, or conformation of that part of the body which is occupied by the tumor. It is *new* in this sense, that it began to grow after the generation of the individual; this growth may occur early, *i. e.,* even before birth, or late, even in the declining decades of life. The qualification *permanent* is inserted in order to separate it from those temporary swellings or cell aggregations which are of inflammatory origin, or which occur in consequence of injury. The tumor itself, like every other part of the body, is composed of cells, and those which give to the growth its character and type are exactly the same as the cells among which it begins to grow. It is important to insert a clause regarding the *absence of usefulness or natural function.* Any part of the body which is used to excess will develop to a corresponding degree, though it usually returns to its previous dimensions so soon as over-activity ceases. The knotted muscles of the athlete furnish illustrations of over-development from overuse. During sickness or disuse they may shrivel away, but the true tumor tends to grow, usually without reference to activity, local or general, of the individual, while certain varieties of tumors, especially in certain localities, may attain enormous dimensions and weight.

Many tumors belong to a class spoken of as "benign" or "non-malignant" in contradistinction from the "malignant," *i. e.,* the *cancers.* The benign tumor manifests no tendency of itself to ulcerate, to poison in any way, nor to kill. The malignant tumors, on the other hand, grow more or less rapidly; practically always when they reach the surface, and often prior to this, they ulcerate, producing, when upon the surface, excavations which are raw, nearly always with more or less offensive discharge, and often bleeding, even to such an extent that the end may come as the result of an uncontrollable hemorrhage. They tend, moreover, to involve everything within reach, to spare nothing, even the bones yielding and dissolving away before their advance; also to undergo transportation to other portions of the body and thus, as it were, to break out in many parts even quite remote, to sap the vitality of the individual, and even to poison him as the result of the decomposition which the component cells undergo.

For our purpose, then, *cancers are,* practically, all *tumors* of malignant variety, but *by no means are all tumors cancers.*

THE CELLULAR STRUCTURE OF THE BODY

The only way to have anywhere nearly a true appreciation of the structure of the animal body is to realize that it is made up of millions of minute cells, each one of them so small as to require a microscope for its recognition. These cells are combined, as it were, in groups or communities, each of which has its particular purpose or function. They are all of soft consistence, but when necessary for the purpose of giving strength, *i. e.,* support, a certain proportion of them are prepared for this particular work by being impregnated with calcium salts and those of the other alkaline earths, and in this way the solid bone is built up. Bone, therefore, is to be regarded, not as a mere petrified mass, but as an actively living part of the body, stiffened, as it were, for its particular purpose by being more or less saturated with mineral elements. It is thus a great mistake to regard bone as inert, for it is just as much alive as any other part of the body. Viewed in this way, the various cell aggregations are again grouped together into larger and, again, larger masses, one portion of cells representing the active working elements, while others afford protection; while yet others go to make up the enclosing tissues that constitute boundaries or partitions.

The animal body, then, is an enormous aggregation of cells, arranged in wonderfully orderly way, and thus may be regarded as an enormous republic in which each cell or group of cells is free to act, according to impetus, up to a certain point, and whose harmonious working is necessary for the natural function of the entire organism. We say that it acts in accordance with natural

laws, but this term "laws" is absurd, although convenient. These cells act consistently and according to inherited impulses, and back of this statement no one may safely go. To try to account for these impulses is transcendental speculation, and takes us too far into the domain of teleology, all of which is fascinating but far from satisfying.

One must understand how cells act or behave naturally, thus preserving the type of the individual as a whole, in order to realize that every growth, *i. e.,* benign or malignant tumor, is to be interpreted as a rebellion, as it were, on the part of certain cells, or an abrupt and unfortunate departure from type growth, *i. e., cell anarchy.*

THE CANCER AND THE CELL

Even cancer in its various types conforms, in the beginning, to the natural cells of the body from which it must originate. Cancer may be defined as of two kinds—that which originates from epithelial cells, spoken of often as carcinoma, or true cancer, and a form which originates from that connective-tissue type of cells with which in the beginning the embryo is built up, and this is spoken of as sarcoma. For the laity, and for common use among the profession, "cancer" simply means a malignant tumor. Technically, the profession speak of it under the headings carcinoma and sarcoma. Without taking the reader far into this discussion it will be enough to remind him that there are two or three kinds of epithelium, and that this constitutes practically a thin layer of cells, which covers the exterior and lines the interior surfaces of the body, extending down into its various recesses, large and small, even to their very terminations. This is true, for instance, of the milk ducts, of the lining of the mouth, etc.

Carcinoma, to be such, must originate from some portion of this epithelial layer, and it is because this layer dips down so deeply into the body at many places that carcinoma may seem to arise in the depths where there should be no epithelium. The epithelial-covered surfaces and linings are firmly applied to the balance of its substructure, and this layer is all firmly bound and held together by a wonderful framework composed of what is known as connective tissue. This is flexible or stiff, as may be required, is elastic and contractile, and in general serves the purpose of a framework for the machinery within it. It is especially from this kind of tissue, and particularly that which may have preserved its earliest form and characteristics, that the sarcomas develop.

Both these general classes of cancer may be virulent, even ferociously malignant, or may develop very gradually and not for several years destroy the unfortunate sufferer possessed with one. As a rule those occurring at the earlier ages grow the most rapidly. During the later part of a long life all our vital processes are more sluggish, and it is rare that a cancer will then display such malignancy and grow at so rapid a rate as during the earlier decades. As illustrating this fact, one may mention the case of an infant dying from a frightfully rapid sarcoma of the face by the time it had reached the end of its sixth week, and then contrast this with a woman of over eighty who has had a very slow-growing cancer of the breast for twelve years.

GROPING FOR A CAUSE

What is the cause of cancer? It is frequently charged as a reflection against the profession that this question has remained so long unanswered. This very fact should of itself indicate the mysterious nature of the disease, and anyone actually conversant with biological studies will readily concede that no other problem ever before it has caused more study, reflection, and effort than this. The very best men, living and dead, working with the very best facilities which private means, institutions, and even governments could provide, have, as yet, been baffled; and no one can to-day say that he has positively discovered the cause of cancer. But a vast amount has been learned, and it would seem as though the solution of the mystery were not far off.

Cancer must, of course, come either from within the body or from without. If the former, it is of *intrinsic* origin, if the latter, of *extrinsic,* and if the latter, the disease must be of parasitic origin. Of the numerous and most fanciful theories that have been advanced to account for it on the former hypothesis, only two or three, perhaps, deserve attention for a moment. What effects are to be ascribed to such influences as heredity, environment, food or drink? These, with the possible addition of consequences of injury, comprise all that deserve the slightest attention. By many excellent authorities heredity is given a certain degree of value, which it yet scarcely deserves. It is really a question whether any real inherited influence can, alone, produce cancer.

It is true, however, that it prevails in certain families, and almost seems to pass from one generation to another, just as does tuberculosis. Such facts, however, are better explainable upon another hypothesis, which concerns as well many other diseases which are known to be infectious. Suppose an instance of a mother of twenty-five years bearing a daughter, both growing up to complete womanhood; at age of forty-five, when the daughter is twenty, the mother develops cancer in the breast. Is there now any reason to think that the daughter is any more threatened with this malignant disease than any other girl of her age? This is indeed a most vital problem, but must be answered in all probability in the negative. All that can be maintained in this direction is that liability, or vulnerability, to cancer may be transmitted through various family strains, the disease manifesting itself or not according to other and extraneous circumstances and environment.

So far as the effect of climate is concerned, if it can be shown that cancer prevails in certain shady and moist regions, as would sometimes appear, this is no more an argument for the climatic theory than for the parasitic, since it may be held with equal probability that the essential parasite prevails in greater numbers, or in greater activity, in these same regions.

Diet has not shown any particular effect. The advocates of a vegetable diet bring forward no more cogent arguments than do those of the meat diet, and those who find in food, such as tomatoes, an exciting cause are merely fanciful. As between starvation and gluttony nothing reliable can be stated. Whether it be the influence of climate or of race proclivities, though more likely the latter, it is positively true that certain races seem to enjoy remarkable exemption from cancer. This would appear the case, for instance, with the natives of the Philippines, of the Chinese and Japanese, and in varying degree of many other races, including the negroes. Certainly the climate of China is diversified enough to afford all varieties, and to be sure our knowledge of the Chinese is very meagre. To what extent, in fact, it prevails in Africa or in Asia cannot be estimated, although it is a common thing in one part of Afghanistan, where, however, it is produced in a peculiar way.

Injury and previous irritation, especially if long continued, are coming to be known more and more as frequent *precursors* of cancer, to such an extent even that this is an important factor in modern studies of cancer. There are two or three ways of explaining this fact; by some it is held that the insult received by the cells of the injured or irritated part has so provoked them, as it were, that they retaliate in the only way in which they can act. Another way of looking at it is that the natural habits of the cells are so affected by the injury that they succumb more easily to any outside influence (*i. e.*, outside of themselves); while this view is put into more positive expression, by those who believe in the parasitic nature of cancer, by assuming that the cells are made more susceptible, or their vital resistance so lowered that they, in consequence, succumb more easily to parasitic invasion; and that by injury a "port of entry" is also opened, and that inoculation or infection is the consequence, as could not happen had nothing of the kind occurred. It is now so common to see cancer of the stomach occur at the site of previous ulcer; to see cancer of the liver and gall-bladder in connection with the previous presence of gall-stones; to see cancer of the lip and mouth so frequently follow abrasions or trifling sores made by jagged teeth, that the inference is simply unavoidable. By most surgeons these and many other comparable conditions are considered to constitute a precancerous stage.

THE "PARASITIC" THEORY

The foregoing is a very brief epitome of hypotheses all of which assume an *intrinsic* cause for cancer. Believers in the *extrinsic*, which must necessarily be the parasitic theory, not only have very much to justify their present contention, but are constantly discovering further arguments for strengthening those already at hand. There are two ways for carrying on such argument, one by analogy, the other by actual research and explanation. So far as analogy is concerned, very much can be furnished from the department of comparative pathology, both vegetable and animal. A plant is, exactly like an animal, built up of cells whose arrangement is according to natural development, but it is nevertheless a similar republic, only of much more limited character. Within their narrower scopes cells act here in just the same way as in the higher animal forms. In the vegetable kingdom very many illustrations of tumors may be found by those who will only look for them, and, more than this, of tumors which kill the plant and which are, therefore, vegetable cancers. So

far as is known every one of these is due to an extrinsic agency, often to a minute insect which, seeking a home, penetrates among the cells and so disturbs them that a large number of new ones are produced for protective purposes.

Passing from the vegetable to the animal kingdom, there are recognized now a considerable variety of different diseases which are known to be of parasitic character, *i. e.*, due to invasion by inimical cells from without. Some of these are rapidly fatal, others very slow. Some produce local manifestations; others are general. Some are highly contagious, others not actually so. And there is a comparatively small group of diseases of contagious character, like smallpox, scarlatina, measles, and a few others, whose parasitic nature we predicate because of the absolute analogy between their manifestations and those of other diseases whose germs are everywhere recognizd. Even syphilis belonged in this group until recently, when its peculiar parasite was unmistakably discovered.

Other reasons for holding to the parasitic view come from various other directions. In the main, they come from the laboratory and the sick-room. There is one feature, however, which is so important in this consideration that it can be no longer postponed. It is well known that though cancer appears usually at but one point, it sooner or later is disseminated in such a way that it will appear at other places, usually, at first, near the original growth and, later, further and further away. There is no common word covering this condition, and there is but one expression which will fit—*metastasis*—which translated from its Greek origin simply means transportation, and covers a fact of vital importance. It implies essentially and accurately that something, *i. e.*, some particle of cancerous tissue, is transported from its original site to some other part of the body. Such advance can only be afforded by two routes—the blood current and the lymph current. In carcinoma it is usually by the latter, and in sarcoma usually by the former, that this carriage is effected. Now this fact is of the very gravest import, for it implies that not only something is carried, but that this thing itself has the power of setting up trouble similar to that going on at the place from which it was carried, and all this can only be interpreted as contagiousness or infectiousness of the cancer cells.

With the possible exception of cancer, metastasis is a phenomenon which is never noted in any save the unmistakably parasitic diseases, and those which are accepted as such. That cancer cells can be in any such manner taken up from any one part of the body, carried to, and deposited in any other part of the same body, and that they reproduce there exactly what was going on at the point which they vacated, must be, for logical thinkers, as valid a demonstration as though such inoculation had been made intentionally, by some other means and by some other individual than the patient.

INOCULABILITY

Aside from the arguments from analogy and from metastasis, we have others still more valid, as to the truly infectious character of the disease; for instance, its inoculability. There are two ways of testing this matter, one by experimentation on animals, the other by watching what occurs unintentionally but in the same way in human beings. To deal, first, with the latter we have the many instances in which, as surgeons say, cancer has followed the knife; that was before proper precautions were taken as they are now. It was frequently noticed that the disease would recur along the track made by the instruments used in its removal; again, it is frequently observed that cancer surfaces when in contact with those which are healthy, contaminate or infect the latter—which could not occur were no infectious agent present. This may be observed in any part of the body where such mechanical contact is possible.

Were it possible to experiment on humans as we do with animals, the fact of inoculability could be quickly and easily demonstrated. There are not lacking those who believe that the absolute demonstration of this fact is so important for human welfare, while the lives of condemned criminals are so worthless, that if there were a legal way of making them useful in this direction, and for this purpose, the end would more than justify the means. Mental freedom may attain a degree which will make this possible in the future; as yet it is illegal and, by most, would be considered inhumane.

Without further reference, however, to this feature we have the data gained from the animal kingdom which afford most undeniable evidence that in animals cancer is inoculable. It may be stated as a general truth, to which there may be occasional exception, that cancer in animals can be

inoculated intentionally upon others of the same kind, but only these. On the other hand, its infectivity is such that animals often acquire it by mere contact, without any experimental effort more than this. They acquire it even after occupying the same cages or enclosures in which cancerous animals have been confined. In the Cancer Laboratory, at Buffalo, for instance, cages which had been occupied by rats suffering from cancer, and had then been disused for months, were, after being cleaned, again utilized for keeping healthy animals for other use. It was found, however, that these animals had been infected, and developed the disease, after such mere contact as the above would entail. Can any stronger evidence be adduced?

It must suffice here to add that there are the best of reasons for believing in the infectious nature of cancer and, as a corollary, in its infectivity. It is for this reason that so much has been said regarding this most important feature. If cancer really has these characteristics it then becomes a menace to the individual, to the family, and to the community. In various parts of the world it has been noticed that the disease prevails in certain houses, in limited communities, and in colonies over districts of considerable area. It was, perhaps, first in London that attention was prominently called to so-called "Cancer Houses," meaning by the expression houses in which so many deaths had occurred from cancer that the fact seemed almost to stamp them with a warning which could hardly be disregarded, and this without reference to members of the same family, but to successive tenants or occupants, perhaps for two or three generations.

Again, there are too many instances, well known to the profession, of healthy individuals who have lived in close relation, or have especially cared for patients, dying with most unpleasant manifestations of cancer, and who have subsequently themselves developed it.

NO DISTINCTIVE SYMPTOMS

How may cancer be recognized, especially in its early stage? And if prevention be possible, how may it be practised? And here one is at once confronted by a most remarkable and apparently almost contradictory feature. Almost every other disease of importance is recognizable by symptoms and signs of its own, thus enabling the profession to differentiate it.

The most remarkable clinical feature about cancer is that *it has no symptomatology of its own.* This requires an appreciation of the difference in meaning between symptoms and signs. Symptoms are subjective phenomena of which the patient complains, *e. g.,* pain, tenderness, difficulty in movement, etc. Signs are objective features appealing only to sight and touch, and are indications often more noticeable to the examiner than to the patient himself. Of *signs* of cancer there are many, but of *symptoms* there are practically none which are *peculiar to the disease.* It is impossible to think of a single symptom produced by cancer of a part which may not be duplicated in the presence of some other disease of the same part or origin. So true is this statement that it admits of practically no exception. Whether the symptom be pain, nausea or vomiting, or difficulty of performance of any one function, or of several of them, there are other conditions which may produce like effects, and, unless the patient can see or feel something wrong about his person, he can only be suspicious, not certain, nor in fact can the physician determine by symptoms alone with any degree of certainty, nor until he can bring to bear the evidence of his own senses by personal examination, or by that conducted with instruments of precision, of which the most valuable is the microscope.

All of this is most unfortunate in its way, since it gives patients nothing definite to go by in the early stages, and makes it all the more necessary that a qualified physician be sought just so soon as anything of the kind is suspected, and then that his advice be taken.

THE ONLY VALID HOPE—SURGERY

Fortunately this hope can be held out, that *cancer is curable in the early stages,* but in general terms by only one procedure, namely, operation. Between the mysterious nature of the disease and the fondness of the public for being deceived by specious statements and allurements, the opportunity for charlatanry and quackery is immense. There are ghouls in every profession, and in the medical profession there are not wanting those who will wilfully deceive by any means which will enable them to extort money. The public need to be taught this: No real scientific man nor honorable practitioner of medicine ever issues advertisements or flamboyant circulars stating that he can cure cancer by open or secret methods. The honest practitioner may believe that certain cases deserve to be held out a prospect of cure, but he neither

advertises in order to secure them, nor promises anything more than his best effort toward curing them. Any man who does more than this should be distrusted. Nor is there any advertising institution in this country, nor, so far as known, in the world, which holds out hope to the afflicted, which is really worthy of patronage. This is a broad statement, and there may be possible exceptions, but in a general way it is certainly true, since they all either pretend or make specious promises of much more than they can perform. Let the public, then, be taught to distrust every man and every institution of this character; they are conducted for revenue only, and not for the real benefit of mankind.

INDICATIONS

But once more, are there no indications of approaching trouble upon which any reliance may be placed? Yes. Any swelling or irregular or unusual enlargement of any accessible part, which is not of sudden, acute, *i. e.,* inflammatory origin, should be regarded with suspicion, and should send the patient to a competent authority. So, also, should any unnatural discharge or hemorrhage from any of the organs or cavities of the body. Something of this character is often the first alarming symptom in cancer of internal origin, especially in women. So, also, any chronic sore or ulcerated surface, which tends to enlarge rather than to heal, should lead its possessor in the same direction.

Beyond these simple facts one can hardly make clear to the layman just what are the indications of cancer. Far better, though, to take alarm unnecessarily than to wait, as a large proportion of patients do, until they are seriously inconvenienced, or incommoded, or, perhaps, even disfigured by the existence of some growth of this kind. Even the largest cancer originates from minutest beginnings, and a large proportion of them might be relieved in the early stages were the patients only quick enough to take alarm, and to go to the proper authority.

WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Organized effort to study into this disease, which almost decimates in its way, and which perhaps is thus the cause of nearly 10 per cent. of the deaths occurring in adult life, began in the following way: Not that men were not working as hard as they could at this problem, but were working as individuals, often under most disadvantageous surroundings, and without the best of modern conveniences, the results which they attained being arrived at in a desultory and unreliable manner. In 1898 there was organized, under the auspices of the Medical Faculty of the University of Buffalo, the first scientific attempt to attack this problem in a comprehensive way, as a measure intended for public good, the faculty being led to this effort by conditions which have been summarized above. To carry out this effort successfully public aid was enlisted and, after more than one failure the Legislature of the State of New York finally made a small appropriation, whose expenditure was entrusted to this faculty, accommodations for work being provided in the medical department of the university. Here, for the first time in the world, there was begun a scientific and concerted investigation conducted from the standpoints of chemistry, biology, pathology, and clinical surgery, the laboratory being manned with efficient experts in these departments, whose combined labors were concentrated upon the principal subject.

The first annual report of the laboratory was issued in 1899, consisting of a report made to the legislature. In due time, Dr. H. R. Gaylord was made the director of the laboratory, in which position he has continued the work, aided by a most efficient corps of associates. It was not long before the work outgrew the accommodations which the university could provide, and it was then that Mrs. W. H. Gratwick and others contributed to the erection of an attractive laboratory building, by itself, conducted under the auspices of the university, with an annual appropriation for its maintenance by the State of New York. Out of this has evolved the present New York State Institute for the Study of Malignant Disease, the legislature having, in 1911, appropriated a sum sufficient to permit the erection of a small hospital, upon ground contributed by friends of the measure, so that in November, 1913, there was opened a State Hospital for the reception especially of patients suffering from cancer, but under provision permitting the growth of the institution and extension of the research to cover anything that may be included under this heading.

This institution aroused the interest of the medical profession throughout the world and of national departments of health. It became the object, first, of inquiry and investigation and, later, of imitation in many different places, and under several different governments. There are now corresponding in-

stitutions in a number of the large capitals and cities, *e. g.*, London, Berlin, Paris, St. Petersburg, Frankfort, Heidelberg, while in this country institutions similar in various respects exist in Boston, New York, St. Louis, and elsewhere; all of which have followed the lead of Buffalo in every practical respect. Some of these are Government institutions, others are supported by endowment from private sources; all of them are modeled more or less after the parent-institution at Buffalo. In most of them there is provision for the accommodation of patients, although not in all. The Pasteur Institute, in Paris, has one important department especially intended for this study.

WHAT TO DO

What, then, with our modern facilities, can be done with and for cancer?

Let us look at this first from the standpoint of public welfare. If cancer be a germ disease, and everything points in that direction, we need, most of all, preventive measures, but until the entire life history of the hypothetical germ is made out we must still walk in gloom, if not in darkness. Danger from without should be minimized by treating the cancer patient, in some respects, as a suspect. All material that comes from cancerous surfaces should be regarded as dangerous because infectious. Clothing, dressings, and the like should be destroyed by fire, and all of that intimate contact which might permit of communication of an active germ disease should be avoided. Surgeons have died from accidental inoculation while operating upon cancerous cases, nurses have become infected while caring for them, and, doubtless, members of families have inadvertently helped to spread the disease by inattention, or by lack of attention, because of lack of knowledge.

Remembering the possibilities of cancer in consequence of prolonged irritation, attention should be given to early removal of all local possibilities. In the mouth, for instance, it should be a lesson for removal of all diseased, sharp and jagged teeth, dead bone, or anything else which may open up a port of entry. The slightest sore upon the tongue or lips, such as follows irritation provoked by a pipe or constant use of cigars, should take one promptly to the surgeon or the dentist for relief. It should be regarded as essential in the case of any chronic sore or ulcer. It should prevent the constant picking and removing of crusts from trifling sores, or from warts and moles, or similar lesions of the skin such as are frequently seen in elderly persons. It should make the sufferer more willing to undergo operation for ulcer of the stomach, or any part of the intestine, or for gall-stones; lesions like these are frequent sites for subsequent development of cancer. It should make any patient suffering from what at the time appears even an innocent tumor (and this is true, especially of women) the more willing, even the more insistent, for its removal. It may be laid down as a comprehensive rule, to which scarcely any exception can be taken, that any growing tumor should be radically removed, so soon as the fact of its activity can be established. But, without this feature of continuous growth, practically every tumor should be removed. Each sex is peculiarily liable to cancer in certain locations; men, especially, about the mouth; women, about the breast and uterus. Any swelling, lump, tumor, or sore, which refuses to quickly heal, in any location, should take the sufferer early to the surgeon; so, also, should any unusual, unnatural, or especially offensive discharge. Were patients prompt to concern themselves in these respects, and were they judicious in their selection of authority consulted, many lives might be saved which now are sacrificed.

What now may be said regarding the treatment of cancer and the protection for the patient? With few, and rare exceptions, as when cancer develops as does acute miliary tuberculosis, apparently all over the body at the same time, it may be held that cancer has a local origin, and grows from a minute beginning. In theory, then, it is necessary only to thoroughly remove this limited area in order to prevent further manifestation, *i. e.*, to cure the disease; this, however, is rarely possible, and for the self-evident reasons that when the growth begins within the depths of the body, or even underneath the surface, it is not appreciable in this early stage, and because very few human beings betake themselves at the golden time to the man by whom the condition may be recognized and properly removed. Even the expert may be, for a time, in honest doubt. Therefore, the theoretical "golden time" has too often passed with nothing accomplished. In broader terms, it becomes a question of attacking the growth while it is still absolutely local, and before it has involved vital structures, or has undergone metastasis, by which it has been carried to numerous and distant points; even then, if these points be not too numerous, nor too distant, they may still be considered as within the scope of operation

one for the general welfare of the patient.

It is fair, both to the disease and to the atient, to put it in some such way as this: There is a time in the history of nearly every ancer when IF it be found sufficiently accessible to permit of prompt and early recognition, and when IF it and all other cancerous tissues be radically removed, there is very reason to expect a cure. These "Ifs" nust, however, be spelled with capitals to emphasize them. Eradication of the diseased issue is the only method of cure, at least it present. It is earnestly to be hoped that, n course of time, some drug or agent may be liscovered, which shall possess such a selective affinity for cancer cells as to act upon them and not poison the normal cells, nor the individual himself, so that it may come into use as a specific in the treatment of this disease just as mercury and arsenic and iodine have proved themselves efficient in the treatment of syphilis. Until this time comes, and for the present at least, there is no remedy which compares in any way with the knife, providing only that it be *properly* and *comprehensively* used. Were it possible to remove from the patient's body every cancer cell he might be cured; this is not possible in the later stage, but may be in the earlier stage, if the work be thoroughly done. Everything here demands the most thorough possible eradication. Mutilation of the body is preferable to death, at least for most people, and whether this canon of treatment calls for such a radical measure as amputation, or for some disfiguring operation about the face, which may be more or less atoned for by artistic plastic surgery, the same primary rule obtains. *Radical surgical measures are the only ones which offer prospect of permanent success.* The more radical the better the prospect.

An uncertain and rather small proportion of these patients shrink from operation because of timidity, or failure to apprehend scientific truths, and seek the aid of spurious and so-called "specialists," who cater to their fears and hopes by the use of other destructive agents, usually "cancer pastes" or "plasters." There are a very limited class of cases in which, when used by scientific experts, measures of this kind may be made reasonably successful and satisfactory. But every cancer plaster is an unintelligent, destructive agent, attacking healthy and diseased tissue alike, incapable of making any fine distinctions. They correspond to fire.

Surgery, then, affords in the vast majority of cases the only prospect of relief, and this, only when practised *early;* but when so practised the results are most encouraging. In fact, just in proportion as patients avail themselves of this knowledge and truism they may look for permanency of results.

Excellent cures are often obtained at this period of the disease. There is every hope and encouragement for patients with accessible cancer who submit early to the only proper treatment. The contrast between the cases operated on at this time and later is most significant, and tells its own tale of happiness and health on one side, and of disaster on the other. This is not intended as a discouragement for late operations, which are justifiable and often necessitated for relief of distressing symptoms. They prolong life for a period of months or years according to conditions, even if they be not life-saving. Ulcerating and bleeding growths may almost always be temporarily benefited, while frequently, by judicious management, life may be prolonged until it is terminated by some other agency; *but early operation is the secret of the cure of cancer.*

Other expedients, such as the Roentgen Rays, radium, the vaccines, and the toxine treatment, are limited to a relatively small proportion of cases and may, occasionally, do good—may even cure; but their selection and use should be restricted to those qualified by large experience and attainment. This is true, also, of internal medication; an expert, by judicious combination, may accomplish much, so much, in fact, as to be a great benefactor of mankind; but nothing can be held out as equal to a proper operation properly performed.

This is written with complete familiarity with the properties of radium, meso-thorium and their preparations, which may be used in selected cases and by those fortunate enough to possess them, and in a very restricted class of cases. History furnishes, however, the story of so many disappointments that one must reserve judgment on all "remedies," even of this character, and be surprised at no disappointments which may ensue. The X-rays do, however, afford more or less protection against recurrence after removal, and furnish a very important post-operative measure.

Operations for cancer are performed by too many, but not nearly enough operations are performed by those competent to do them.

Finally, the best counsel which can be offered to those suffering, as to those fearing that they may suffer, is to seek the advice of someone thoroughly competent to give it, and then to abide absolutely by such advice.

THE TREATMENT OF CANCER WITH RADIUM

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. HOWARD A. KELLY, OF BALTIMORE, REPORTED BY BURTON J. HENDRICK

IT is almost impossible to pick up a newspaper to-day without finding cablegrams telling of the remarkable progress being made by European scientists in curing cancer and other diseases with radium. Practically nothing has found its way into print, however, about the equally remarkable success achieved in the United States. For the last five years Dr. Howard A. Kelly, the gynecologist of Johns Hopkins University, has been quietly conducting a series of notable experiments. There is no work in medical science in which such extreme caution is required. When radium was discovered one of the first facts brought to light was its remarkable effect upon body tissues. The most extravagant reports gained currency as to its curative value, especially in cancer. These early hopes were disappointed, and the scientific world has looked rather coldly since upon experiments of this kind. With the Roentgen rays, also widely exploited as a cancer cure, it was placed aside as only another disappointment of the many that have marked the search for effective cancer treatment. But actual results obtained in the last five years, here and in Europe, have placed the radium question in an altogether new light. It is now recognized that, exaggerated as many of these reports may be, radium has great and positive value.

Dr. Kelly has had an exceptional opportunity to experiment, because he has had in his possession an unusually large quantity of this precious element. To one who catches a glimpse of his great treasure, however, this at first seems a somewhat startling statement. A little mass of a dirty-colored salt, just about enough to fill a tiny saltspoon, and weighing about a gram,—this is the substance that has already cured several bad cases of cancer and that promises to have even more remarkable success in the future. Only thirty-nine other grams like it have been extracted from the earth and are now in the hands of scientific men. This solitary gram comprises the larger part of all the radium that there is in the United States.

A statement in plain, untechnical language for the lay reader of what has been accomplished so far would naturally have the utmost interest. In speaking of a method so new the right-minded surgeon will not use the word cure until a longer period of time has elapsed—the limit generally accepted is five years. Incautious statements are likely to raise unjustifiable hopes in thousands of sick people and their friends, as well as to give a handle to quacks and frauds, who are especially prone to prey upon the victims of this disease. In regard to the latter, however, the public, in the present instance, has one protection. The successful work with cancer in the United States and Europe will unquestionably give rise to many self-advertised "radium institutes," "radium specialists," and the like. The public can set these down as humbugs, for one good reason: the practical impossibility, under present conditions, of such people getting hold of radium in any effective quantities.

RADIUM AS A "HANDMAID TO SURGERY"

"Before I say anything about our work at Baltimore," said Dr. Kelly, "I wish to emphasize one fact. For practical purposes radium does not yet change the generally accepted procedures for treating cancer. For the past few years German and American physicians have been conducting a campaign for educating the public through the reputable press touching the early diagnosis of this disease. The American Medical Association has a regular cancer publicity committee. Our idea is to obtain the utmost general publicity on the premonitory signs of cancer. We particularly seek to inform women of the early symptoms of those particular forms of which they are the victims. We did this because our statistics (especially those prepared by our great surgical pathologist, Bloodgood) show that, if discovered in the early days, an enormous percentage of permanent recoveries can be secured by operation. In fact, medical science has taught for years, and still teaches, that there is but one way to treat cancer,

and that is by the knife. This statement, as a matter of practice, still holds perfectly good. Nothing that we or our confrères in Europe have done or discovered yet changes it one whit. The fact that actual cures with radium have apparently been made modifies somewhat the generally accepted statement that the knife is the only resource. But this does not mean that the operation should not be resorted to in all early cases.

"Radium is a precious handmaid to surgery; it does not supersede it. Even if radium could cure all cases readily—and this remains to be demonstrated—we could not yet utilize the new remedy on a large scale, owing to the extreme scarcity of the element. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Dr. Burnam and I believe that it is only radium in comparatively large quantities that accomplishes the most satisfactory results. The movement, therefore, for early diagnosis and prompt treatment will still go on, and surgeons will still use the knife with even greater success than ever. It would, therefore, be lamentable if such success as has been attained with radium should induce patients to postpone the established methods of treatment.

AFFINITY FOR DISEASED TISSUE

"Radium gives off rays of three kinds, named alpha, beta, and gamma. Domenci and Wickham taught us that it is the gamma rays of radium which have a remarkably disintegrating effect upon tumor tissue. These rays affect all kinds of tissue, both that which is normal and that which is diseased. In large quantities the gamma rays make healthy skin turn red and blister. Those who handle it usually bear evidences of the fact in sore fingers. Under careful use there is no such thing as a radium burn in any way comparable to an X-ray burn, of which there is such a universal dread. These rays, however, affect non-cancerous and cancerous tissue very differently. In small quantities the gamma rays of radium penetrate good, healthy, normal tissue without producing any noticeable effect. These same rays, however, and in these same amounts, do exercise a selective effect upon diseased tissue, such as that affected by cancer. Brought to bear upon a particular area, part of which consists of normal cells and part of tumor cells, the effect is soon apparent. The normal cells remain practically unchanged. The tumor cells show fundamental alterations. They swell, lose their characteristic appearance, break down, and are absorbed. Sometimes they seem to melt back into the normal tissues.

"The difference in this action upon normal and pathological tissue is graphically illustrated when the lesion lies under the surface, covered, so to speak, by a blanket of normal cells. The gamma rays will pass right through the latter, producing apparently no effect upon them. When they strike the sick tissue, however, the disintegrative and alterative changes I have described above begin. All that I am saying must be taken in a particular sense. The gamma rays, used in sufficient quantity, and unduly prolonged, will break down normal tissue as well as that which is cancerous. The essential point is that with proper dosage they will pass through healthy tissue without bad effects, while at the same time these same quantities will destroy the cancerous tissues. Technical skill consists, therefore, in finding the dosage that will affect the sick cells without injuring the healthy. This varies according to numerous circumstances; this part of the subject is rather too technical to go into here. That this dosage can be found, however, my own experience shows. As a general conclusion, we may accept it as a fact that the gamma rays are selective in their action; they have an affinity for something which is in the cancer cell, and which is not in the normal cell; if used skilfully they will destroy pathological tissue without injuring the surrounding healthy body. This is the fundamental fact which makes radium useful in cancer treatment.

"THE ANARCHIST OF THE BODY"

"With this principle in mind, we can answer, within bounds, the inevitable question: What kind of tumors are susceptible to radium treatment? In general, the tumors which the radium can reach. The whole proceeding bears a certain analogy to a surgical operation. The tumorous growth, I may explain, is simply the proliferation of cells. The human body, when it follows the laws of its being, develops symmetrically. Our organs and members develop in relation to one another; when they reach a certain size and form they stop. The thumb, for example, after attaining its proper proportions, does not grow continuously,—if it did, it would become several feet long in a lifetime. There are certain biological laws, certain principles of organization and symmetry, that regulate this important matter. The peculiarity of the cancer cell is that it ignores this principle of orderly arrangement and specified habitat.

"The cancer cell is the anarchist of the body —recognizing no laws and no responsibilities to anything except its predatory self. We cure

cancer by eliminating these lawless cells. As long as any are left alive in the body, the disease is in danger of recurrence; for a few scattered cells, following the riotous law of their nomadic, parasitic nature, will reproduce themselves and the whole diseased condition will come back. Surgery cures cancer only when it succeeds in extirpating the entire cancerous area. That is the reason it succeeds so well at the early stages, because the diseased section is so small that, by generously cutting around it, all the cancer cells can, in many cases, be removed. There is thus nothing left to make a fresh start. When the disease is far advanced, however, it is almost impossible for the surgeon's knife to make a complete job. In addition to this is the fact that the cells frequently infiltrate adjoining structures, which cannot be excised without killing the patient. A cancer in the neck, for example, may invade all the deeper structures, which cannot be sacrificed. This explains why the surgeon is most successful in dealing with the tumors that are easiest to get at.

SUCCESS WITH SUPERFICIAL TUMORS

"Now, the radium treatment does about the same thing that the surgeon's knife does. The surgeon gets rid of the cancerous tissue by cutting it out in mass; the radium gets rid of it by destroying it cell by cell.

"In other words, at the present stage of development, radium works most successfully at the kind of tumors that surgery most easily destroys. These are superficial tumors,—of the skin, the face, the jaw, the tongue, and the like. They are the tumors which are on the outside of the body, which we can see and handle. In many such cases radium, according to our experience, seems to be an actual cure. We have had success extending over many months in a considerable number of cases. At first it might seem, since surgery is already quite effective in cancers of this kind, that we have gained nothing. But it is an immense gain. The surgical removal of tumors of the face, for example, involves disfigurement. If one has a cancer on the nose, the only thing to do is to cut off the nose; other affections also involve the removal of an eye, a jaw, a tongue, a lip, a chin. When radium destroys such tumors—as it does in many cases—the face is restored virtually to its normal condition. For example, in the case of a little child with a sarcoma on the side of the head which was rapidly growing into the eye. A surgical operation would have necessitated extirpating the eye, and even then would not have checked the growth. Radium, however, has completely obliterated this tumor, and the eye has not been harmed at all, and the child is now normal in all respects. A remarkable case was that of a woman afflicted with a malignant growth under the sternum; surgery could not even have attempted to deal with it. It was utterly inoperable and hopeless. Radium, however, melted down the growth and largely dissipated it.

"When the growth has widely infiltrated surrounding structures, the surgeon is often helpless. After removing the primary growth, however, he can irradiate these surrounding tissues and so have a greater chance of removing any stray cells that may be left. Radium, I believe, can thus be used to make doubly sure all ordinary operations for cancer. Another important point in considering the usefulness of radium in superficial tumors is that it does not involve the suffering of a surgical operation, being practically painless.

CANCER OF THE UTERUS

"Perhaps radium's greatest triumph is in treating a particularly distressing and difficult form of cancer—that of the uterus. This and cancer of the breast are the commoner forms in which cancer chiefly attacks women, just as men suffer more from cancer of the stomach. Early operation with the knife cures this in a good many cases, but the operation is a radical one, and is not free from danger. Radium is extremely valuable in cases of this kind, as testified by the experiences of French, German, and American observers. It sometimes makes inoperable cases operable. In numerous instances radium, by itself, has established what seems to be a complete and perfect cure. Radium bids fair to establish a new era in the treatment of cancer of the uterus.

EARLY TREATMENT REQUIRED

"In cancer of the breast applications frequently improve conditions and relieve suffering, but do not yet as a rule establish a cure. The effective rays penetrate about two inches. For this same reason radium does not give results in metastases, where the disease has advanced far from its original focus and set up new foci. After a malignant disease has become general surgery is useless, and radium, too, is powerless at present. Anyone looking forward to radium treatment, therefore, just as anyone looking forward to surgical treatment, should take it as early as possible. This point illustrates again what I have said—that radium is successful for reasons that the knife

is successful, and that it must be regarded as a help to surgery and not as a substitute.

ACTION ON NON-CANCEROUS GROWTHS

"There are other skin affections, not cancerous in their nature, in which radium is a blessing. These are the vascular tumors, birth marks, "port-wine" stains. Dr. L. Wickham, of the St. Louis Hospital in Paris, has had many remarkable successes, having treated more than a thousand cases in the last seven years. It looks as though, for disfigurements of this kind where surgery is often powerless, radium may be practically a specific. It does not produce inflammation or pain; an important consideration, especially as children are often patients. Scars, too, are often entirely removed, leaving the face practically normal. The emanation of radium,—a gas given off by radium,—is used dissolved in water or alcohol, for internal taking, and is being tested out in cases of gout, rheumatism, arterio-sclerosis, and the neuralgias, as well as in certain blood diseases and anemias.

"Sarcomata show particular susceptibility to the radium rays. A sarcoma, it may be explained, is a tumor formed of fibrillary or connective tissue, while a carcinoma is one developing from the epithelium growth which covers the skin and lines the cavities of the body. When connective tissue proliferates we have a sarcoma; when epithelium starts growing we have a carcinoma or a true cancer. For some reason or other radium acts most happily upon sarcomatous tissue."

"Just what does radium do to the tissue, anyway?" Dr. Kelly was asked. "In other words, what bearing has all this upon the cause of cancer? Does it act by killing a microbe or a parasite, by destroying some chemical poison, or ferment, or what?"

This question, of course, is one that is likely to be asked everywhere. For many years the scientific world has been divided into two camps on the subject of the cause of cancer. What is it that gives certain cells the proliferative power that causes the disease? It is only in this power of growth that the cancer cell differs from the normal cell. Certain investigators insist that the cause is a microbe or a parasite that gains entrance to the cells; others insist that an external organism has nothing to do with the matter.

"I cannot say," answered Dr. Kelly, when approached on this subject, "that this radium work as yet throws any clear light upon this problem. If anything, it is rather against the microbe theory, for radium has little effect upon germ life; there are few organisms that it destroys. Therefore, it seems hardly likely that it cures cancer, when it does cure it, by destroying a germ. However, there are many considerations involved, and I do not think that this recent work tends to settle the question, one way or the other.

WHAT RADIUM ACTUALLY DOES

"Let me recapitulate," said Dr. Kelly in closing, "that there may be no misunderstandings:

"1st. Radium is not a specific cure for cancer. It does not take the place of surgery; it is another help to it. Cancer patients, in the early stages, as before, must submit to operation.

"2nd. It is most useful in cancers on the outside of the body. In many of these cases it effects cures without pain and without deformity.

"3rd. It is especially useful in connection with surgery, when it can be used to destroy vestiges of the tumor which the knife may have left behind. It can also be used to good purpose in irradiating the cancerous area preceding operation.

"4th. There are certain structures which cannot be operated on,—excised or seriously invaded,—without disastrous consequences. Radium has cured inoperable cases of this kind. It is like a microscopic knife which goes after the individual cell.

"5th. It is especially valuable in cancer of the uterus. Permanent cures even of inoperable cases have apparently been obtained.

"6th. It is effective only when there is no wide dissemination of the disease."

HOW ADMINISTERED

What makes radium particularly useful is the simplicity of the technique. It does not necessitate the use of an anesthetic, and its administration causes no pain and almost no discomfort. The radium salt is kept inclosed in a fine platinum tube about an inch long. This tube is again encased with lead, which is used because it acts as a filter, keeping in the alpha and beta rays—which are more destructive to normal tissue—while letting the gamma rays slip through. The tube, further screened with some soft substance, is then laid in immediate proximity to the diseased part; if necessary, it can be attached by surgical plaster; in some cases incisions into the diseased part may be made as recommended by Dr. Abbé. Its action upon the cancerous tissues begins at once; the application lasts from 4 to 6 to 24 hours. Sometimes in a month or six weeks the growth vanishes. The

radium so used can be used over and over again. Most readers are now familiar with the much-heralded "miracle of radium"—the mysterious substance that apparently defies all the known laws of the material universe, in that it keeps giving off matter without diminishing its own bulk. Every little particle of radium has been giving off its rays for thousands of years, and will continue to be active for two thousand years longer, when it will have just half its present weight and just the same capacity for throwing out its rays that it has now, only in lessened amount, so that a little bit of radium now in use may be inherited by generation after generation of enterprising surgeons.

AMERICA AS A SOURCE OF RADIUM SUPPLY

However, what about the practical question: Supposing radium does cure cancer, how widespread will be its use? The newspapers have familiarized the public with the fact that there are extremely small amounts in existence. With a grain of radium one can do much, but the sufferers from cancer are fearfully numerous; half as many people in New York State die from this disease as from tuberculosis. Manifestly, even though radium were an absolute cure in all cases, the mortality rates would change very little, as so few people could gain access to it. Is this treatment, then, to remain a luxury for the few, presumably the rich? We hear much of a "radium corner," of a few people getting all of the precious element into their own hands.

The value of all the radium which has been taken from the earth is from $2,000,000 to $3,000,000, so that one of our New York or Chicago millionaires might easily buy it all. The situation, however, is changing somewhat. When radium first became known, in 1900, it was derived from pitchblend from certain mines at Joachimsthal, Austria. The world was told that these Austrian mines contained the only supply; and the Austrian Government promptly purchased them. Since then, however, other sources of radium have been discovered. It is found, even though in small quantities as yet, in Bohemia, Saxony, Sweden, France, Portugal, Madagascar, Siam, Ceylon, and Australia. A recent investigation by the Bureau of Mines at Washington has just revealed the hitherto unsuspected fact that the United States is the greatest headquarters of the ores from which radium is now extracted. Pitchblend has been discovered in Connecticut and South Carolina and in Colorado. It is in the carnotite fields of Colorado and Utah, however, that the richest stores are found. Last year 8.8 grams of radium chloride were obtained in this country. The total output of the rest of the world, including Austria, was 3.65 grams. Alongside of this agreeable fact, however, is another not so gratifying to national complacency. It appears that radium is another of our national resources which we are not conserving. Our methods of mining are wasteful; large amounts of carnotite ore from which radium can be extracted are left on the dump, says the Bureau of Mines. We do not extract the radium here, but send practically all the ore containing it to Europe. The larger amount of this precious substance now in European laboratories and hospitals has come from the United States. The small quantities now held by American scientists they have been obliged to buy back at high prices from Europe. At present there is only one firm engaged in this country in extracting and refining radium, and this firm has not yet entered the radium market. Most of our carnotite mines are in Colorado and Utah, though smaller bodies of the ore are constantly being discovered in other States.

Properly husbanded, these beds, as well as other fields in other countries, would greatly increase the world's supply of radium. In fact, scientific men expect that new discoveries will yield sufficiently large quantities to make radium therapeutics pretty generally available. And there are other radio-active substances, especially mesothorium, which have similar powers. A large amount of the curative work now being done in Europe is with this latter substance.

A RADIUM INSTITUTE FOR THE UNITED STATES

Austria, France, Germany, and England have established radium institutes, the purpose of which is to study the effects of the mineral, and to conserve the supply. A national Radium Institute has been formed by Dr. Kelly (as its president) and Dr. James Douglas. It is expected that, as a result of its efforts, the United States will show more interest in developing its radium resources. It is also the purpose of the Institute to acquire enough radium to test out all its possibilities in relieving disease, especially cancer. In the new radium science America should take the lead from now on, not only because it has especially competent experimenters, but because it has the one indispensable thing that other nations do not possess —a comparatively large supply of radium in its own mines.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

AMERICAN MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

A FAIR proportion of the November *Century* is occupied with discussions of present-day problems. An able and well-written defense of militancy in the feminist movement is contributed by Edna Kenton. Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, considers the most recent aspects of our immigration and the economic consequences of its continuance. The editor promises for future numbers of the magazine a discussion of the same problem from other points of view. Jacob A. Riis gives an encouraging survey of what has been accomplished during the past twenty years in the campaign against the slum on American soil. The present phase of the struggle, as Mr. Riis makes clear, is the fight against home manufacture in the tenements, in which the Consumers' League is taking the lead. "The Struggle for College Democracy" is the title of an article by John Corbin, which describes Harvard's plan for the solution of the great social problem in American university life by combining features of the Oxford system and President Woodrow Wilson's famous "quad" at Princeton. "Our Disorganized Diplomatic Service" is the challenging title of an article contributed by James Davenport Whelpley,. who has written much for the *Century* and other publications on the commercial interests of various nations. The comparison instituted by Mr. Whelpley between the diplomatic service maintained by Germany and that of the United States in its present condition is far from flattering to the United States. "Dollar Diplomacy," however, he regards as a misnomer, since there is no profit in it either from the material or idealistic viewpoint. The travel feature of this number is a clever and attractively illustrated account of "Motoring in Japan," by Melvin A. Hall.

Archdeacon Stuck contributes to the November *Scribner's* the thrilling story of his ascent of Mount McKinley, which he prefers to call Denali. Colonel Roosevelt's contribution to this number is "The Life History of the African Rhinoceros and Hippopotamus," in which he describes the habits of these animals in detail, the text being accompanied by several striking photographs and drawings. "An English Writer's Notes on England," by Vernon Lee, with illustrations by Howard Giles, is an interesting feature of this number.

The opening feature of the November *Harper's* is a series of letters of a diplomat's wife in Washington, written during the years 1875-78. The writer was Madame Hegermann-Lindencrone, an American by birth, who, after living many years in France, returned to this country, and, in 1875, married the newly appointed Danish Minister to Washington. These letters picture social life at the capital during the Grant and Hayes administrations. Various coöperative undertakings in Europe are described by John L. Mathews, under the title, "The Art of Mutual Aid." This number of *Harper's* is unusually rich in travel articles, containing "Australian Bypaths," by Norman Duncan; "Religious Beliefs of the Eskimo," by V. Stefánsson; "Unusual Venice," by Mary Heaton Vorse; and "To the Great Falls of Guiana and Beyond," by Henry Edward Crampton.

The most important feature of *Everybody's* for November and December is the debate on Socialism between Morris Hillquit and Dr. John Augustine Ryan. In the November number Mr. Hillquit presents his indictment of capitalism as the source of most modern social evils, while Dr. Ryan maintains that the Socialist indictment of capitalism is overdrawn and advocates reforms in capitalism as the remedy.

In the November *Everybody's* there is a vivid description of Bogotá, "the Lhasa of South America," by Arthur Ruhl.

In addition to the editorial survey of "Six Months of Wilson," the principal articles contributed to the *North American Review* for November are "Fifty Years of Anthropology," by Prof. Ernst Haeckel; "The Problem of Ulster," by Sydney Brooks; "Bulgaria and the Treaty of Bucharest," by S. Tonjoroff; "How to Amend the Currency Bill," by Frank A. Vanderlip (reviewed on the next page) and "Our Supervised Morals," by Louise Collier Willcox.

MR. VANDERLIP ON THE CURRENCY BILL

IN the *North American Review* for November Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, who is president of the National City Bank of New York, and was, for four years, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, gives his impressions of the personnel of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, together with a summary of objections to the Currency bill in its original form, and of amendments suggested by his testimony before the committee.

After speaking of the individual attitude of each member of the committee towards the pending bill, Mr. Vanderlip states that he left the committee with a feeling of confidence that the Senate bill will be a great improvement on the measure which was passed by the House. He believes (although the truth and correctness of his conclusion could not be demonstrated) that if it were not for political exigencies practically every member of the committee would favor the creation of one central reservoir, whether it be called a central bank or not. He also believes that the party declarations in regard to the Government's sovereign right to issue all currency may prevent the committee from exercising its true judgment in the way of making the new notes the obligations of the federal reserve banks rather than of the Government.

Nevertheless, Mr. Vanderlip is free to say that on the whole the bill seems to have been drawn with great intelligence. "It is by no means the work of amateurs in finance. It shows a thorough grasp of the main principles that must be embodied in correct legislation, but it stops short of fully incorporating those principles and in doing so has left the measure where it must be amended if it is successfully to accomplish what its framers desire."

From Mr. Vanderlip's viewpoint the main defect, so far as the immediate working of the bill is concerned, is in the provision which establishes at least twelve regional reserve banks and thus fails to create the central reservoir for reserves which is essential. It is true that the necessity for such a central reservoir is recognized and the power to compel loans from one reserve bank to another has been given to the Federal Reserve Board, but so hedged about that in Mr. Vanderlip's opinion it would not be effective.

If more than one central reservoir is established, true mobilization of reserves can thereafter be attained only by giving to a superior body the power to compel loans. The objection to doing that is deep-seated in the minds of bankers, whose whole training makes them rebel from a provision which would compel a bank to make a loan against the judgment of the directors of that bank. If Congress insists upon more than one reserve center, however, it must also grant an effective power to the Federal Reserve Board so they can pipe together the several reserve reservoirs and thus, in effect, make a single central reserve center.

There are other most impressive reasons why there should not be twelve reserve bank districts. The theory of mobilization of reserves rests on the principle of utilizing the surplus of one community to meet the deficiency in another. It is, therefore, necessary to have the district embraced in each regional reserve center so large that there will be a variety of banking conditions; so large that if there is a crop-moving demand in one part of the district, that demand shall not be universal in the district, but shall in some measure, at least, be counteracted by coming at a period when there is a plethora of funds in another portion of the district. A community would be far better served by a branch of a reserve bank which covered a district made to embrace a large territory of dissimilar geographical and climatic conditions than it could possibly be by having its own reserve bank surrounded by a small region in which, because of similar climatic and other conditions, there would be no variety to the demand. If all of the banks within a region feel at the same time a similar demand, most of the advantage of mobilization of reserves disappears. It seems to me that nothing could be clearer than that there should be one reserve reservoir, and not twelve or more. If that is found politically impossible, then under no circumstances should there be more than four.

On the subject of the composition of the Federal Reserve Board Mr. Vanderlip is less fearful of a baneful influence of politics than he is of the results that would follow a lack of training, a lack of financial wisdom, and the certainty, which the form of the measure provides, of a lack of continuity in the management. Mr. Vanderlip reminds us that the Federal reserve banks are to be operated under the direction of a board of nine directors, six of whom are to be selected by the bankers. Thus the bankers themselves will be responsible for the management of the Federal reserve banks, and the argument that there will be political domination by the Federal Reserve Board is robbed of much of its force. Mr. Vanderlip does, however, object to the composition of that board as provided in the law. Three of the seven members will be ex-officio officers, fully engaged with the duties of their own offices, and none of them necessarily experienced in banking. Mr. Vanderlip would have this board a great independent body comparable with the Supreme Court. He would have large salaries, long terms, and the devotion of complete service to the work of the board.

LIVING MOTORS: EFFICIENCY IN MEN AND ANIMALS

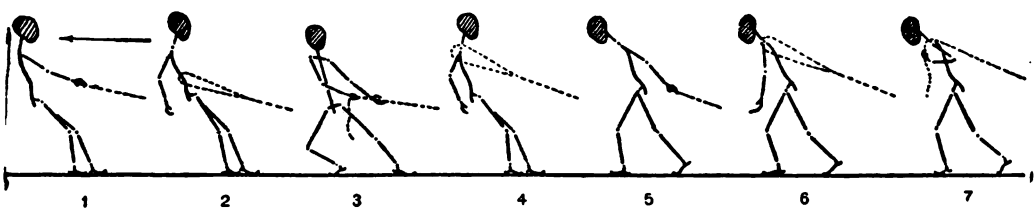
DESPITE the marvelous development of machinery in the past hundred years, the *living motor,* i. e., the muscular power of men and animals, remains one of the most important dynamic factors in getting the world's work done, and this is particularly true on the farm. Yet, as a writer in *La Nature* (Paris) points out, the living machine and the effective application of its powers is far less well understood than that of steel and brass. He proceeds to give a *résumé* of the remarkable studies in this line which have been carried on for the past thirty years by a professor of agricultural engineering, M. Ringelmann, in the *Institute Agronomique.*

One of the first questions investigated by M. Ringelmann was the relation between the height of any individual, his reach, and his net weight, i. e., *sans* garments. Nine students of the school at Grand-Jouan volunteered for experiment.

Their weight varied between 54-5 kilograms and 84 kilograms, their height between 1.6 meters and 1.74 meters, and their reach between 1.75 meters and 1.84 meters. From these different observations M. Ringelmann deduced that on the average the weight of an individual is equal to the product of his height by his reach by a coefficient varying between 19.43 and 28.69, and which on the average is 24.06. Thus an individual 1.6 meters tall (about 5 feet 2½ inches), with a reach of 1.78 meters (about 5 feet 9½ inches), would weigh 1.6 x 1.78 x 24.06=68 kilograms.

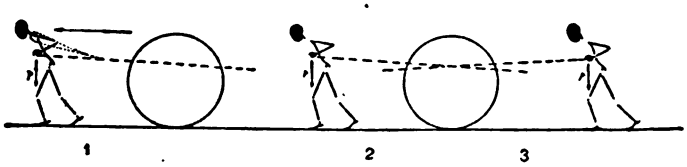
M. Ringelmann next sought to compare the effort put forth in traction, *sustained for not less than four or five seconds,* obtained by a rope 5 meters long passed over the shoulder, with the maximum effort which could be produced under the same conditions *in a very brief time.*

He found that on the average the effort sustained during a certain lapse of time=84% of the maximum instantaneous effort and 88% of the weight of the individual. Thus, if a man weighing 73 kilograms pulls on a rope passing over his shoulder, he can produce *a maximum instantaneous effort* of 73 x .88=64.2 kilograms, and a *sustained effort* of 64.2 kilograms x .84=54 kilograms. If, in place of passing the rope over his shoulder, he pulls on it laterally, as represented in No. 3 of Fig. 1, the effort of traction which he can produce relatively to his weight will be greater than in the preceding case, and, taking the same weight, will be 73 kilograms x 1.32=96 kilograms in place of 64.2 kilograms, and the effort sustained during



PULLING A ROPE WITH BOTH HANDS OR A YOKE

	Effort obtained. Kilograms.
1. Traction by pulling backward on block tied to end of rope	85.32
2. Traction by pulling backward with yoke round loins	69.24
3. Traction on rope pulled laterally	62.88
4. Traction by pulling backward with yoke round shoulders	61.66
5. Traction on block tied to end of cord	57.66
6. Traction with yoke round shoulders	55.74
7. Traction with rope over shoulders	41.16

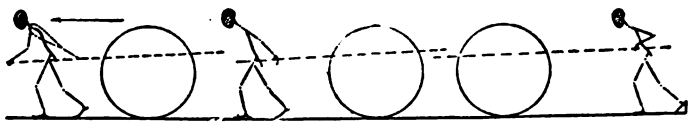


TRACTION ON THE POLE OF A TWO-WHEELED VEHICLE

	Effort obtained. Kilograms.
1. Effort effected by pushing pole and pulling with yoke round shoulders and a weight equal to 18.50 kg.	85.38
2. Effort effected by pushing pole with weight of 18.50 kg	83.50
3. Effort effected by pushing pole with weight of 18.50 kg	55.92

a certain lapse of time will be 96 kilograms x .71 =68 kilograms in place of 54 kilograms. These results show clearly the advantage in pulling on a rope laterally instead of passing it over his shoulder.

Another problem solved by M. Ringelmann was the maximum power obtainable when two or more men or animals work as a team. The greatest percentage of power is always obtained by a single individual. As soon as two or more are hitched together, the effective work obtained from each with the same degree of fatigue is diminished. Thus, if a single individual attached to a resistance produces, for example, a sustained effort of 54 kilograms, when five individuals are harnessed to the same resisting body, if there were complete simultaneity of effort, these five individuals would produce a total effort of 5 x 54 kilograms =270 kilograms, while in reality, according to the preceding table, each individual would produce a sustained effort of only .7 x 54 kilograms =37.8 kilograms and the five together could pull only 5 x 37.8 kilograms, or 3.5 x 54 kilograms, which =189 kilograms. These figures are maximums, since they were obtained in tests when the Grand-Jouan students bent their whole attention to simultaneous action at the word of command.



1 2 3

TRACTION ON THE SHAFTS OF A SMALL TWO-WHEELED CARRIAGE

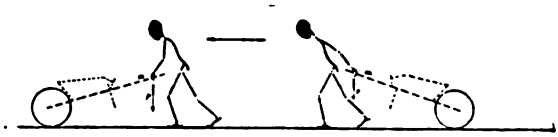
	Effort obtained. Kilograms.
1. Effort effected by pulling with hands on shafts and by aid of yoke	69.36
2. Effort effected by pulling on shafts	66.06
3. Effort effected by pushing on shafts	40.02

This is due to the lack of entire simultaneity in the efforts of each. The solution of this problem is given in the following table:

PRACTICAL EFFECTIVE WORK

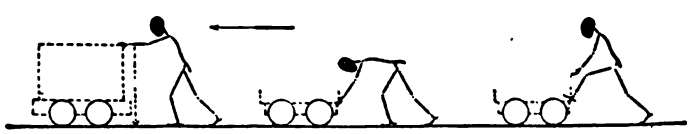
No. of Motors.	Produced by Motors.	Total.
1	1.00	1.00
2	0.93	1.86
3	0.85	2.55
4	0.77	3.08
5	0.70	3.50
6	0.63	3.78
7	0.56	3.92
8	0.49	3.92

These highly interesting and valuable experiments indicate the reason why men working in teams, as in rowing, pile driving, etc., find it helpful to sing or chant. The rhythm of the song, which is suited, of course, to the character of the work, is a powerful help in securing rhythm of action. Here we have a striking example of the often-observed fact that practical experience is apt to be justified later by scientific theory. The results of other experiments at Grand-Jouan are shown in the accompanying diagrams. They will be published in more detailed scientific form later and are expected to be useful in the computation of factory work and other human labor in which the exact value of concerted effort is the chief factor.



TRACTION EFFECTED ON A WHEELBARROW

	Effort obtained. Kilograms.
1. Effort effected by pushing wheelbarrow with weight of 11 kg	50.88
2. Effort effected by pulling wheelbarrow with weight of 16 kg	54.72



1 2 3

TRACTION TESTS MADE WITH CARTS

	Effort obtained. Kilograms.
1. Effort effected by pushing on the high tail-piece	63.22
2. Effort effected pushing on the platform at bottom	50.02
3. Effort effected by pushing with feet on the platform at bottom	28.28

SYNDICALISM IN GERMANY AND FRANCE: A COMPARISON

AT the present time the German syndical movement, regarded in its entirety, is the strongest in the world. It recently outstripped British trade-unionism; and it leaves far behind the American Federation of Labor, which for a long time aspired to the premier position. It unites more than 3,000,000 men and women, or three times as many working-men as are organized in France, the home of Syndicalism; and what is perhaps more striking than its robustness is the rapidity of its increase. In every country, however, the growth of Syndicalism is dependent upon, or subordinated to, the expansion of manufactures. As M. Paul Louis shows, in *La Revue* (Paris):

> Syndicalism spreads less quickly in the smaller industrial countries than in those of large industrial operations. It experiences special difficulties in populations which are riveted to the soil and which do not engage in manufacturing. . . . Syndicalism was born almost spontaneously of the concentration of capital and of men. For this reason it became acclimated in England under the form of the old Trade-unionism before it was implanted on the Continent. It is on this account, also, that it spreads with less celerity in France, where concentration is less marked, and where 40 per cent. and more of the total population have not left the rural *milieu*. It is for this reason that it was late in penetrating Germany, where the extractive industries—chemistry, metallurgy, textiles, etc.—are not of ancient creation, and that it has there recently acquired so surprising an expansion. The depopulation of the rural districts and the great increase of the manufacturing centers have contributed to this increase with a disconcerting promptness. Hamburg, Cologne, Breslau, Mannheim, Dusseldorf, and Elberfeld may all rival, for the quickness of their growth, the mushroom cities of the New World.

There are in Germany 3,061,000 Syndicalists, and these are divided into five groups: (1) The free syndicates, (2) the little group of localists, (3) the Hirsch-Dunker associations, (4) the Christian or mixed syndicates, and (5) the independents.

THE GROWTH OF SYNDICALISM IN FRANCE

The free syndicates date from the period 1866-1869, contemporary with the diffusion of the International in Europe, and when the two primitive currents of German Socialism, Lassallism and Marxism, came into turbulent contact. M. Louis gives the following details concerning these syndicates:

> The free syndicates recognize the struggle of the classes, but remain neutral in the domains of politics and religion, evolving in the same sense as Social-Democracy. They numbered 277,000 members in 1891; 887,000 in 1903, and nearly 2,400,000 in 1911. Feminine manual labor is as important in Germany as in France and England. Indeed, one may say it is more considerable in Germany than elsewhere, owing to the metallurgical industry. At first women hesitated to join the syndicates, but there are now at least 200,000 of them in the free syndicates.

The local groups, like the neutral syndicates, have developed very rapidly. There were 319 of them in 1899 and 691 in 1911. Their receipts amount to 1,800,000 francs ($360,000) per year. They support a number of "workman secretariats" which are devoted to the defense of the workmen in the law courts and which also provide counsel. There were 33 of these secretariats in 1902 and 102 in 1911.

The Hirsch-Dunker associations derive their name from their two founders. From their incipiency they have been found in close relations with the Progressists; and as this party has made but little headway the syndicates controlled by them have followed their destiny. They are very militant against Social-Democracy, and they impose upon their members a formal repudiation of the principles of that organization. Their budget is a meager one, scarcely one-twentieth of that of the neutral syndicates, and their members have scarcely ever exceeded 100,000.

The other important group of German Socialists is that of the mixed Christian, or purely Catholic, or purely evangelical syndicates. We quote from M. Louis' account of them:

> Christian Syndicalism remained somewhat inert until 1891. . . . An important Christian syndicate—interconfessional—evolved at Dortmund in 1894, with a program of social peace, which declared against Social-Democracy, for loyalty to the Empire, and for a methodical understanding "with employers. . . . In 1900 the Catholic bishops prescribed interconfessionality." At the same date was instituted the Federation of Christian syndicates, which frankly took up a position against the episcopate. Henceforward there was a continual struggle between the two schools, those of Berlin and Cologne; and during the past ten years the Christian syndicate movement has been hindered by many neutral conflicts between partisans and adversaries of interconfession between those in favor of strikes and tho reject them at all costs.

The importance of these must not be underrated, of C cates especially, who from 78,(

1900 have increased to nearly 350,000 in 1911. At the last-mentioned date their receipts amounted to 8,000,000 francs ($1,600,000), and their reserve fund to 9,000,000 francs ($1,800,000). But, in spite of all, they represent but a limited vigor by the side of the neutral federations.

These federations are impregnated with the doctrines of Social-Democracy, which characterize the best of German Syndicalism, and which play beyond the Rhine the decisive vote. . . . The other groups, directed in fact against them, neither hinder their propaganda nor paralyze their economic action.

M. Louis notes some marked differences between German and French Syndicalism. He says in part:

The *Verbände* by their very nature represent the very best conception of German Syndicalism. Differing from that which prevails in France and which expresses itself clearly in the confederation of labor, this conception tends to repudiate federalism for centralism. With us [in France] the federation is superposed upon the syndical sections to render certain services; but these sections keep the major portion of their resources, and they maintain a distinct autonomy. In Germany, the syndical section exists merely as "the kernel of recruitment and an organ of perception." The receipts go to a central chest. A local section seldom proclaims a strike without having first consulted the central authority. Discipline is strict and regulated by statutes. Fragmentary and dispersed efforts are carefully excluded. Each *Verbände* has its mechanism, which functions methodically.

The German syndicate temperament differs from that of the French. It is not that beyond the Rhine the members of the neutral *Verbände* repudiate the social transformation. On the contrary, their ideal program of society in the future coincides absolutely with that of the Socialist party. But they have not adopted the principle of the general strike as an essential, nor do they attach more than a restricted value to it. There is no lack of funds. Last year the *Verbände* receipts were 90 millions, and after the year's operations there remained a balance of upward of 71 millions of francs. . . . The Federation is the fundamental organ of German neutral Syndicalism. It assembles all the coöperative sections of the same profession in a territory. The cartel, which corresponds to the French "bourses," musters all the sections of different professions in a locality; but the cartel is far from holding in the militant life of the German proletariat the place which is held—and has been held in propaganda—by the *Bourse du travail* in the action of the French proletariat.

CAN THE BRAIN BE MADE TO FUNCTION AFTER DEATH?

A WRITER questions, in a recent number of *Cosmos,* the possibility of the maintenance of the powers of the human brain, through artificial stimulus, after the death of the individual, and discusses the bearing of recent research upon such a problem. He says:

Each of our readers is aware of the remarkable success which has resulted from the attempts to develop living cells and living tissue apart from the organism. Muscular fibers, fragments of conjunctive tissue removed from animals, have been kept alive for days, weeks, and months. Placed in a suitable medium kept at a proper temperature, these tissues have produced new living cells; a bit of the heart of a chicken continued to beat for many months, and the new cells themselves, a few days after their development, displayed the same characteristic pulsations.

Thus by the researches of Harrison, Loeb, Burrows, Lewis, Lambert, and Carrel, it seems to be established that muscular and conjunctive tissues are virtually immortal; if oxygen and the necessary sustaining medium are provided, and they are freed from their waste products, there is nothing to prevent their lasting indefinitely: each cell lives only for a time, but it produces others and survives in the new cells which it engenders.

So much for muscular and conjunctive cells. To provide for the survival of a complex tissue or of a definite organ, there must be brought about the perpetuation of the nerve cells as well. Does the science of to-day give promise of such a result? To this question the illustrious Spanish professor, Don Santiago Ramon y Cajal, has made answer in the inaugural address delivered at Madrid, June 15th last, before the Fourth Congress of the Spanish Association for the Advancement of Science. Thus, to the question: "Is the nerve cell itself like the other cells of the organism, capable of an indefinite survival?" Don Ramon y Cajal answers: "No."

The distinguished Spanish scientist was indeed one of the first to maintain the life of nerve cells apart from the organism for at least two days; Marinesco, by other methods, has brought about a survival for nine days. But in every case, at the end of a limited time, the cluster of nerve cells succumbed. Why? Because the nerve cell, whether within the organism or apart from it, is incapable of multiplicity by division, of producing new cells to take up the succession. The nerve cells cannot transmit their functions. To quote Ramon y Cajal: "They live with us and die with us, and it is correct to say that a man is a brain served by organs. As a result, we must re-

nounce the hope of multiplying nerve cells, and consequently that of bringing about the total or partial survival of the human brain—of enclosing it within the walls of our specimen jar and preserving it complete and vigorous after the death of the individual. And even if science (which has brought to a successful issue so many things apparently impossible) could perform this stupendous miracle, of what use would it be to preserve in an incubator the brain of a Newton or a Pasteur? Could it think the least in the world? Cut off from the muscles, its working tools; deprived of the senses, its windows upon the world; despoiled of the stimulations which have their origin in the several organs and which act as the spur of the emotions and of conscious vitality—the existence of these poor isolated nerve cells would be as grossly vegetative and mentally forlorn as that of the humblest epithelial or conjunctive corpuscle. And if, through some inconceivable triumph of technical skill, we could bring to bear upon them chemical and dynamical excitations, admirable imitations of those produced by conscious thought and sentiment—what a horrible torture! Pain, without the resource of moans or of tears! Longing, without the hope of possession! Noble thoughts, without the means of expressing them! Even Dante could not have imagined a torture equal to this!"

WHEN WILL AMERICA SING?

SPONTANEOUS singing of every kind in this country is "gone for good," says an editorial in the *Musical Courier*. "Explain it as you will, the fact is the fact. We Americans have ceased to sing, nay, we are ashamed to sing, or so, at least, it seems."

The aforesaid article is based on an editorial note which appeared recently in the *Boston Herald*, under the title "The Singing Workman." The paragraphs of interest in this connection are as follows:

> The proposal to get efficiency by substituting music for the stop-watch appeals to a deep-seated instinct in man. Jacques Vernes, a French captain of industry, holds that rhythmic movements connected with song are at the foundation of effectiveness in work, and having tested his theory in the building of bridges and roads, is moved to apply it to all forms of industrial enterprise. Calling the results "amazing," he announces his ambition to "revive the times when every workman sang at his bench."
>
> It is unquestionable that the music rhythm and the action rhythm have gone together since the beginning of labor. First come forms like the "Zo ho" of the Siamese, the "Hu hu" of the Chinaman, the "Ona aa" of the Japanese, the "Hai na e" of the New Zealander; they grew more definite in the "Ey ukhnem razik" of the Volga burlak and the "Heave ho" of the British boatman; gradually come versified songs adapted to all phases of industry. There is no collective activity anywhere which has not been deemed worthy of melodic accompaniment, and all forms of toil have been thus set to music—the carrying of loads, the felling of trees, hewing of wood, drawing of water, grinding of meal and corn, digging, weaving and spinning. The Maoris have a song for every form of labor. Burton, in his description of the East Africans, tells us that the fisherman over his paddles, the porter carrying his load, the housewife grinding—all accompany their [illegible] song. Even to-day, as Sachau reminds us, the Bedouins draw water for their cattle to the tune of a song which is heard at all the wells in the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia.
>
> There is thus a solid basis for the attempt to enliven work by the influence of music. In outdoor toil of a collective character the scope for melody should be large. In certain kinds of indoor labor music might function usefully in relief of monotony; it would certainly give a degree of interest of those endlessly repeated movements of hands and fingers which tend to confound the worker with his machine. But that amid the whir and clatter of our great factories any beneficent application of song which could be made to the task of labor is highly improbable. Such value as it might have would come from its spontaneity, and the prescription of it is out of the question. For large-scale industrial enterprises the singing workman is gone for good. In them, at least, a good string band playing at intervals would be more efficacious than any number of musically inclined operatives with their "mouths full of singing birds."

There are several reasons for this disappearance of singing from our national life, and, thinks the *Musical Courier*, they may be stated in the order of their importance as follows: "(1) the many nationalities of which our population consists; (2) the undefined character of our own folk-songs; (3) the inexpressible imbecility and pigheaded stubbornness of those who have charge of the teaching of music in our schools."

The writer of the editorial says that the first of these reasons is of little importance. There is necessarily a confusion of folk-songs among the many different immigrants coming to this country. These became assimilated with the native American stock as soon as possible, and "during this assimilative

period they would, no doubt, learn our songs, if we had any, just as they invariably learn our cuss words, of which we have too many." As to the "undefined character of our own folk-songs," this depends largely upon our pedagogues.

This does not refer to music teachers, properly so-called, but to normal-school graduates who are required to learn music, of which, in a great majority of cases, they have no knowledge worth speaking of, but merely that superficial smattering necessary to pass their normal-school examinations. . . . They are music teachers against their will—often bitterly against their will.

Continuing, the writer of the editorial insists that there can be but two possible objects of teaching music in the schools. The one is "to develop the æsthetic sense, the other to induce our nation to sing."

Both of these things can be accomplished in but one way: by forcing the child to sing songs lustily—such songs as they like and enjoy, and such, moreover, as they will like and enjoy singing in after life, when they are grown up. And these songs cannot be baby songs, such as all our school music-books contain. Things suited to the child mind are invariably hated by the child. . . . The one instinct of the child is to play grown-up, to rebel against that period of slavery which is childhood. . . . Let our children be taught the words, particularly the words of our folk-songs, so that, in later days, they may join in with good heart when others sing, or chant for themselves when at work alone.

What is a folk-song? asks the editorial from which we have been quoting:

With the teachers and pedagogues that is still a mooted question, and until it is settled the law goes down to the ranks that no real, good, lusty songs shall be heard in the schools. In other words, if a song is lusty and gay and worth singing, with a touch of humor here and a touch of pathos there, it shall not be sung in the schools unless it is fully and universally acknowledged to be a folk-song. "Old Black Joe" may be sung, yes, because it is a generation old, its composer dead, and it has been acknowledged and accepted as an American folk-song. But suggest to these teachers and pedagogues the introduction into the schools of some modern "Old Black Joe," some song that the children will sing out of school if not in it, some song that they would sing with joy, that they would carry home and induce the whole family to join in—suggest such a song as that, and these teachers and pedagogues will hold up their hands in holy horror and vociferate loudly against the enormity of such a scandalous proposal.

Do those people realize that no one in the days of Foster had any idea that those songs would some day stand among our American classics? No one gave a thought to it. They were just minstrel songs, as popular as our popular songs of to-day; yet they have lasted just as some of our songs of to-day may last.

In closing we ask: "When will America sing?" And the answer is:

When the schools realize the prime importance of teaching children songs suitable to their adult days; when the schools insist that the words—particularly the words—of these songs shall be absolutely memorized. Never mind if a few worthless songs are learned. The principle is the right one, and not until it is adopted will we hear America sing.

THE PORTUGUESE BALZAC

ALTHOUGH Teixeiro de Queroz is considered the Portuguese Balzac, his works, like those of many of his eminent literary compatriots, are little known outside of his own country. Mr. Joao de Barros deplores this fact in an article of *La Revue* (Paris) and says:

Among the many names that shine in our literature, that of Teixeiro de Queroz stands out pre-eminent. He is the most nationalistic, most personal, most philosophical of our writers—and certainly the most intellectual. This last quality has assured him a special place in our world of letters, although his almost classic prose has not met with the popularity that it is entitled to, for Teixeiro de Queroz scorns to stoop to win easy success by methods other than those of high literary merit. But his name and works will outlive his generation and will pass on to the future as a precious possession. A physician by profession, a scientist by training, he has dissected the social organism of his country with an unerring touch and the clearness of vision that characterize the true physiologist.

The works of Teixeiro de Queroz, who published his first book in 1874 under the pen-name of Bento Moreno, are comprised in the two great series under the titles of "Bourgeois Comedy" and "Rustic Comedy." The titles themselves show Balzac's influence upon the Portuguese writer who, born in 1848, was, like all his contemporaries, a confirmed adept of the naturalistic school. But one must not imagine that his genius was obscured by the influence of the great French novelist. He may be somewhat like Balzac in his love of too minute description, but through his keenness of observation more physiological, than psychological, his imagination, his restrained language, and soberly handled emotions he is undeniably original.

His "Bourgeois Comedy" contains some masterpieces, notably "D. Agostinho" being the story of the old Portuguese nobility, dethroned by the new social forces, and "Charity," a scathing denunciation of officialdom, all for show; charity on one hand and the exaltation of real charity wherein generous and valiant souls strive to come to the relief of their unfortunate fellowmen, performing the most menial and tiring of tasks with the sole object of doing good.

His critique is often cruel and I have read certain pages that have impressed me painfully, by the implacable clairvoyance with which he discovers the meannesses and frailties of human nature. Still out of all this sordidness rises a magnificent lesson in energy that is very wholesome. Teixeiro de Queroz fairly glorifies human endeavor towards higher things. The predominating all-pervading note in his "Bourgeois Comedy" is a great confidence in the progress of humanity, the future of science, and the betterment of social conditions. The contrast between his severe criticism of our manners the time, and his ardent faith in a better future is not the least charm of this part of his works.

The "Rustic Comedy" is a collection of novels and short stories. In this series the emotions are perpetually vibrant. Here the philosopher, the naturalist, the theorist gives free rein to his artistic temperament and retains nothing of the scientist but the vigor of his observation of the facts of real life. "Antonio Foguerira," which is now appearing in translation as a serial in the *Independence Belge,* is one of the finest stories of its kind in the Portuguese language. It is the story of a young peasant whom bad company has led astray into a life of debauchery. Another one deserving special notice is "O Amor Divino," the story of a young country girl, who, influenced by missionaries, becomes a religious neurotic. The enthusiasm of this simple soul, striving for what she is made to believe to be a superior, more perfect life, is touchingly depicted in this drama of the soul, rendered all the more poignant because it unfolds in the peaceful atmosphere of a little village and among peasants as unconscious and egotistical as nature itself.

THE DECLINE OF APPRENTICESHIP IN FRANCE

TO produce skilled workmen in any trade or handicraft without a course of apprenticeship is about as unreasonable a task as that of the children of Israel who were required to make bricks without straw. Yet this is the position in which French manufacturers, great and small, find themselves to-day. One of the French labor laws fixes ten hours as the maximum period of labor in factories and workshops in which women and children are employed, and forbids the presence of apprentices in places where this maximum is exceeded. Another law prohibits the employment of boys or girls under sixteen years of age in the operation of circular saws, strap saws, shears, or other cutting machines. As a result of these, together with certain other laws, French manufacturers to-day find it almost impossible to obtain apprentices, and the fear is expressed that if suitable measures are not soon taken, many handicrafts will disappear. In *La Revue* (Paris) M. Emile Hinzelin publishes several replies from employees in various trades setting forth their views on the apprentice situation. He addressed himself to the workmen, rather than to the employers, because he considered they were the better judges.

From a carriage and automobile factory he received the following:

> If the law of 1900 is not modified, we shall be unable to find workmen for our work. Before the passage of this law ten or a dozen apprentices were to be found in our shops and many of these proceeded to Paris, where they obtained employment in excellent positions. To remedy the present unsatisfactory conditions we would suggest the imposition upon employers of an obligation not to work apprentices more than eight hours in winter, not more than eight and a half hours in summer. They would cease work at 4 or 5 o'clock and then be required to attend the scholastic establishments in the town, where they would pursue courses in design, geometry, bookkeeping, etc., until 7 o'clock, when they would return to their homes. Naturally, adult workmen would be allowed to work according to their needs and the season.

A Parisian working jeweler who, according to custom, followed his trade at home, wrote:

> Without boasting, I may say that I make nearly everything that offers, although my set of tools is a limited one. About two years ago it was proposed to me that I should take an apprentice. I undertook to teach him my trade, stipulating that he was to expect no pecuniary compensation for three years. I say nothing of the little money

present I gave him every Sunday, to encourage him. The next year I was taxed 50 francs beyond what I had previously paid. On inquiring at the office of the prefecture, I was informed that the tax was imposed because I had taken an apprentice. I explained that the apprentice was a source of loss, rather than gain, to me; but there was nothing for me to do but pay. "Give up your apprentice and the tax will be remitted." And yet the State talks of the crisis of apprenticeship!

From a furniture manufactory the following reply was received:

In the manufacture of furniture mechanical labor is very important and, consequently, it is legally impossible to take apprentices. The law of May 13, 1893, forbids the employment of anyone under 16 years of age in the operation of circular saws and other cutting machines, and nearly all of our machines are fitted with blades of some sort. To meet the difficulty at present existing, the most earnest of the employees propose the following arrangement: The boy to enter the factory at the age of 12 or 13 and to be employed in running errands, collecting the shavings, and sweeping about the machines. At the age of 15 he would be placed in a workshop under a skilled workman. The wages would be agreed upon at the outset, and the apprenticeship would be served without a contract. This arrangement applies to large factories only. Small manufacturers no longer take apprentices owing to the ten-hour law. . . . Employers should be required to send youths from 13 to 16 years of age to apprenticeship courses organized in the industrial centers . . . Instruction in design and the education of the eye should have a prominent place in these courses.

A glass-worker made the following plea for child labor:

In our industry the employment of children is one of the most valuable elements of success. Universal agreement is in favor of it. Glass-working is by no means so bad as it is painted. Besides, it is remunerative and there is no dull season. Is it not a grave imprudence to reject the employment of youths in it? More apprentices, more workmen. Here is an industry essentially French that is disappearing, and all to the profit of—the King of Prussia.

Certain professional syndicates, chambers of commerce, etc., have declared that child labor has killed apprenticeship. They say:

How many child-workers are there in France? According to recent statistics, 603,000; and among these there are at most only a few thousand bona-fide apprentices—the law of March 30, 1900, has caused many employers to engage no youths under 18 years of age.

It has been said also that the development of machinery has killed apprenticeship. "Nothing," says M. Hinzelin, "could be more inexact. The development of machinery should develop apprenticeship." What is needed is to follow the excellent beginnings made by the Paris Chamber of Commerce in inducing employers to allow the apprentices to follow complementary courses of instruction three or four times a week during working hours. And in every large industrial center a technical institute should be founded. As in most matters of this kind, the great need is money. Says M. Hinzelin: "France spends annually only nine millions on her technical instruction. Germany spends nearly forty. This question of apprenticeship has arisen in nearly the same manner throughout the civilized world. But each people has adopted the solution most conformable to its character." To quote this writer further:

In England, private initiative alone attempts to prepare apprentices in all the industrial fields. Nothing is obligatory. Nothing is even regulated. In Germany, the country of discipline, all apprentices take professional courses. In Austria-Hungary, the establishment of technical courses is obligatory.

In France, the aim is now to conciliate, in an ensemble of measures, liberty and obligation. M. Paul Deschanel said recently:

The best master for the apprentice is the workman. The true school of apprenticeship is the workshop. Assuredly it is right to create professional schools. But it is necessary at the same time to favor the formation of apprentices in industrial establishments. The State should intervene in a prudent but firm manner.

M. Hinzelin calls attention to a project, well worth attention, under which all young men following, before the age of 18, a trade or profession will be required to attend courses intended to complete their professional instruction. Employers who do not take apprentices will be subject to an apprenticeship tax, while those who have engaged apprentices will be exempt. It is further proposed that in each department there should be established an apprenticeship fund, supplied by the tax on employers, by gifts, legacies, and by subventions from the communes or the State, and administered by employers and by workmen elected by their fellows. The fund would assist small employers, the professors and instructors engaged in manual instruction, and apprentices' parents needing pecuniary aid. Only by some such means can apprenticeship be saved in France.



LITTLE CHINESE COME TO SEE THE "WESTERN DEVILS" WHOM THE FIRE CHARIOT IS TAKING BACK TO THEIR BARBARIAN COUNTRY

(From a sketch made by L. Sabattier for his own article)

PEKING TO PARIS VIA THE TRANS-SIBERIAN

A VERY entertaining and lively description of a trip occupying twelve days, from Peking to Paris via the famous Trans-Siberian road, is contributed to a recent number of *l'Illustration,* the picture weekly of Paris, by L. Sabattier, who not only writes the text, but supplies the pictures. We reproduce several of the more effective ones.

Leaving the Chinese capital on June 22, he started northward on the Chinese Eastern Railway, connecting with the Vladivostok express for St. Petersburg and Moscow. Here we quote from the diary:

June 22.—We leave Peking for Mukden. Not being able to secure a place on the train of the "Compagnie International des Wagons-Lits," I



CHINESE AND EUROPEAN PASSENGERS AT A STATION, ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN



AT EVERY STATION THE SAME CHILDREN AND THE SAME FLOWERS
(From a sketch by L. Sabattier, made for his own article)

must perforce take one of the weekly trains leaving Vladivostok for St. Petersburg and Moscow, respectively. I go via Moscow. The train has no sleeping accommodations, and this first night proves very trying, for all the cars are filled to overflowing at Tien-Tsin by a veritable mob going to spend Sunday at the seashore. As we leave Chau-Hai Konan we catch sight of the Great Wall, which begins at the sea and zigzags gradually uphill until it loses itself in the mountainous horizon. Between the mountains and the sea lie well-cultivated plains. Chinese peasants in blue garments and wide straw hats make brilliant spots of color upon the freshly ploughed yellow soil. One thing is remarkable: none of the furrows are straight. I suspect this is some wily device to frustrate the malice of the evil spirits so much dreaded in China. At this point something of real interest takes place. A dining-car has been attached to our train, where we shall be served fairly decent meals. During our short stops at small stations, the children of the locality gather to gaze at the "foreign devils" that the "fire chariot" is taking back to their barbarous countries. Here, as in France, the station-masters run along the trains calling out the stations, and, also as in France, nobody understands what they are saying. Along the route we pass posts upon which are placards inscribed in Chinese characters reading, "Small Heart—Fire Carriage." I happen to know what fire-carriage means, but what in the name of goodness does "small heart" stand for? I inquire and am told that it means, "Compress your heart; make it small with fear." In other words, look out for the locomotive!

After a day of suffocating heat we pull into Mukden and have to get out of the train in a wild rainstorm. We have to cross the tracks to get to the hotel, about 250 yards distant—the most inhospitable place imaginable, kept by Japanese people. No porters, no waiters, no proprietor in sight, and we poor, wet travelers have to look after our own baggage, already sidetracked at a good distance, and have to carry all our luggage. I afterwards wonder if the hotel personnel were afraid to go out in the rain and get those immaculate shirt-fronts rumpled. These experiences with the baggage repeat themselves so often that we begin to regard our belongings in the light of a curse. Between this and the continual changing of trains one is well-nigh distracted.

Typical entries in M. Sabattier's diary of his experiences while in Siberia are under the following days—not excluding some of his incisive comments on things he saw:

June 24.—We leave Chang Chun and travel under a radiant sky through the vast plains that were the scene of the Russo-Japanese conflict. We easily evoke memories of the dramas enacted there. We cross muddy rivers and whisk past fortified outposts, at the entrance of which Russian sentinels present arms as the train passes. Still traveling through cultivated plains, we arrive at Harbin, where the half-hour stop is taken up in looking after the baggage. But at last it is duly registered, and now we may breathe more freely. At this stage of our journey the need of exercise becomes so imperative that whenever we make stops, no matter how short, everybody rushes out to walk. If we are at table, we leave our dinner and run.

June 25.—We are now on the great Trans-Siberian line and are still going through plains, but without seeing a vestige of a tree or the least trace of cultivation. At Manchuria we have a bad half-hour with the Russian customs official. The weather is beautiful, but the heat truly African. Not a single Chinaman to be seen anywhere, and not many Russians, either. What a sad country! Swamps, swamps as far as one can see. Towards evening we reach slightly rolling country. A few trees appear and human habitations dot the landscape in clusters. The stations present animated pictures. Peasant girls in light garments and gorgeous handkerchiefs upon their heads offer the weary traveler wild strawberries, milk and eggs, while little children sell bunches of flowers that look like red lilies-of-the-valley and yellow cowslips.

June 27.—We leave Irkutsk and will not have to change cars for six days. What a blessing! We have left the plains behind us and are rolling along the foot of mountains through a thickly wooded country. We have seen nothing but trees all day. To the right, to the left, down in the valley, up on the hills to the very edges of the horizon—nothing but trees, till one's head swims. And ever present on either side of the track the wide scorched zone, caused by the sheaves of sparks flying from the locomotives, which are fed with wood. At all the stations the same children offering flowers, the same peasants selling wild strawberries and eggs.

For the last two or three days I notice that some of the towns and villages are situated at a distance of several kilometres from the stations, which appears most inconvenient to me. An obliging Russian fellow-traveler tells me that when the Trans-Siberian line was being built certain towns had not been willing to make liberal

concessions to the influential authorities, and found themselves ignored and inconvenienced in consequence by having the stations built way out of their way. Another thing surprised me exceedingly, and that is that they did not provide for a second track while they were building the first. Since the war with Japan, Russia, realizing the enormous advantage of having a double-track line, has begun to build it at various points, but in order to lay it alongside of the first, they are obliged to widen the roadbed, the tunnels, the cuts, and even build other bridges, for not even the one near Batraki, measuring nearly 1800 metres, is wide enough to accommodate the second track.

Finally European Russia is reached and European railroad systems once more welcome the traveler.

July 2.—We arrive in Moscow. I find the city very much changed in twenty years. German bad taste reigns everywhere! Nightmare houses rise up beside churches with gold or azure domes. Hideous billboards appear even on the walls of the Kremlin and the Kitai Gorod Gate.

Then "after passing through gloomy Germany and industrial Belgium, we reached at last dear, smiling France."

JUBILEE OF THE DEAN OF THE RUSSIAN STAGE

A FEW months ago literary, theatrical, and artistic Russia paid tribute to the memory of M. S. Shchepkin, the greatest Russian actor, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The newspapers and magazines printed lengthy articles characterizing the man who is justly considered the father of the Russian stage, and giving the story of his remarkable career. We quote from an article in *Niva* (St. Petersburg) by an anonymous writer, who voices the "sentiments of all thinking Russia":



MICHAEL SEMENOVITCH SHCHEPKIN

The name of Shchepkin is inseparably bound up with those of Gogol, Pushkin, Turgenyev, and Granovsky. In spirit and creative faculty he was particularly akin to Gogol. . . . Gogol was a great humorist in his literary works, a humorist in the lofty meaning of the word, who portrayed the bad morals and ludicrous manners with a view to correcting and perfecting humanity. Shchepkin was an equally great humorist on the stage, and his tendencies were the same. And no one could embody Gogol's types like Shchepkin, no one could read Gogol's works like Shchepkin did at his "literary soirées" in Moscow. . . .

In the history of the Russian theater Shchepkin stands in the first place. He created that theater we see, to which we are accustomed, which we like; the theater which is near to life in the natural simplicity of performance, in its noble, inner realism. Moreover, Shchepkin has established stage traditions in the production of plays of the classical *répertoire* and created a classical theater. What delights us in the acting of our favorite actors when they perform the parts of Famusov (in Griboyedov's comedy "The Misfortune of Being Intelligent"), Skvoznik-Dmukhanovsky (in Gogol's comedy "The Inspector"), the heroes of Shakespeare, Moliére, etc., is, in a general sense, all imbued with the spirit of Shchepkin, all of it has remained after him as an artistic legacy. No matter what original traits they manifest in their art, contemporary actors, with very rare exceptions, do not depart from the standards established by the great Russian "first comic actor." . . .

The main service of Shchepkin as a stage reformer is the fact that he broke with the conventionalities of psuedo-classicism in the Russian theater, and became the founder of a new school of histrionic art, which aimed at truth, simplicity, and naturalness. But still greater and still more important is the service of Shchepkin as an artist in general. He was one of those rare artists whose activities extended to all surrounding society and roused in people the spirit of humanity. Ever perfecting himself as an artist, Shchepkin perfected all our life, such dismal, wretched, and unattractive life, particularly at that time (the thirties and forties of last century). . . .

Like a great many Russians of eminence, Shchepkin was of lowly birth, and achieved fame and position entirely by his own efforts.

He was a self-made man in the full meaning of the word. Below we give some biographical data gathered from an article in *Têatr e Iskústvo* (*Theatre and Art*), St. Petersburg:

Shchepkin was born in the village of Krasnoye, province of Kursk, in 1788. His parents were serfs of Count Volkenshtein, a nice man, who, as much as can be concluded from the "Memoirs" of Shchepkin, did not misuse his proprietary rights over them. The education of the future great actor was not very elaborate, and cost little money. At first he was instructed by some serf, and after he was tutored by the village priest, who did not impart to him any great knowledge either. He was lashed, beaten over the hands with a cane, in a word, all the methods usual in the education of a poor peasant boy were applied to him. At the age of seven he made his first acquaintance with the theater. Count Volkenshtein, like many other rich people of that time, had his own private theater, serfs being the actors and actresses. The first play Shchepkin saw performed was a comic opera. His second, more serious acquaintance with the stage, occurred when he was a pupil in the public school at Sudja. The teacher organized amateur theatricals, and Shchepkin played a part in one of Sumarokov's comedies. In his "Memoirs" he tells of the feeling of utter happiness he had while performing the part. Even then his passion for the theater was beginning to manifest itself.

In 1802 Shchepkin was sent to the district grammar-school at Kursk. There he made the acquaintance of the Russian author Bogdanovitch, who, seeing the boy's intelligence and abilities, gave him books to read. Shchepkin read voraciously, but did not forget about the stage. He frequently went to the local theater, admired the performances, and sometimes even prompted the actors, which gave him inexpressible joy. A simple incident decided his future career. One of the actors of that company went on a protracted spree, and there was no one else to take his part. Shchepkin offered his services, which were accepted, and made his first public appearance on the stage of the Kursk theater. He was successful, and became a member of the company, but without pay. Some time later he joined a traveling company which played in the cities of Southern Russia. Among many other cities the company visited Poltava, and Shchepkin's acting pleased the Governor-General, Prince Ryepnin, so much that he undertook to raise a fund, by popular subscription, to pay for the actor's release from serfdom. Shchepkin's owner reluctantly sold his title to the gifted "property," and the actor obtained his freedom in 1821. A year later he was invited to give a performance at the Imperial Moscow Theater. His success was immense. The general-manager embraced him and congratulated him upon his engagement to the Imperial Theater. Beginning with the year 1823 he appeared permanently on the stage of the Moscow Theater, which may be proud of the fact and consider it a great honor that it was Shchepkin's theater. On that stage he played in the full bloom of his artistic talents and powers. What his further career was is known to everyone who is familiar with the progress of our histrionic art—it was an uninterrupted succession of triumphs.

When Shchepkin celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his artistic life the Russian writers presented to him a memorial address, and among the signatures was that of Count Leo N. Tolstoy.

Shchepkin lived to see the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom. He died in 1863 at Yalta, in the Crimea.

IS THERE ANY HOPE FOR EDUCATION IN RUSSIA?

EVER since the sixties of the last century the Russian Government has been doing its utmost to limit the spread of knowledge and enlightenment, but the events of the last few years have proved the futility of its efforts. This is the plain-spoken opinion of Mr. K. Arsenyev in the *Vyestnik Yevropy*, of St. Petersburg, in an article discussing the status of education in Russia. As one of the editors of that leading monthly, Mr. Arsenyev is well qualified to speak. This is what he says about the condition of primary education in his country:

There was a time when mere quantitative progress in that direction would have been considered a great step forward, indeed it constituted a big item in the government's credit column. Now the inauguration of universal education, if it will be introduced in the course of the next few years (of which we cannot be absolutely certain in view of the obdurate though not always consistent opposition on the part of the Imperial Council) will meet with the usual fate of belated reforms. It will satisfy none, because there is a widespread expectancy of something greater. Not only the wide circles of society, but even the popular masses will not reconcile themselves to the preservation of the distinctive character of the parochial school. . . . Far and deep there has penetrated the consciousness of the necessity for a qualitative advance of the primary school, penetrated an advance incompatible with the tyranny of the inspectors who interfere with everything without improving them, and with the distrust of all Zemstvo and municipal self-government. . . . Is the primary school the only agency that contributes to the development of thought and diffusion of knowledge among the masses? However downtrodden the press may be, it is after all not condemned to absolute silence. . . . However limited the libraries and reading-rooms are, they are being filled with other than "well-intentioned" publications. Once awakened, popular inquisitiveness will always find a means of satisfying itself, beyond the form prescribed or approved from above. The obstruc-

tions which are being placed in the path of out-of-school education do not hinder so much as they irritate. Intercourse between the village and the city grows with every day. Thousands, tens of thousands, return to the village more different than when they left it. The "object teaching" takes new forms, elusive and unavoidable. Rigorous "object lessons" produce not at all the impression they were expected to.

In the realm of secondary education matters are "not a whit better." While primary education is simply being impeded in its progress, secondary education is being forced back to a standard of the dead past, says Mr. Arsenyev.

The system of secondary education was grounded in the faith in the all-saving effects of . . . classicism and a watchful supervision embracing the whole life of the pupils. This belief is coming to life again. Once more the significance of the ancient languages is being exaggerated, once more the surveillance over the high-school boys and girls is becoming stricter and more thorough. It is not difficult to prophesy the complete failure of the policy which now, less than in any other day, corresponds to the spirit of the times. The ancient languages are no more the indestructible . . . foundation of secondary education, as they may have seemed half a century ago. Their domination is everywhere undermined, and it is more than strange to expect such re-establishment. . . . Still less justification can there be found in the past for the extreme measures of discipline and surveillance, which undermine the mutual trust of the parties (trust being so very important in the matter of education) and sow in the hearts of the pupils the first seeds of a negative attitude towards the authorities. The suspicion cast upon any meetings and assemblies causes attempts at secret communication. In its wake follow repressive measures which deepen the chasm not only between the educators and their charges, but also between society and the school.

Even in the universities reaction reigns supreme. Says this Russian writer here:

The university statute has grown as old as that of the high school, but, just as in the case of the latter, it is not radically revised, but violated, avoided, ignored, in accordance with aims and intentions of the ministry. Open disorder and malfeasance are overlooked if they are permitted by a politically irreproachable personnel. Strictures fall to the lot of the refractory and disobedient, even though their refractoriness consist only in the defense of an indisputable right. Never before has the ministry filled so many chairs at its pleasure, despite the wishes of the university. Never before have there been so many dismissals of professors, directly or in the guise of transfer to another city. Never has there been such interference by the administration with the internal life of the student body.

The writer then goes on to say that the idea of the Ministry of Education is to reduce the professorial staff to one level, "although not high in the scientific sense, but desirable politically and socially." To combat the progressive tendencies of the students, the ministry encourages the "creation and support in their midst of such forces which might serve as a counterbalance to the opposition elements, and carry on an open conflict with them." But all such measures, in the opinion of Mr. Arsenyev, are doomed to failure, and "public thought will find a way outside of the school, and all that will be done to direct it along a definite, narrow course will lead in the end only to its greater overflow."

LIFE IN INDIA 300 B.C.

ABOUT 300 years before our era there lived in Magadha, an Indian kingdom famous on account of its relation to the spread of Buddhism, a sage and noble Brahmin named Kautilya or Chanakya, who was largely instrumental in transferring the throne of that country from the old royal family to a young adventurer, Chandragupta. After the latter's triumphant ascension Chanakya became prime minister, and while occupying that exalted office he wrote an *arthashastra* or text-book in statesmanship. While famous all over India and frequently quoted by later writers on related topics, this work was lost to the world for many centuries. Only a few years ago it was recovered in a hand-written manuscript and published at Mysore by R. Shama Shastri. The authenticity of the work has since then been firmly established by the labors of Prof. H. Jacobi, of Bonn.

Chanakya was an Indian Machiavelli, as unscrupulous as he was able, and his doctrine seems to have been that anything is permissible to a monarch when it is a question of protecting his country or his own power. At the same time this Brahmin was a very astute observer, attentive to the smallest details and wise enough to take nothing for granted in describing the life surrounding him. Hence his work has become a wonderful source for the study of Indian life at that distant period. A series of vivid pictures drawn from the fifteen books of Chanakya's work appear in a recent number of *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm).

The prime minister of Magadha gives, for instance, the salaries paid to almost every class of men serving his royal master, including even the members of the royal house. The salaries are given in *panas,* a small copper coin with a value very closely equaling that of an American *quarter.* From the list may be quoted the following items, not only to show what was the income of public employees in those days, but also to indicate the relative value placed on different kinds of services.

The highest salary quoted is $12,000 a year, and this was given to the Queen Mother, the Queen Favorite, the Crown Prince, the commanding general, the officiating high priest, the King's teacher, the prime minister, and the chancellor of the kingdom. Next on the list came the head doorkeeper, the chief eunuch, the chief of the tax collectors, and the first chamberlain, each one of these having $6000 a year. A prince of the royal house, an ordinary general, the governors of cities and provinces, justices of the higher courts, ministers without portfolios, and inspectors of factories had an annual income of $3000.

Then come, all salaries being annual, government commissioners and heads of corporations, $2000; a colonel of infantry or cavalry, and inspectors of forests belonging to the royal domain, $1000; the King's coachman, the surgeon-general, the trainer of the King's horses, and the head of the royal zoological gardens, $500; the court soothsayer, the astrologer, the King's reader, the story-teller, the court poet, the assistants to the prime minister, and the heads of the various bureaus in the department of finance, $250; the court jester, the magician, a mining engineer, the lower members of the royal household, teachers, and scientists, from $125 to $250; soldiers of proved value, tax assessors, government clerks, and buglers, $125. And so on, down to the slave drivers and manual laborers, who got about $15 a year in American money.

Valuable light is also thrown on the forms and the extent of taxation. The idea seemed to be that only land and water furnished for the tilling of the soil were directly taxable. These taxes were so high and so numerous that they practically represented one-half of the income drawn by the owner of the land from all agricultural and horticultural pursuits. Apparently the underlying idea was that all land really belonged to the crown, being only granted on lease to the nominal owners.

While the city inhabitants, the manufacturers, and traders, escaped direct taxes, they were carefully and successfully bled in other ways—chiefly by means of customs duties, fines, and charges for passports and transportation. The carrying of goods or passengers by water constituted practically a government monopoly and furnished a very large income to the crown. Everybody and everything were carefully registered. The methods of modern Germany were not more carefully devised and applied than those of ancient Magadha. One of the principal reasons for this system was to prevent anybody from traveling without passport—and to get a passport was to pay taxes with a vengeance. To be caught away from home without a passport was punishable with a fine of from $250 to $750—which meant a fortune in those days.

A usage seeming very peculiar to modern occidentals was that a price had to be fixed in advance for all goods offered for sale, whether privately or at public auction, and if more was paid the extra money went to the crown. Land could only be mortgaged or sold to persons willing and able to till it. Houses, fields, gardens, dams, and other property could be taken away from their owners if neglected or misused for a period of five years. No theaters or other amusement places were permitted to exist in country villages, lest the rural population be diverted from its needful toil.

The customs duties, which were collected at the place of sale, not at the boundary line, amounted to from 4 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the value of the goods. This seems very reasonable in these days, but to such duties should be added what the government exacted for the use of weights and measures, these being also a crown monopoly. Fines were imposed and collected in the cities with a frequency that would be intolerable to Americans, but nevertheless not without reasonable method, so that they constituted genuine safeguards for the health and welfare of the communities affected.

All alcoholic drinks were heavily taxed, and the sale of them strictly controlled. They must be served in rooms pleasantly appointed, well aired, and decorated with flowers. To sell so many drinks to a person that he became intoxicated was punishable, and if, nevertheless, a customer went too far, the host was responsible for his property as well as personal safety. Both disorderly houses and gambling houses were controlled by the crown, which took a percentage of their in-

comes. The temples were free from taxes of any kind, but in a crisis the King had the right to take whatever wealth they contained. And finally must be added that, in case of war or any other emergency, the King might demand "alms" from anybody having them to give, in a way practically amounting to the confiscation of property.

MEUNIER AND BELGIAN "SOCIALIST" ART

MEUNIER, the great artistic exponent of modern social conditions and tendencies, of the powerful place occupied by the proletariat in our day, is the subject of an article in *The Strom,* a monthly publication of Vienna. That the new socialism has produced real artists in Belgium, both in literature and the illustrative arts, is the contention of the writer. One feels, he says, that a vital energy aroused by great political happenings can nourish the artistic instinct with a powerful sap. An absorbing, human cause can turn talent into genius.

We must note, the writer continues, in the case of Meunier, the beginnings of his art in order to realize his wonderful development.



INDUSTRY", BY MEUNIER

The youthful Meunier grew up in Brussels amid poor surroundings. His mother, a widow in indigent circumstances, had to support seven children. Only a year before his birth—he was born in 1831—Belgium became an independent State. The proletariat was sorely oppressed in the gradually developing industrial country. It was not then, as it is now, the center of all the real cultural forces of Belgium. The state of things was reflected in Meunier's first artistic efforts. He had no idea of individualizing the proletariat; all he sought was to penetrate into bourgeois art, and adapt his life to that of the bourgeoisie. He entered the studio of the sculptor Fraikin in Brussels, and there he acquired the art of representing charming female figures. He was likewise a painter; but what he did, both in sculpture and painting, lacked distinction—they were things to be exhibited in glass-palaces and Parisian salons. It was only when he gained a more penetrating insight into social conditions that he entered upon the path of a Christian socialism. He visited a Trappist monastery and painted pictures of monastic submission and renunciation. But around 1880 he began to realize that a Christian, romantic, historic Socialism was not compatible with our time. That year he visited the Belgian coal region. There it was borne in upon him that the spirit of our day is based not upon renunciation but upon resistance; not upon resignation but upon strength; not upon prayer but upon will-power; not upon historic dogma but upon social criticism, upon steeled muscles of body and mind.

It is interesting to observe that the foremost Socialist lyric poet of Belgium, Émile Verhaeren, followed the same course of development—beginning with a romantic cult of monasticism, abandoning that, after painful struggles, for the inspiring influences of our modern time.

Verhaeren's words are like the poetic translation of Meunier's "brazen-forged shapes." Both show the highest possibilities thus far exhibited, of a Socialist art. That art stands above agitation, artistic or otherwise. Verhaeren and Meunier have too universal a spirit to be confined within the necessarily narrow bounds of agitation. They aim at something greater. Their portrayal is simple. What they do is to represent the proletariat in artistic form. That is their potent achievement. They show how that proletariat, which is revolutionizing the world, is constituted. Th how it looks when at work, in motion, at re show this new, decisive human type. V gaged in observing it these artists gai point of view, a new means of expressio



"LE PUDLEUR," BY MEUNIER

The painter Laermens may be reckoned among the most significant group of Socialists and artists that modern Belgium has produced. He holds his own by the side of such spirits as Meunier, Verhaeren, Lemonnier.

What the great Belgian Socialist artists teach us—Meunier, the poet Lemonnier, among the dead, Verhaeren and Laermens among the living—is that great Socialist art does not occupy itself with vicious Socialist kinematics, but reproduces an image of our time which will enable future generations to realize the sufferings and the power of the proletariat of to-day. A Socialist work of art, like every great work of art, must have a universal significance. What that means everyone feels who has seen a production of Meunier. His bronzes, his paintings, have breadth, infinity, universality—in brief, the humanly telling force of all real art.

The writer concludes with this reflection:

form—in short, a new art. Verhaeren rises to exaggerated, rhetorical flights. Meunier is calmer, more restrained. His art is not as boundlessly expansive, as singularly eccentric as that of Verhaeren, but the feeling which inspires it is no less profound, the effect upon our artistic sense no less revolutionary.

All in all, where are we Germans? We have nothing that can equal the creations of the great Belgian Socialist artists such as Verhaeren, Lemonnier, Meunier, and Laermens. We have only a single Socialist artist of importance—Käthe Kollwitz. Perhaps her art would be much more advanced were the conditions in our country in a riper stage. We must not fail to take into account that the freedom of the Belgian Socialist artists is the fruit of a seething political summer. With us it is still spring.

REAL AND IMAGINARY CAUSES OF DISEASE

"BUT, Doctor, what was the cause of my illness?" That is the vital question which most patients put to their physicians, according to the distinguished medical privy councilor, Dr. Ad. Schmidt, of Halle.

It is a question the answer to which may be very simple or very complex, since it involves such disease factors as personal habits and hygiene, occupation, environment, constitution, and heredity, besides accidental exposure to various infections.

In an article contributed to the *Deutsche Revue* Dr. Schmidt considers the general causes of illness, with the best methods of guarding the health so as to avoid them, incidentally calling attention to various errors into which the laity are apt to fall. He says:

The recognition that a great number of diseases proceed from infection, i.e., the entrance into our body of micro-organisms, has deeply penetrated the public consciousness, yet the real significance of this is very commonly wrongly appraised. Many people have an unconquerable fear of clinics, hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoriums, and in general of all places where invalids are cared for, because they believe that in such places it is easy to "catch" something. In reality, however, it is in such localities that all measures of precaution against contagion are observed, while in our ordinary life and daily intercourse they are apt to be grossly neglected.

Dr. Schmidt observes further that many cases of infection proceed from victims in the early stages of disease who have not yet been isolated, this being true of tuberculosis, typhus, diphtheria, measles, and scarlet fever. He also refers to the "carriers" who are responsible for the spread of disease, often without any suspicion of the fact on their own part or that of others. He continues:

In comparison with transmission from person to person, which is by far the commonest way, the spread of infective germs by objects concerned in social intercourse (money, food, books, etc.) plays a subordinate *rôle*, and the "microphobes" who make a detour about a house containing a scarlet fever patient, would often be far better advised if in their domestic intercourse they

... and the South Sea Is-
... differ widely in
... attested

comes. The temples were free from taxes of war or any other emergency, the King might any kind, but in a crisis the King had the demand "alms" from anybody having them to right to take whatever wealth they contained. give, in a way practically amounting to the And finally must be added that, in case of confiscation of property.

MEUNIER AND BELGIAN "SOCIALIST" ART

MEUNIER, the great artistic exponent of upon will-power; not upon historic dogma but modern social conditions and tenden- upon social criticism, upon steeled muscles of body ...ies, of the powerful place occupied by the and mind. ...roletariat in our day, is the subject of an arti- It is interesting to observe that the foremost ...t in *The Strom*, a monthly publication of Socialist lyric poet of Belgium, Émile Ver- ...enna. That the new social- ... has produced real artists in ...gium, both in literature and ...illustrative arts, is the con- ...ion of the writer. One ... he says, that a vital ... aroused by great polit- ...ppenings can nourish the ... instinct with a power- ... An absorbing, human ...can turn talent into



INDUSTRY", BY MEUNIER

...ust note, the writer ... in the case of ...he beginnings of his ...er to realize his ...evelopment.

...ful Meunier grew up ... amid poor surround- ...mother, a widow in ...rcumstances, had to ...en children. Only a ...e his birth—he was ...831—Belgium became ...dent State. The pro- ...e sorely oppressed in ...ally developing indus- ...y. It was so then, as ...the center of all the real cultural forces of ...haeren, followed the same course of develop- ...The state of things was reflected in ment—beginning with a romantic cult of ...s first artistic efforts. He had no idea of monasticism, abandoning that, after painful ...alizing the proletariat; all he sought was struggles, for the inspiring influences of our ...rate into legend, art, and adapt his life modern time. ...of the heroic. He entered the studio ...sculpture. He in Brussels, and there he ...ed the art representing charming female Verhaeren's words are like the poetic translation ...He was also a painter; but what he of Meunier's "brazen-forged shapes." Both show ...oth in drawing and painting, lacked distinc- the highest possibilities thus far exhibited, of a So- ...ber were to be exhibited in glass- cialist art. That art stands above agitation, artistic ...as. It was only when he or otherwise. Verhaeren and Meunier have too ...ing insight into social con- universal a spirit to be confined within the neces- ...upon the path of a Christian sarily narrow bounds of agitation. Their portrayal is simple. ...a Trappist monastery and something greater. Their portrayal is ...monastic submission and renun- What they do is to represent the proletariat in ...1886 he began to realize that artistic form. That is their potent achievement. ...historic Socialism was not They show how that proletariat, which is revolu- ...time. That year he visited tionizing the world, is constituted. They ...There it was borne in how it looks when at work, in motion, at ...of our day is based not show this new, decisive human ...or upon resistance; not upon gaged in observing it ... enough; not upon prayer but point of view ...

may not have been aware of it. A perfectly sound man might have fainted and remained ill for several days, but his heart would have quickly recovered and sustained no lasting injury. In a certain measure the fainting fit would be the protection against excess. The same thing holds of intellectual over-exertion. A man whose nerves are perfectly sound is guarded from excessive strain by the elementary force of exhaustion—he is overpowered by sleep. By artificial stimulus (such as tea or tobacco) he can fight it off for awhile till he has achieved his aim (e. g., stood an examination) but then comes the natural revolt, so that in a short time he is restored by rest. It is otherwise with a person of defective nervous force, an actual or latent neurasthenic. He can more easily overwork himself because in him the natural inhibition is not strong enough. The excessive irritability of his nerves prevents him from feeling fatigued after an all-night vigil; he often believes himself to possess especially strong energies, but he deceives himself. . . . Sooner or later he breaks down and is thenceforth a man of diminished power of achievement.

Dr. Schmidt emphasizes the importance of *psychic factors:* i. e., anxiety, grief, risk, tremendous responsibility, which exert powerful effects not merely on the nervous system, but on the whole organism. Peace and happiness are potent factors in the preservation of health and the power of achievement. On the other hand, petty but wearing annoyances may operate unfavorably and so may a violent shock, either of deadly fear or of actual misfortune, Such a *"psychic trauma"* may operate as unfavorably on the health as either physical or intellectual strain. A case in point is the "railway spine" which persons who have been in a wreck may suffer from, and which is in fact a lasting disturbance of the central nervous system. Similarly a prolonged struggle to "pay the rent" may so react on a man as to produce what is known as the "rent-struggle neurosis."

HIGH TEMPERATURES PRODUCED BY INCANDESCENT LAMPS

MANY of us look upon the incandescent electric-light bulb as a safe means of illumination under conditions where any flame would of necessity be dangerous. But, according to an article recently published in *Cosmos,* we must not put too much confidence in this assumption.

As a result of a fire in the theater at Stettin, Hr. Boje was called upon to decide whether the responsibility for the accident rested upon the use of portable incandescent lamps. To this end each type of lamp-guard was provided with a 16-candle, 220-volt, carbon filament lamp and was wrapped in layers of cotton cloth in such a way as to cut it off completely from the air. A glass tube buried in the mass enabled the observer to follow the variations in temperature in the immediate neighborhood of the lamp. Similar experiments were made with coverings of linen, silk, scenery canvas, etc.

In the case of two of the lamps the cotton cloth was set on fire, when it touched the bulb, after twenty-five minutes, and after thirty minutes when contact with the glass was prevented. Thin linen, canvas, and silk took fire when in contact with the bulb, in from five to fifteen minutes. The heat was so intense that in some instances the bulb itself softened and collapsed. Two other lamps, wrapped in napkins, took fire after thirty minutes and after two hours and forty minutes, respectively. The highest temperature observed was 213° C. (415° F.). One lamp was tested by placing it in a box containing wood shavings; these caught fire after three hours. These experiments clearly showed that all the portable lights now in use may become dangerous when equipped with 16-candle, 220-volt, carbon filament lamps.

As check experiments, the tests were repeated with the same materials, but after the substitution of metallic filament lamps of from 16 to 50-candle-power. Kindling was again brought about with lamps of 50, of 32, and of 25-candle-power; in no case did the material of the wrapping take fire when it surrounded a 16-candle, metallic filament lamp. The maximum temperatures in the neighborhood of the bulb in the case of these lamps ranged between 100° and 149° C. (212° and 300° F.). The reason for the lesser heating is that, for equal intensity of light, a metallic filament lamp consumes only a third as much electric energy as a carbon filament lamp: the heat radiated is thus also reduced by two-thirds.

SIGNIFICANT NOVELS OF THE SEASON

HERE are two stories—novels, if you like—as far apart in technique and subject-matter as the poles, yet each builds its structure around the life of a woman who is seeking with directness and intensity the great satisfactions of life, each according to her own conceptions of life's aims, ends, and purposes. To Mrs. Wharton's heroine, Undine Spragg, in "The Custom of the Country," each new attainment brings instantly a spasm of morbid restlessness, the craving which is the modern feminine disease, a fever, a delirium for which life holds no surcease. To Eleanor Abbott's joyful creation, "The White Linen Nurse," the fruit of desire perfects itself in usefulness and joy and great love. By placing in the reader's mind two such diverse heroines in sharp juxtaposition there will arise a clarifying judgment that will reveal the cause and perhaps the cure for feminine unrest.

A Study in Contrasts

First, let us consider the outline of "The Custom of the Country."[1] Undine Spragg comes to New York bent upon social conquest. Back in the West she has eloped with Elmer Moffat, a vulgar, shrewd individual, but this marriage has been brought to a speedy termination by her parents, who cherish high hopes for Undine's matrimonial future. She is a beauty, "vivid, crude, but of uneclipsed brightness. Her black brows, her reddish, tawny hair, and the pure red-and-white of her complexion" render her conspicuous everywhere. After many mistakes and much social wriggling she succeeds in marrying Ralph Marvell, an idealistic young man of excellent family. His failure as a moneymaker and her own restlessness, imprudence, and extravagance lead to a divorce after Undine goes to Paris. There she becomes friendly with members of the French aristocracy and visits the Chelles family at their chateau, Saint Desert. Her husband accidentally discovers the facts of her first marriage, about which she had neglected to inform him, and shoots himself. After a time Undine marries Count Raymond Chelles, and by her complete disregard of the finer obligations of life—in a country where family traditions are paramount—coupled with wanton extravagance, makes her French husband as miserable as she did her American husband. She bargains to sell the very honor of the Chelles family—the wonderful tapestries which Louis Quinze gave them, and he arraigns her faults pitilessly:

"You come among us from a country we don't know and can't imagine—a country you care for so little that before you've been a day in ours you've forgotten the house you were born in—if it wasn't torn down before you knew it. You come among us speaking our language and not knowing what we mean; wanting the things we want and not knowing why we want them; aping our weaknesses, exaggerating our follies, ignoring or ridiculing all we care about—and we're fools enough to imagine that because you copy our ways and pick up our slang you understand anything about the things that make life honorable and decent for us." In the end she divorces Chelles in Reno and remarries her first husband, Elmer Moffat, who has prospered and won the title of the "Railroad King." One of the ironies of life brings to them, some years later, the Chelles tapestries which the impoverished French family had finally been obliged to part with. Mrs. Wharton leaves Undine in her tapestried house in Paris, wearing the pigeon-blood rubies of Marie Antoinette—a glitter, a blaze, a dazzle to the eye, but dissatisfied at heart. And why? Because she has discovered that she can *never* become the wife of an ambassador, since she has been divorced.

Mrs. Wharton's psychology is flawless. As surely as water finds its level, Undine Spragg found hers; it was inevitable that she should return to the vulgar Moffat and with him revel in the display of wealth. Her character serves as a screen whereon her creator displays the ugliest faults of American women-climbers—egotism, selfishness, barrenness of mind, and utter spiritual atrophy.

"The White Linen Nurse," Rae Malgregor, is a yellow-haired Nova Scotia farmer's daughter who marries the "Senior Surgeon" of a great hospital after his proposal that she undertake general "heartwork" for himself and his crippled little girl. The story is unusual and wholly delightful. Neither its misused adverbs nor its reeling descriptive passages actually mars its exquisite fabric. The Nova Scotia girl has a motto given her by her father. It is: "Don't ever be bumptious." She has, also, the cardinal virtue of docility, and from the soil of docility spring all the spirit-flowers of a woman's life. In Rae Malgregor's character lies the antidote for the poison of the Undine Spraggs. There is service and humility and faith, joy, courage, and great and abiding love—the clear rays of the spectrum of virginal and perfect womanhood.[2]

Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett has never written a more delightful story than "T. Tembarom."[3] With the passing years her art has matured and mellowed until of its kind it is well-nigh perfect. You remember the wondrous thing that happened to Little Lord Fauntleroy? Almost the same thing happens to "Tembarom." "T" was the abbreviation of his Christian name, "Temple," and in a kind of process of evolution the name had become "Temp Barom" and finally settled into "Tembarom" and there remained. He begins life in New York as a newsboy and shortly falls heir to the great estates of Temple Barholm, in Lancashire, and seventy thousand pounds a year. Through many pages of surprises, quaint humor,

Mrs. Burnett's "Tembarom"

[1] The Custom of the Country. By Edith Wharton. Scribners. 594 pp. $1.35.

[2] The White Linen Nurse. By Eleanor Hallowell Abbott. Century. 276 pp. $1.

[3] T. Tembarom, Frances Hodgson Burnett. Century. 518 pp. $1.40.

and gentle adventure, Mrs. Burnett carries "Tembarom" with the skill and ingenuity of a Dickens. Indeed, the book in its entirety is more like Dickens than anything that has appeared these later years. "Tembarom's" entanglement with Lady Joan, his friendship for elderly Lady Alicia, his management of his astonishing estates, are all marvelous bits of grown-up fairy tale. In the end he marries "Little Ann," his friend of the old



MRS. FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT
(Whose latest story, "Tembarom," is one of the surprises of 1913)

newsboy days, and they come to New York to enjoy their honeymoon in a Harlem flat, where they keep house and cook steaks and nail down carpets like other folk who live on "fifteen shillings" a week. Little Ann decides to keep the flat always "just for a nest." That "Tembarom" finds the lost heir to the estates and gives them back reveals the heart-quality of Mrs. Burnett's latest Prince Charming.

Weir Mitchell's New Story

Dr. Weir Mitchell's description of the battle of Gettysburg, in his notable novel of American life, "Westways," promises to become a classic.[1] One reviewer has said that "it might well furnish text-book material for children of future generations." "Westways" is a splendid achievement in the field of fiction, mainly for the reason that Dr. Mitchell finds his material in the life of a Pennsylvania village during the period of 1855-1866. In this village we find the Penhallows, a family divided by differing political sentiment. "Squire" James Penhallow has Northern sympathies and votes for Frémont and Lincoln, although before the slavery question had arisen he had considered himself a Democrat. His wife, Ann Penhallow, a strong-minded woman, Southern by birth, is arrayed against her husband because of her Southern affiliations, and a domestic estrangement takes place. . . . War is declared and the "Squire" enlists and accepts the command of a regiment. He is wounded at Gettysburg and returns home, there to remain under a cloud resulting from mental trouble until the end of the war. A trepanning operation relieves his trouble and he is reunited to his wife. This is a simple theme enough, but Dr. Mitchell has given us with the story all the principal characters of "Westways"—the village drunkard, Peter Lamb, Ann Penhallow's Confederate brother, George Grey, the postmistress, the rector. There are also sketches of historical characters—Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, Grant, and Stonewall Jackson and Lee. In each character is reflected the national struggle; the reaction of stirring events filters into the narrative everywhere. Two lovable children are introduced



DR. S. WEIR MITCHELL
(Whose novel, "Westways," is one of the notable books of the current season)

in the first chapter—John Penhallow and Leila Grey, cousins of the Westways Penhallows. John comes to Westways when he is fifteen, fresh from Continental tutors. Leila, a red-haired tomboy of a girl, proceeds to make a real boy and later a man of him. Their love-story—its completion—ends this fine and wholesome novel. Fifteen years ago Dr. Mitchell's "Hugh Wynne" quickly caught the popular fancy and became one of the "best sellers" of the day. It seems probable that "Westways" may have a similar success.

[1] Westways. By S. Weir Mitchell. Century. 510 pp. $1.40.

One English critic has said that Dostoievsky, the great Russian realist, possessed "a power of seeming to get nearer to the unknown, to what lies beyond the flesh," than any other writer who ever lived. Besides this, his almost uncanny ability to reproduce in the reader's mind the impression of the reality of material things—these make a combination very rare. We had occasion to notice in these pages some months ago the edition recently published of "The Brothers Karamazov," translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett. This was the first of a series of Dostoievsky's novels being brought out by the Macmillans. Now we have "The Idiot," another of his famous works, translated by Miss Garnett. "The Idiot" is Russian to the core, yet thoroughly human. It is one of those novels of universal literature which will not die.[1]

Russian Realism

Mr. H. G. Wells' latest piece of turbulent fiction is entitled "The Passionate Friends."[2] It is the life story of a man and woman "separated by the barrier of the law and attracted by something stronger than any law, stronger than themselves." The story contains the usual social and economic surprises that Mr. Wells dishes out to his readers —"for I know that an increasing multitude of men and women outwear the ancient ways."

H. G. Wells

If there were any doubt that John Galsworthy is one of the greatest writers of English prose, and one of the subtlest and most impressive of living English moralists, such doubt would be dispelled by reading "The Dark Flower."[3] It is the life love-story of a man. In each of the three parts the theme is identical, the struggles of a man with and against his love for a woman he should not honorably love. In "Spring" the hero, Mark Lennan, in his early youth, loves the wife of his professor at college. We see not only the purity of his youthful idealism, but the intense pathos of the life of the woman verging on a middle age which has not yet known love. In "Summer" he loves another wife, and between his passion and the revenge of the husband the woman's life goes out. Mark finally marries one of his early boyhood sweethearts, and for a while is conventionally happy. Then, at forty-eight, in "Autumn," he also yearns for youth, and loves a girl of seventeen. But "years of discretion" have taught him to "do the bravest thing that any man can do and the hardest"—he runs away. The "Dark Flower" is the bloom of passion which brought poison to each of the three women. Through it all the things that impress one are Galsworthy's appreciation of the delicate shades of character and the indescribable melody of his style.

Galsworthy's Latest



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF THOMAS HARDY, THE ENGLISH NOVELIST



DOSTOIEVSKY, THE RUSSIAN REALIST

Thomas Hardy, at seventy-three, is in the perfection of his literary art and the ripeness of his skill as a story-teller; this we find in "A Changed Man," the title given to a collection of short stories, twelve of them, brought out in one volume by Harpers.[4] Some of these stories were written

Short Stories by Hardy

[1] The Idiot. By Fyodor Dostoievsky. Translated by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. 620 pp. $1.50.
[2] The Passionate Friends. By H. G. Wells. Harpers. 363 pp. $1.35.
[3] The Dark Flower. By John Galsworthy. Scribners. 316 pp. $1.35.
[4] A Changed Man. By Thomas Hardy. Harpers. 406 pp. $1.35.

at the height of his career. They are really more condensed novels than short stories, and many are new to American readers. They are rich in atmosphere and character-painting. Particularly charming is the concluding story, "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid."

Mary Johnston's New Woman

The poetic leaven saves Mary Johnston's "Hagar" from being a feministic prig.[1] When she turns from a threatening array of sociological magazines to Keats and reads in the sweet air of the window—

"No, no; go not to Lethe, neither twist
Wolf'sbane, tight-rooted, for its poisonous wine,"

we know that her exposition of the "Cause" will not lead us astray. "Hagar" is a Virginia girl who leaves the seclusion of her Southern home to find her mission and the full measure of womanhood. The entire narrative is frankly feministic with a suspicion of being more or less a personal chronicle of the author's progress toward modern feminism. Hagar analyzes the woman movement as "a metaphysical adventure, a love-quest if you will. There is a passion of mind, there is the questing soul, there is the desire that will have union with nothing less than the whole. I will think largely and freely and live freely and largely. Nor must I think one thing and speak another, nor must I be silent when silence betrays the whole—— And so woman no less than man comes into the open." Women are growing, changing, they feel a strange, new life, or rather they discern their oneness with all. Hagar's family and her Southern friends think her "intensely unwomanly," but she goes on working and crying in the wilderness for spiritual rebirth and "light, more light." The book ends with her marriage to John Fay, a bridge-builder. Hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, they face their work and look forward to the hoped-for to-morrow when their dreams shall find realization in the kingdom of beauty and truth. Miss Johnston's book is more than propaganda, it is rarely fine literature—the best feministic novel yet written in America.

Stories by Bazin

During the last decade religion has been reborn in French literature. Beginning with symbolism and mysticism and helped on by Bergson and his principle of intuition, French literature lifts itself from cold intellectualism on the wings of faith. While this new religious tendency reveals itself most clearly in the work of the French lyricists, the younger novelists have imbibed the spirit of this renaissance and turn toward the world invisible. Renée Bazin, the French novelist who has charmingly idealized the lives of the humble *bourgeoisie,* belongs to this later school. His new book is a collection of stories entitled "The Marriage of Mlle. Gimel."[2] Three of these stories are new; two appeared in a previous volume, "Humble Amour," now withdrawn from circulation.

After the manner of Hardy, D. H. Lawrence tells the life drama of two generations in a novel of remarkable realism and power[3]—"Sons and Lovers." A question of the effect of pre-natal influence is involved in the story. The mother, whose unhappy life with a coal miner beneath her in social station leaves her adrift mentally, unattached and loveless, bears a son and binds him to her with a bond so strong that no other woman can ever break it. Gertrude Morel is a strange character—a woman narrow and unlovely in many respects, yet so powerful in her influence that she holds in mortmain the love and the very soul of her son. After her death, he meditates—"What was it all for—her struggle?" He feels that his mother's personality has been transferred to him, at least that his soul cannot leave hers, wherever she is, because she is "in him and he must go on living for her sake." The chapters descriptive of life in an English colliery village reveal great literary artistry and a certain grim realism seldom equaled in fiction.

The Tragedy of the Mill

"Amanda of the Mill," by Marie Van Vorst, treats the question of child labor with surpassing eloquence.[4] It might be called an episodic novel, so completely does each chapter reveal an incident, a scene, a discussion that might be lifted from the book as a complete thing of its kind. It seems written at white heat, but there is little exaggeration. Amanda, a primitive hill girl of the South Carolina pine belt, weaves the thread of joy and of tragedy throughout the pages. The mere story is thrilling and fascinating, but behind the structure of a book stand the eloquent victims of industrial sins—the over-worked, misused children. Here is a bit of description from Mrs. Van Vorst's novel; that pictures "Pauley Conrad," a cotton-mill worker, ten years old:

"His trousers were a network of holes; his thin body, naked to the waist, resembled a shell—frail substance to encase a human soul—and down his sides streamed the sweat in rivers running dirt. Close to him Amanda saw his heart beat against his ribs as he tugged at his crank, drawing it aside to bend over his task. . . . Under the child's fingers the textile ran out with no blemish. In the cotton-filled atmosphere he seemed the epitome of the whole infant tribe of slaves."

Two Stories of English Life

Eden Phillpotts' novel, "The Joy of Youth,"[5] is built around a single character, that of Bertram Dangerfield, monist, art lover, philosopher and Greek metaphysician. This superman, at the age of twenty-seven a famous artist, lives the incarnation of the "joy of youth." Plot is a secondary consideration—love, art and Italy join hands to uphold the narrative. The story is fervently written and there are pages of fascinating description—the very enchantment of nature's moods cast into words. The discussions of philosophy and art are fresh bubblings of the well of truth. For instance, Mr. Dangerfield speaks of truth: that it is built up of a "thousand thousand little untruths. Truth is everything and nothing. Take art? It is all pretence, unreality, fantasy, untruth in the essence. Realism isn't truth, romanticism isn't truth, supernaturalism isn't truth. But the illusion of truth lurks in all these things. . . . When our thinkers start after reality and drop truth, we shall push on toward the superman."

[1] Hagar. By Mary Johnston. Houghton Mifflin. 390 pp. $1.40.
[2] The Marriage of Mlle. Gimel. By Renée Bazin. Translated by Edna K. Hoyt. Scribners. 270 pp. $1.25.
[3] Sons and Lovers. By D. H. Lawrence. Mitchell Kennerley. 517 pp. $1.35.
[4] Amanda of the Mill. By Marie Van Vorst. Bobbs-Merrill. 340 pp. $1.35.
[5] The Joy of Youth. By Eden Phillpotts. Little Brown. 333 pp. $1.30.

a number of photographs taken by the author. There is an appendix consisting of statistical and other data and a map by Professor Herschel C. Parker.[1]

The story of the Arctic adventures of Dr. Vilhjálmur Stefánsson is now published as "My Life with the Eskimo." Dr. Stefánsson has been one of the most thorough and scientific of Polar explorers, his desire being always rather to thoroughly study some section of the great frozen north than to make sensational discoveries. It was believed some years ago that he had contributed a sensational bit to our scientific knowledge in his coming among the white Eskimos. His chief contributions to science, however, have been his thorough study of certain sections of Canada, in the Mackenzie River region, and he has told us a great deal about Eskimos and their lives. This volume is copiously illustrated.[2]

Nearly every year a band of pilgrims go down from Russia to the Saviour's tomb at Jerusalem. The story of this journey of Russian peasants to Jerusalem has never been described, at least not as fully as Stephen Graham now describes it in his book, "With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem." Mr. Graham, an English journalist, accompanied this pilgrimage, which he describes as "the most significant thing in Russian life of to-day." The volume is illustrated with many characteristic pictures.[3]

An exceedingly human story of the experiences of "A Woman Rice-Planter," which have been appearing recently in the pages of a prominent magazine, have now been published in book form. They are the experiences of Mrs. Patience Pennington, a typical Southern woman, who tells her story with great modesty and much charm. This South Carolina lady actually managed two large rice plantations on her own account. This required so much resource, energy, tact, patience, and executive ability that the story of its achievement is amazing, more—it shows a most unusual combination of rugged courage with womanly sympathy and religious devotion to duty. The volume is illustrated with quaint woodcuts.[4]

A new volume in the Highways and Byways series, written and illustrated by Clifton Johnson, takes the reader from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, through New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.[5]

Another volume of picturesque impressions of Eastern American scenes, particularly in New England, is Walter Prichard Eaton's "Barn Doors and Byways," with illustrations by Walter King Stone.[6]

Mrs. Alec-Tweedie's impressions of the United States are conveyed in a chatty volume—"America As I Saw It."[7] Mrs. Tweedie has visited us three times, the last visit being in 1912, so her comments are up-to-date. She terms her book a "cubist-impression picture of a great country," by which she means an odd, jumbled, discursive account of people, places, and things. The book charms by its piquancy and sheer good nature; Mrs. Tweedie is an optimist and views our blunders with the pleasant thought that we would do better if we only knew how. The chapters deal with American home life, society, politics, scenery, Pullman cars, cities, roads, prairies, advertisements and what not. The size of America amazes the author, likewise our insistence on our own *greatness*. Hypersensitiveness she considers the American sin. While in the main a fair-minded person is inclined to agree with Mrs. Tweedie in her criticisms of the "land of the free," there is one assertion she has made that seems not fully considered—her objection to the equalizing of opportunity for education. "Indiscreet education" she fears will lead to class struggle in the "States" as it has led to socialism (she asserts) in Germany.



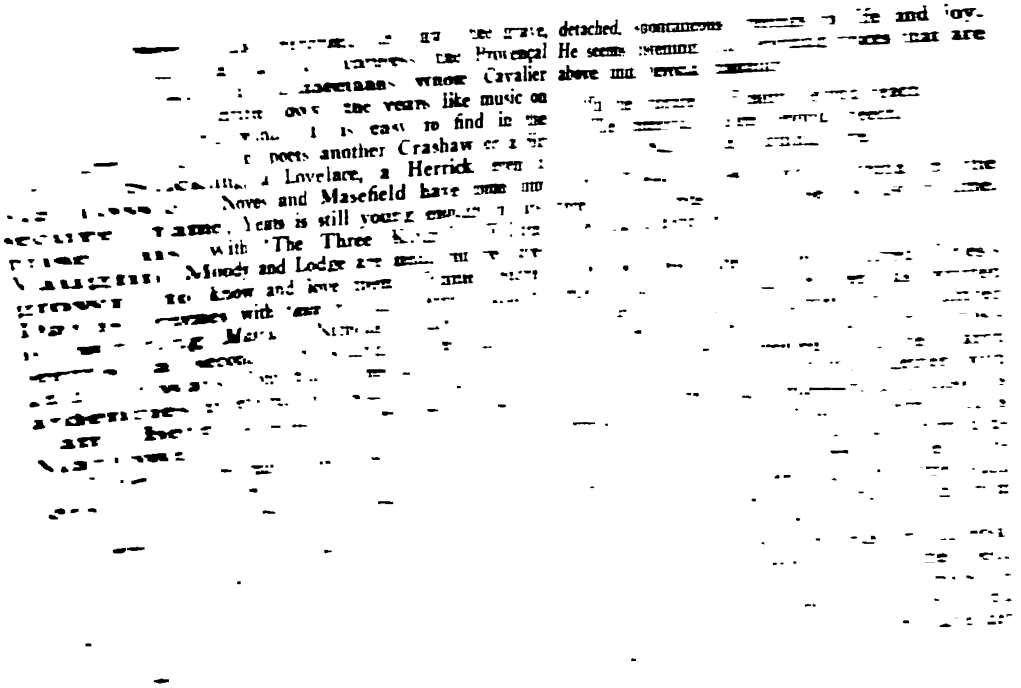
A RUSSIAN PILGRIM CARRYING THE SACRED FIRE IN A HOLY LANTERN

(The pilgrims try to keep the fire alight till they get back to their villages in Russia. Then they light candles with it, before the ikons in their houses and in the churches. This custom is described in Stephen Graham's "With the Russian Pilgrims")

"Greeks in America," an account of their coming, progress, customs, living, and aspirations, with an historical introduction and the life stories of some famous American Greeks, and with some illustrations, has been written by Thomas Burgess, member of the American branch of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union, and author of "A Descriptive Bibliography of Books on the Eastern Orthodox Church."[8]

[1] The Conquest of Mt. McKinley. By Belmore Browne. Putnam. 381 pp., ill. $3.50.
[2] My Life with the Eskimo. By Vilhjarmur Stefansson. Macmillan. 527 pp., ill. $4.
[3] With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem. By Stephen Graham. Macmillan. 306 pp., ill. $2.75.
[4] A Woman Rice-Planter. By Patience Pennington. Macmillan. 450 pp., ill. $2.
[5] American Highways and Byways From the St. Lawrence to Virginia. By Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 340 pp., ill. $1.50.
[6] Barn Doors and Byways. By Walter Prichard Eaton. Small, Maynard. 300 pp., ill. $3.50.
[7] America As I Saw It. By Mrs. Alec-Tweedie. Macmillan. 475 pp. $3.
[8] Greeks in America. By Thomas Burgess. Sherman, French. 256 pp., ill. $1.35.

AMONG THE POETS



offered in a popular form. It includes religious poems of the people, love songs and lullabies, early Christian poems, Ossianic poems, and the Saltair Na Rann, or the Psalter of the verses. In order to estimate the difficulty of translating the Gaelic into English and yet to keep its eyrie, far-away loveliness, it is well to study the literal translations of the early Christian poems before reading the author's renditions. Dr. Kuno Meyer, with whom Eleanor Hull studied, has given the best of these literal translations. His translation of an ancient poem, sometimes called "St. Patrick's Breastplate" and sometimes "Deer's Cry," is included in this collection. Eleanor Hull's researches into Gaelic literature are well known. She possesses a pleasing lyric gift and distinction of style.

Rabindranath Tagore, poet-philosopher of India, publishes an English translation of his own work, "The Gardener," a volume of lyrics of love and life.[1] While the translation is not always literal, the spirit of the poems has been wonderfully preserved—so much so that they seem to have been originally written in English. Tagore's poems are devotions—mystical, sublimated ecstasy in which the brutalized passions of the world have no place or being. Several of the lyrics remind the reader of Walt Whitman's prose-poems. They are the thoughts of a seer—the perfect union of beauty and truth in poesy. Here is the closing stanza of a lyric that epitomizes the passing of the soul through the earth-life—a lyric that reiterates again and again, "Brother, keep that in mind and rejoice":

"Beauty is sweet to us, because she dances to the same fleeting tune with our lives.
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All is done and finished in the eternal Heaven.
But earth's flowers of illusion are kept eternally fresh by death.
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This poet has just received the Nobel prize for literature, being the first Oriental to be thus honored.

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"He whom once our Childhood knew,
Piper of the Dream-come-true."

We are familiar with faeries from over the water —Irish and German and Norse elf-spirits. Mr. Cawein brings to us our own elemental nature-spirits—the Gray Sisters who are the daughters of Autumn—faeries of the Beeches, of the Waterfall, and of the Sea.

HISTORICAL WORKS

THE demand for a one-volume history of the United States that should be more than a school text-book, and, at the same time, of necessity less elaborate than the works of such writers as Rhodes and McMaster, has been met more fully by Professor John Spencer Bassett's "A Short History of the United States"[3] than by any earlier work. Professor Bassett has compassed his difficult task within the moderate allotment of less than 900 pages. Within this space he has given the whole story from "the earliest traces of man's existence to the present time." Of Southern birth himself, it is natural enough that political institutions should appeal to Professor Bassett, to quote the words of his preface, as "the most conscious expression of the national will. They determine the form of the story which the historian has to tell." In another portion of this magazine some reference is made to the complete work of Professor McMaster, whose ideas of the relative importance of the various historical factors are quite different from those of Professor Bassett. The increased emphasis on social and economic conditions in the writing of history, which has characterized not only McMaster's work, but that of nearly all of the modern school of American historians, is less noticeable in Professor Bassett's writing, although it is by no means neglected. The writing throughout is clear and forcible and the treatment of most of the more important topics will be generally accepted, we believe, as sane and well-considered.

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To those among our readers who may be specially interested in the authoritative interpretation of American history, we may cordially commend the book recently published by the Harpers under the title "Social and Economic Forces in American History."[5] It is made up of a series of accounts of life, occupations, literature, religious beliefs, and other phases of history selected from the twenty-seven volumes which form "The American Nation," edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard. These topics are treated on the monograph plan, each by some distinguished specialist or scholar. Only the essentials are presented unobscured by details, and one gets in these five hundred pages a compact statement embracing the most important aspects of the subject.

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[1] The Gardener. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 150 pp. $1.25.
[2] The Minions of the Moon. By Madison Cawein. Stewart & Kidd. 131 pp. $1.25.
[3] A Short History of the United States. By John Spencer Bassett. Macmillan. 885 pp. $2.50.
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[5] Social and Economic Forces in American History. By Albert Bushnell Hart. Harpers. 523 pp. $1.50.

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[2] Love and Liberation: Songs of Adsched of Meru. By John Hall Wheelock. Sherman, French. Ill. $1.50.
[3] Collected Poems of Alfred Noyes. 2 vols. Stokes.
[4] Lyrics and Dramas. By Stephen Phillips. Lane.
[5] The Poem Book of the Gael. By Eleanor Hull Brown & Howell. 370 pp. $1.60.

effort to bring out the connection of events in England with those on the continent of Europe. The book was written particularly for use in American schools.[1]

The second volume of the elaborate "Cambridge Medieval History," dealing with the rise of the Saracens and the foundation of the Western Empire, has only recently appeared.[2] In this work the editors acknowledge the paucity of English material for the three centuries in question and acknowledge their indebtedness to foreign scholars. This volume makes available to English readers the results of a vast amount of historical research which have heretofore been published only in foreign languages. H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney are the editors of the history.

RECOLLECTIONS AND LETTERS

"REMINISCENCES of a Soldier's Wife," by Mrs. John A. Logan,[3] accomplishes two quite distinct ends: it preserves for posterity the record of a gallant volunteer officer in the Civil War and it pictures a type of American womanhood which had a place of its own in our national development; for the soldier's wife who wrote these reminiscences shared with her husband the rough conditions of living in frontier Illinois, went with him even on some of his military campaigns, and after the war entered into the spirit of his political contests and victories. At the time of his death, in 1886, General Logan was United States Senator from Illinois. With Mrs. Logan we may well marvel how the span of one person's life can compass such changes as she has witnessed.



MRS. JOHN A. LOGAN

It is probable that the futurist movement in art has had no more really typical representative than Vincent Van Gogh. This Dutch artist, whose undoubted sincerity and seriousness have done much to make the lovers of pure beauty forgive the ugliness of some of his canvases, died in 1890. For more than a score of years he was unrecognized except in small exhibitions in Germany and France. During the past year, however, he has become known in England and the United States through several important exhibitions, one of which, in New York, was described in these pages. "The Personal Recollections" of Van Gogh, by Elizabeth Duquesne Van Gogh, translated by Katherine S. Dreier, with a foreword by Arthur B. Davies, have just appeared. It is writ-



VINCENT VAN GOGH, FROM THE PAINTING BY HIMSELF
(Frontispiece of "Personal Recollections")

[1] History of England. By Allen C. Thomas. Heath. 651 pp., ill. $1.50.
[2] The Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. II. Planned by J. B. Bury. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. Macmillan. 891 pp. $5.
[3] Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife. By Mrs. John A. Logan. Scribners. 470 pp., ill. $2.50.

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NOTEWORTHY BOOKS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Sport Seriously Considered

NEXT year there will be held in Paris a great world council of those who are interested in sport along its larger and finer lines. The International Olympic Committee, of which Baron Pierre de Coubertin is president, met in Luzanne, Switzerland, in May last, and organized. The formation of this world body has been largely due to the devoted and intelligent labors of Baron Coubertin, who, for years, has been writing in the Paris monthly, the *Revue Olympique,* his articles on various phases of the question of international sport and its value. Baron Coubertin was the sole originator of the idea of reviving the Olympic games. He has devoted a good deal of time and study to the psychology, as well as to the physiology, of sport. Recently he has gathered together a number of essays, chiefly those appearing in the *Revue Olympique,* and published them in a modest little volume entitled "Essays on the Psychology of Sport."[1] M. de Coubertin is not only a pioneer in the revival of the famous Greek games, but has really been the prime mover in the renaissance of sport in France. He sets forth in these essays his idea of the value of sport to the nation, as well as to the individual. Some of the chapter headings will indicate the scope of the little volume. For example: "Horseback Riding," "Return to the Life of the Greeks," "Sanitariums for Well People," "Psychology of the Sporting Costume," "Can Sport Cure the Universal Nervousness?" "The Philosophy of Physical Culture," "Reflections in a Gymnasium," "Sport as a Remedy for Neurasthenia," etc. There is an appreciative introduction to this volume by Roger Dépagniat. Baron de Coubertin has contributed valuable articles to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.



BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN
(Author of "Essays on the Psychology of Sport")

"The Message of Greek Art," by H. H. Powers,[2] is an unusual and inspiring book that pours into the reader's mind all the freshness and vitality of spirit that cleared the Athenian vision when from its beginnings in the Kingdom of Minos, a glorious art burst into full flower along the Egean. It places Greek art in its proper perspective against the background of Greek civilization; it insists that art, remote or modern, that endures springs from ethics that can be characterized as "sweetness and light"—a harmony of coördination, the perfection of the Greek principle of "nothing too much." Greek art was a byproduct of the Greek "success at the task of living," therefore the author thinks that before we lay the necessity of Greek *syntax* upon youthful minds, we should teach Greek art with its accompaniment of Greek history, ideals and civilization. The chapters include "Temple Builders and Painters," "Art and Democracy," "The Democratic Reaction," and "Victory over Persia," "The Delian League," "Pericles and Phidias," "The Diffusion of Art," etc. The volume is profusely illustrated with 137 photographic plates of Greek antiquities.

Maurice Maeterlinck's new work, "Our Eternity," is an extension of his previous essay on Death which was published in 1911. The essay has been revised and amplified. Various reports of spiritualistic mediums have been added. M. Maeterlinck is firm where William James wavered. James thought it might be possible that we had fragmentary assurances of immortality; Maeterlinck is positive that we can *know* nothing about it. "The reasonableness of the universe is pledge to the immortality of man," and beyond that death is a great adventure.[3]

Out of Russia has come the "most vital, single dramatic creation of fifty years," the Russian ballet. Ellen Terry has written a charming series of sketches of the Russian dancers and their art. The book is illustrated with remarkable drawings by Pamela Colman Smith.[4]

[1] Essays on the Psychology of Sport. By Pierre de Coubertin. Paris: Librairie Payot & Co. 264 pp. 70 cents.
[2] The Message of Greek Art. By H. H. Powers. Macmillan. 336 pp. $2.
[3] Our Eternity. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Dodd Mead. 258 pp. $1.50.
[4] The Russian Ballet. By Ellen Terry. Bobbs-Merrill. 54 pp. $1.

In "The Assurance of Immortality," Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, treats his subject in three phases, the "Assurance of Immortality," the "Significance of Immortality," the "Possibility of Immortality." Dr. Fosdick, with M. Maeterlinck, insists on the necessity of personal permanence to the reasonableness of human life, but whether this permanence may concern the immaterial soul of the active spiritual values of the race gives point to his lucid and brilliant discussion. This essay deserves high praise both for the freshness with which it endows a word-worn subject and for the breadth and soundness of its reasoning.[1]

There is a "romance of the American theater," but it has never until now been adequately told. We have, as one of the noteworthy books of this season, however, "The Romance of the American Theater," by Mary Caroline Crawford. This is an entertainingly told story of the picturesque personalities and incidents connected with their careers that have made the American theater what it is. Miss Crawford has succeeded in adding some flesh to the dry bones of the history of a really notable phase of our national life. This volume is illustrated.[2]

"The Life of the Fly" is another of those poetically scientific books of the aged French naturalist, Fabre. It is the gift and pleasure of Fabre to humanize the insect world. He writes about this world with the enthusiasm and inspiration of a novelist. This study has been translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos.[3]

Gobineau's dramas, written toward the end of the eighteenth century, exerted a powerful influence in their time. They were artistic and impressive and startlingly true to life. His historical plays recreated the Middle Ages. Five of these historical dramas, entitled collectively "The Renaissance," have now been published in English translation by Dr. Paul V. Cohn and edited by Dr. Oscar Levy. These five plays are "Savonarola," "Cesare Borgia," "Julian II," "Leo X," and "Michael Angelo." It is seldom that we have read a piece of literature that so revitalizes a long gone historical period as does these plays, particularly "Savonarola." There are twenty illustrations in the volume.[4]

A book of intelligent comfort and common sense for times of sorrow, with a very sane view of joy, pain, life, and death, is Bolton Hall's "The Mastery of Grief."[5] Mr. Hall's views of life are distinctly modern, yet spiritual. His little volume is a sort of twentieth century devotional book.

An important book of economic history, "The Invention of Lithography," by Alois Senefelder, translated by J. W. Muller, appears in English for the first time.[6] This story, by not only the inventor,



SENEFELDER, THE DISCOVERER OF LITHOGRAPHY
(From a lithograph used as the frontispiece to the book "The Invention of Lithography")

but father and perfector of lithography, was written in 1817, and therefore does not give the very latest developments in the art of picturing on stone. Nevertheless, the story of the invention and perfection of this most useful graphic art process is full of interest and value. The father of the inventor, Peter Senefelder, was an actor in Munich, and in his early youth Alois became saturated with theatrical lore and life. Knowing a little chemistry, he soon began to devote his attention to improving the billboards of the actors. From this beginning steadily has come the present wonderful process of color printing on stone. A fine lithographic reproduction of the bust of Senefelder is the frontispiece to the volume.

"Mines and Their Story," by J. Bernard Mannix, is a bulky volume, illustrated, giving the history of man's "burrowing in the earth" for metals from the earliest times until the present.[7]

Another history of economic development is Perry Walton's "Story of Textiles," an illustrated bird's-eye view of "the history of the beginning and the growth of the industry by which mankind is clothed."[8]

"A History of Continental Criminal Procedure, with Special Reference to France,"[9] compiled by A. Esmein, Professor in the Faculty of Law at Paris, translated by John Simpson, an editorial preface by William E. Mikell (Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania), and introduction by Norman

[1] The Assurance of Immortality. By Harry Emerson Fosdick. Macmillan. 141 pp. $1.
[2] The Romance of the American Theater. By Mary Caroline Crawford. Little, Brown. 407 pp., ill. $2.50.
[3] The Life of the Fly. By J. H. Fabre. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Dodd, Mead. 477 pp. $1.50.
[4] The Renaissance. By Arthur, Count Gobineau. Translated by Paul V. Cohn. Edited by Dr. Oscar Levy. 349 pp., ill. $2.75.
[5] The Mastery of Grief. By Bolton Hall. Holt. 243 pp. $1.
[6] The Invention of Lithography. By Alois Senefelder. Translated by J. W. Muller. New York: The Fuchs & Lang Manufacturing Company. 229 pp. $5.
[7] Mines and Their Story. By J. Bernard Mannix. 337 pp., ill. $3.75.
[8] The Story of Textiles. By Perry Walton. Boston: John S. Lawrence. 274 pp., ill. $3.
[9] A History of Continental Criminal Procedure with Special Reference to France. Vol. V. By A. Esmein. Translated by John Simpson. Little, Brown. 640 pp. $4.50.

M. Trenholme (History, University of Missouri), and William Renwick Riddell, Judge of the High Court of Ontario—this is Volume V of the Continental Legal History Series, being brought out by Little, Brown & Co.

"Crime and Its Repression," by Gustav Aschaffenburg (editor of the Journal of Criminal Psychology and Criminal Law Reform), translated by Adalbert Albrecht, and with editorial preface by Maurice Parmelee (Sociology, University of Missouri)—this is Volume VI of the Modern Criminal Science Series, and also issued from the press of Little, Brown & Co.[1]

A less technical and more general discussion of the problems of crime and its cure comes to us under the title "Causes and Cures of Crime," by Thomas Speed Mosby, author of a number of works on criminology, and a member of the American Institute of Criminal Law.[2]

Proceedings of the Third National Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. Edited by James Brown Scott. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company. 320 pp.

In "Classics of International Law" (edited by James Brown Scott), we notice De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari Libri III (2 volumes), by Balthazar Ayala, edited by John Westlake, published by The Carnegie Institution of Washington.

SPECIAL HOLIDAY PUBLICATIONS

A VERY handsome gift-book for the holiday season is "The Near East," by Robert Hichens, illustrated by Jules Guérin. Mr. Hichens's gift of description and M. Guérin's wonderful pencil and brush have illumined the volume until it has become a real work of art.[3]

The supremely beautiful parts of our own country are described temptingly and with ambitious illustrations, by Robert H. Schauffler, in a collection of sketches, "Romantic America."[4] The chapter headings indicate the scope of the work: "Provincetown and the Heart of Cape Cod," "The Spell of Old Virginia," "The City of Beautiful Smoke," "Mammoth Cave," "Yellowstone Park," "Among the Old California Missions," "The Yosemite Valley," "The Grand Canyon," "The Creole City of New Orleans," "The Open Road in Maine," "Unique Mount Desert."

A volume on a kindred subject is Margaret W. Morley's "The Carolina Mountains," well illustrated, and full of quaint bits of description and anecdote.[5]

An historic volume of undoubted interest to the growing boys of our day is "Wonderful Escapes of Americans," arranged and edited by William Stone Booth.[6] The editor's object, he tells us, is to "present an unhackneyed series of engrossing and true stories."

Other holiday publications worth notice are: "The Toiling of Felix," a poem by Henry Van Dyke;[7] "The Christmas Bishop," by Winifred Kirkland;[8] "A Line of Cheer for Each Day of the Year," by John Kendrick Bangs;[9] "Threads of Gray and Gold," by Myrtle Reed;[10] "Their Christmas Golden Wedding," by Caroline Abbot Stanley;[11] "The Shepherd of Us All," by Mary Stewart;[12] "Finding His Soul," by Norman Duncan,[13] and "The Quest of the Dream," by Edna Kingsley Wallace.[14]

A new illustrated edition of the Parsifal legend, by T. W. Rolleston, is embellished with fancy border and colored full-page pictures.[15] This would be a good companion volume to still another edition of Omar's famous Rubáiyát, with fancy type in imitation of the Arabic, and color illustrations and decorations by the Hungarian artist, Willy Pogány.[16]

Other handsome new holiday editions of famous works which have come to our notice are: Blackmore's "Lorna Doone," with color pictures by Christopher Clark;[17] Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona," illustrated from photographs;[18] Thoreau's "Excursions," illustrated from photographs by Clifton Johnson.[19]

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[1] Crime and Its Repression. Vol. VI. By Gustav Aschaffenburg. Translated by Adalbert Albrecht. Little, Brown. 331 pp. $4.
[2] Causes and Cures of Crime. By Thomas S. Mosby. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company. 354 pp., ill. $2.
[3] The Near East. By Robert Hichens. Century. 268 pp., ill. $6.
[4] Romantic America. By Robert H. Schauffler. Century. 339 pp., ill. $5.
[5] The Carolina Mountains. By Margaret W. Morley. Houghton Mifflin. 397 pp., ill. $3.
[6] Wonderful Escapes of Americans. By William S. Booth. Houghton Mifflin. 365 pp., ill. $.
[7] The Toiling of Felix. By Henry Van Dyke. Scribners. 6 pp., ill. $1.50.
[8] The Christmas Bishop. By Winifred Kirkland. Small, Maynard. 154 pp. $1.
[9] A Line of Cheer for Each Day of the Year. By John Kendrick Bangs. Little, Brown. $1.25.
[10] Threads of Grey and Gold. By Myrtle Reed. Putnam. 371 pp. $1.50.
[11] Their Christmas Golden Wedding. By Caroline A. Stanley. Crowell. 63 pp., ill. 50 cents.
[12] The Shepherd of Us All. By Mary Stewart. Revell. 255 pp., ill. $1.25.
[13] Finding His Soul. By Norman Duncan. Harper. 62 pp., ill. 50 cents.
[14] The Quest of the Dream. By Edna K. Wallace. Putnam. 292 pp. $1.50.
[15] Parsifal. By T. W. Rolleston. Crowell. Ill. $.
[16] Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Crowell. Ill. $1.50.
[17] Lorna Doone. By R. D. Blackmore. Crowell. 296 pp., ill. $2.50.
[18] Ramona. By Helen Hunt Jackson. Little, Brown. 308 pp., ill. $2.
[19] Excursions. By Henry D. Thoreau. Crowell. 303 pp., ill. $2

From "The Brownies Many More Nights"



THE SEASON'S BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

THERE will probably be no jealousy on the part of the publishers if we name as the foremost juvenile of the year "The Children's Blue Bird," published by Dodd, Mead. The play has already achieved a worldwide success from Russia to Australia, and it has now been prepared as a story-book by Madame Maurice Maeterlinck, the wife of the playwright. The illustrations have been carefully (even if not as spiritedly as we should like) drawn by Herbert Paus. It is artistically printed, and the allegory, though a fairy story, is without that grossness that is often found in fairy lore of the past.



From "The Children's Blue Bird"

Another allegorical play made into a story-book is "Chanticleer," adapted from the French by Florence Yates Hann (Stokes). The illustrations by the clever English caricaturist, J. A. Shepherd, have action, but are not dignified enough to harmonize with Rostand's comedy, which, indeed, is a bit too amatory for ideal child literature.

Next to the "Children's Blue Bird" comes "The Wind in the Willows," by Kenneth Grahame. Although the title is not celebrated like that of the "Blue Bird," Mr. Grahame writes with such finish stories that are so well adapted to the child's understanding, and the book is so well illustrated by Paul Branson, and so well got up by Charles Scribner's Sons, that it calls for a prominent place in our list of gift books.

The illustrations by Charles Livingston Bull in "Folk of the Woods" (Doubleday, Page) are of the same merit as Paul Branson's, though the text by Lucius Crocker Pardee has not quite that literary style that Mr. Grahame's possesses; still the stories are happy portrayals of animal life.

The Irish irresponsibility and epigrammatic dialogue in "The Fairy Minstrel of Glenmalure," by Edmund Leamy, make it entertaining and easy reading for the young. It is well illustrated in color by Vera Casseau (FitzGerald).

The characters are well differentiated, the scenes varied, and the illustrations lend attractiveness to two other jocund volumes, "The Wonder-Oak," by Bertha Currier Porter, illustrated by May Aiken (Eaton, Mains), and "The Kingdom of Why," by Stuart B. Stone, illustrated by the inimitable caricaturist, Peter Newell (Bobbs-Merrill).

The success of the original "Pinocchio" story by "Collodi" has brought out many imitations. This year we have "Pinocchio Under the Sea," translated from the Italian by Carolyn M. Della Chiesa, illustrated by Florence R. A. Wilde (Macmillan). The tale is innocent, though fantastical, and is told in a straightforward style. Its sea terms will add much to a child's marine vocabulary.

If a parent has not objected to the Andrew Lang books and their barbaric rehearsals of bloody deeds, he will not object to putting in the hands of his children either of the two following fascinating books, "The Hungarian Fairy Book," by Nándor-Pogány, illustrated by Willy Pogány (Stokes) or "The Book of the Sagas," by Alice S. Hoffman, illustrated by Gordon Browne (Dutton). Mr. Pogány's drawings are in black and red, and give a national character to the pages—the motives being "taken from original peasant designs as they appear in the home industries" of Hungary. Mr. Browne's illustrations are in full color, as well as black and white, but they lack the spirit of Mr. Pogány's; still they are thoughtfully wrought out and are in harmony with the entire volume, which is gilt-edged and a fine specimen of Bavarian thoroughness in bookmaking.



From "Folk of the Woods"

An out-of-the-ordinary story, with true characters, by Flora Annie Steel seems to call for special mention at this point, because the author has entered the field of the Orient where the barbaric usually asserts itself. The story is entitled "The Adventures of Akbar" (Stokes), and it chronicles the stratagems, privations and cruelties of India without emphasizing them; but rather, charmingly introducing the home life and parent love of the nobles, in a way that every one who studies the science of writing for children will commend. The pictures in color are by Byam Shaw, who has an enviable knowledge of costumes, and a keen sensitiveness for color contrast. The printing of these colors is admirable. They do not look faded.



From "Pinocchio Under the Sea"

"The Story of Rome," by Mary Macgregor, has twenty plates in color (Stokes), and tells in an easily understood way the stirring events of that epoch-making city and empire.

It is rather startling to pick up a thick quarto entitled "Little Wars" (Small, Maynard), illustrated with photographs depicting battles between toy soldiers, attacking fortresses made of wooden blocks, and to find on the title page the name of the celebrated novelist, H. G. Wells! But many an English author has turned aside from his more serious writing to pen such a serio-comic volume, and those who do not object to encouraging war thoughts in the children's minds will be glad to get a book that treats such a pigmy subject with such an artistic touch.



From "Andersen's Fairy Tales" (Robinson's)

More sanguinary is the story of "Pirates and the Great Sea Rovers," written and illustrated by George Alfred Williams (Stokes). The pictures are exceedingly dramatic in their strong contrasts of reds and blacks, and one feels certain that Robert Louis Stevenson would have doted upon a book like this.

REPRINTS

The reprints this year are rich and varied. Last season, it will be remembered, there was an octavo of "The Further Adventures of Nils," by Selma Lagerlöf. This year comes a quarto of that book's



From "Gulliver's Travels"

predecessor, "The Wonderful Adventures of Nils," translated by Velma Swanston Howard and published by Doubleday, Page. The illustrations by Mary Hamilton Frye are of rather shaky draughtsmanship, but not lacking in action nor scenic effect. We cannot too strongly recommend for schools and home Miss Lagerlöf's now famous classic.

A very handsome edition of "Andersen's Fairy Tales" comes from Henry Holt, illustrated in black and white and color by W. Heath Robinson. Mr. Robinson is an expert in the many techniques of pen and brush that give varied effects in the printed reproductions, and this volume represents as mature work as we have ever seen by the artist.

Another edition of Andersen, "The Snow Queen and Other Stories" (Doran) is illustrated by Edmund Dulac, in the delicate tints that have made him famous. Dulac is a little more poetic, and a little more painter-like in his compositions than Robinson, with his flat tints.



From "The Hungarian Fairy Book"

The same perfect technique as Robinson's and Dulac's is found in Arthur Rackham's "Mother Goose" (Century). But we think Rackham's conception of his illustrations this season is not on as high a plane as is his technique, or as was the conception of his previous achievements —as, for instance, those in his "Undine." He has not quite lost himself in the subject, as it were. Considering that he is ranked as one of the foremost juvenile illustrators of to-day, one instinctively compares him with Kate Greenaway, and by such a comparison Mr. Rackham loses. Kate Greenaway's illustrations were as perfect in their balance, grace, and sure line as are the best decorations on Greek vases.



From "Little Wars"



From "The Wonderful Adventures of Nils"

But surely the children of to-day should be grateful at having their classics served up to them by



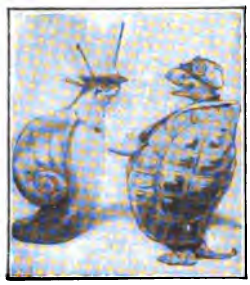
From "The Children's Book of Christmas Stories"



From "The Book of Baby Pets"



From "The Fairy Minstrel of Glenmalure"



From "The Jingle-Jungle Book"



From "Blossoms from a Japanese Garden"



From "The Wind in the Willows"



From "The Book of The Sagas"



From "The Wonder Oak"



From "The Wonder Book of Ships"



From "The Fanny Cory Mother Goose"



From "The Arabian Nights"



From "The Snow Queen"



From "This Year's Book for Children"



From Rackham's "Mother Goose"



From "The Kingdom of Why"



From "The Adventures of Akbar"

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE SEASON'S BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

such refined and consummate artists as Robinson, Dulac, and Rackham!

Another "Mother Goose" comes from Bobbs-Merrill, entitled "The Fanny Cory Mother Goose." The pictures in black and white and color by Fanny Y. Cory are not executed with that decorative line that distinguishes Robinson and Rackham, and the book loses by lack of titles underneath the pictures; but there is a fine human element in many of the compositions, notably in Miss Cory's realization of old "Mother Goose" herself, that proves her to be a true illustrator.

The illustrations by Louis Rhead in Harper's reprint of "Gulliver's Travels" are far behind the charming design by P. A. Staynes, in the "Gulliver" of last year, that we then mentioned with favor. Mr. Rhead's drawings possess little grace of outline or mass, but it may be that their overmuch detail will please the children. Children always love detail in pictures.



From "Heidi"

"The Arabian Nights," published by Henry Holt, has fifteen full-page illustrations by Monro S. Orr. Some of them are effective in color, but they are a bit uncouth in their characterization of types.

None of the foregoing stories chronicles the doings of a hero or heroine that a child reader can perfectly sympathize with—can feel, as it were, a brotherly or sisterly interest in. But little "Heidi" (with her goats in the highlands of Switzerland) can be loved, for she is very human. "Heidi" is translated from the German of Johanna Spyri by Helene S. White, and illustrated by C. Copeland (Crowell).

The two editors of "The Children's Book of Christmas Stories," Asa Don Dickinson, late of the Brooklyn Public Library, and Ada M. Skinner, of St. Agatha School of New York, have had such experience in dealing with youthful readers that one is not surprised at the excellence of the selections in this book, which comes from Doubleday, Page.



From "Mac"



From "Carlo"

PICTURE-BOOKS AND POETRY

The Landseer of the toy-books is certainly Cecil Aldin, and his quarto this season, entitled "Mac," gives sketches in color of a vivacious Scotch terrier that are unsurpassed in their expressiveness (Doran).

If Aldin is the Landseer of toy-books, E. J. Detmold is the Paul Potter! Such high finish rarely comes from the press as his water-colors in "The Book of Baby Pets" (Doran)—a triumph of half-tone engraving and color printing.

The veteran caricaturist, A. B. Frost, is at his best in his dog book, "Carlo" (Doubleday, Page). Carlo's antics, from the first page to the last, form a side-splitting comedy of canine life.

Katharine Pyle is an experienced writer and illustrator who has the happy knack of making her books seem complete and full of variety. The lifelike—we mean human-like—expression of the rabbits in her "Tale of Two Bunnies" (Dutton) will tickle the fancy of nurserydom.



From "Tale of Two Bunnies"

"Baby Elephant and the Zoo Man" (Penn) is a little volume written in simple language by C. E. Kilbourne, with equally simple pictures in color by Hattie Longstreet.

"Bunnykins" is a good-sized, jolly picture-book in colors, by Grace G. Drayton (Stokes) for the little tots who like lively scenes.



From "Baby Elephant and the Zoo Man"

In "Flossie Fisher's Funnies," "Stories Told in Pictures, by Helen Nyce," with an introduction and specimen stories by Vera Nyce (Stokes), there are hundreds of lively silhouettes

with blank pages, opposite, on which the kiddies may copy or write a story about the silhouettes—a sensible nursery book.

A new Palmer Cox book is entitled "The Brownies Many More Nights" (Century).

"Sonny Boy's Day at the Zoo" (Century) is a series of photographs by Stanley Clisby Arthur of the little "Boy" observing the animals in Bronx Park; they are accompanied by some very clever verses by Ella Bentley Arthur.



From "The Railroad Book"

"This Year's Book for Children" (Doran) is a large quarto, with stories, verses, and pictures in color, by various hands—a treasure trove for Sunday and rainy-day reading, with a most enchanting embossed cover.

J. R. Shaver has an electric pen touch very like Frost's, and his collection of juvenile sketches, entitled "Little Shavers" (Century), while hardly a child's book *per se*, will surely amuse the children if their attention is called to it.

OTHER "JUVENILES" OF THE SEASON

OTHER attractive "juveniles," which lack of space prevents our reviewing, come from the publishers as follows:

From Bobbs-Merrill: "One Day in Betty's Life," by Josephine S. Gates, music by Mary T. Salter; "My Kindergarten Days—a Scrapbook," by Anita de Campi.

From Appletons: "Apache Gold," by J. A. Altsheler; "Country Cousins," by Ella D. Deland; "The Mouse-Colored Road," by Vance Thompson; "The Torn Book," by B. Baker; "The Tumble Man," by Hy Mayer and Chas. H. Towne.

From F. G. Browne: "The Boy Woodcrafter," "Field and Forest Friends," by Clarence Hawkes.

From Century Co.: "The Land of Mystery," by Cleveland Moffett; "Miss Santa Claus of the Pullman," by Annie F. Johnston; "The Townsend Twins," by Warren L. Eldred; "The Jingle-Jungle Book," by Oliver Herford; "Daddy Do-Funny's Wisdom Jingles," by Ruth McEnery Stuart.

From Crowell: "The Boys' Life of General Sheridan," by Warren Lee Goss; "Camp Brave Pine," by Harriet T. Comstock; "Christmas Tree House," by Mary F. Leonard.

From Dodd, Mead: "Patty's Social Season," by Carolyn Wells; "Bob Dashaway," by Cyrus T. Brady.

From Doubleday, Page: "The Boy Scout's Hike Book," by Edward Cave; "Under the Christmas Stars," by Grace S. Richmond; "The Book of Useful Plants," by Julia E. Rogers.

From Dutton: "Under Greek Skies," by Julia D. Dragoumis; "In Sunny Spain," by Katherine Lee Bates; "The Wild White Woods," by Russell D. Smith.

From Harpers: "The Roaring Lions," by James Otis; "Mark Tidd," by C. B. Kelland.

From Houghton, Mifflin: "Little Girl Blue Plays 'I Spy,'" by Josephine S. Gates; "Story-Telling Poems," selected by Frances Jenkens Olcott; "The Railroad Book," by E. Boyd Smith.

From Little, Brown: "The Responsibilities of Buddie," by Anna C. Ray; "Ned Brewster's Bear Hunt," by C. J. Hawkins; "Colette in France," by Etta B. McDonald; "Laddie," by Lily F. Wesselhoeft.

From Lothrop, Lee & Shephard: "When I Was a Boy in Greece," by George Demetrios; "Harmony Wins," by Millicent Olmsted; "The Girl from Arizona," by Nina Rhoades; "Betty Tucker's Ambition," by Angelina W. Wray; "The Handy Boy," a handbook of pastimes, by A. Neely Hall.

From Macmillan: "Happy Acres," by Edna Turpin; "Peggy Stewart at School," by Gabrielle E. Jackson; "When I Was a Little Girl," by Zona Gale; "Children of the Wild," by Chas. G. D. Roberts.

From the Penn Company: "The Outdoor Chums," by Alice Turner Curtis; "Faith Palmer at Fordyce Hall," by Lazelle T. Woolley; "Jane Stuart—Twin," by Grace M. Remick; "The Boy Scouts on Swift River," by Thornton W. Burgess; "Nancy Lee's Spring Term," by Margaret Wade.

From Revell: "The Torch Bearer; a Camp Fire Girls' Story," by I. T. Thurston; "The Story-Life of the Son of Man," by Wayne Whipple; "The Shepherd of Us All," by Mary Stewart.

From Small, Maynard: "The Young Trappers," by Hugh Pendexter.

From Stokes: "The Goop Directory," by Gellett Burgess; "The Airships that Glue Built," by C. and G. Williams; "The Children's Poets—Scott, Longfellow"; "The Boys' Book of Aeroplanes," by T. O'Brien Hubbard and Charles C. Turner; "The Wonder Book of Ships," edited by Harry Golding; "Blossoms from a Japanese Garden," by Maty Fenollosa.

INVESTORS' INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 501. MORE ABOUT REAL ESTATE BONDS

Do you consider first-mortgage real-estate bonds safe, sound and conservative investments? I realize that much depends upon the reliability of the bond house offering securities of this type, and of their statements pertaining to the real value back of the securities, the margin of safety between the appraised value of the property and the amount loaned thereon, etc. But suppose a bond house of that character failed. What effect would that have on the bondholder? What action could a holder of a small bond, living far from the seat of security, take in order to protect his interests in case of failure? Suppose the trustee of the mortgage is an individual, and suppose he were to die before the maturity of the bonds. Would that have any effect upon the value of the security?

There are good, bad, and indifferent securities of this type, just as there are of other types of investments. And it is rather more difficult to discriminate among real-estate securities of the kind to which you have reference than among municipal, railroad, industrial, and public-utility bonds, for instance. As you, yourself, suggest, the investor's best safeguard is in the character and reliability of the offering house. It would not necessarily endanger the securities sold by any distributing house of this kind if the house were to fail. Assuming that the loans had been legally and properly made originally, the holders of the bonds, representing the loans, would have their security just the same. It might be necessary for them to get together to look after their interests, and, being widely scattered, this might involve a good deal of time and trouble, but it would not necessarily mean any loss on the investment. Neither would the death of the trustee before the maturity of the bonds necessarily have any effect upon the value of the bonds. It might, however, be well for purchasers of such securities to inquire whether proper provisions are made in all cases for the substitution of trustees in an event of this kind.

No. 502. FROM A PROSPECTIVE INVESTOR IN VERMONT

I would appreciate any advice you can give me as to increasing my income. I have some money drawing 4 per cent. interest in a local bank, and am earning a fair salary. My father and mother are dependent upon me. How, in your opinion, can I invest all or part of my income to advantage?

The circumstances which you set forth suggest the necessity of your using a great deal of caution in the matter of selecting securities for investment at this time. We can easily appreciate your desire to increase your income, but we have recently seen so many cases where this desire led inexperienced investors into difficulty that we are constrained to sound a note of warning about it. One of the first suggestions we should make is that in the matter of income you could probably not prudently go much, if any, above 5 per cent., unless you were to get in touch with some responsible and experienced people dealing in mortgages—a type of investment on which one can frequently get 6 per cent. or more with safety. As you may probably know, however, mortgages are essentially securities to hold through to maturity for income alone. They are not readily marketable or convertible into cash, and on that account they are scarcely suited to the needs of investors who can foresee any possibility of an emergency arising to make ready cash more desirable than the securities. We should not consider it wise for you to go into stocks of any kind at this time—a suggestion which we offer for the reason that we think it altogether likely that your attention may be drawn to that type of investment, inasmuch as it is the only type, aside from municipal bonds, that is exempt from taxation in your State.

No. 503. "TEN CENTS PER DAY TO THOUSANDS"

Your advertisement in the October number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS under the heading "Ten Cents per Day to Thousands" has interested me. I should be pleased to have you tell me of a safe way to invest ten cents a day.

That advertisement was really not intended to refer to any specific plan for the investment of that small amount of money as it accumulated from day to day. What the writer of the advertisement was trying to do was to emphasize the value of thrift. It would take scarcely more than a month of saving at the rate of ten cents a day to enable one to open an account with some sound savings bank, or to subscribe for shares in some building and loan association of the local or neighborhood type. In our judgment, those are the best ways for one to begin one's investment experience. You would be surprised at the rapidity with which your savings employed in this way would grow through "the silent working of compound interest." Later on, when a fairly large sum had been accumulated, it would be all right for you to put the money into carefully selected investment securities, of which there are a good many that come in denominations even as low as $100.

No. 504. AMERICAN WATER WORKS & GUARANTEE PREFERRED

I own twenty shares of American Water Works & Guarantee Company's preferred stock. I bought it because I liked the reputation of the people in control of the company. But with all their reputation and success in business, everything is in the hands of receivers. I have been getting letters from Chicago, New York, Boston and Philadelphia offering to sell or buy this stock at from 30 to 50 per cent. reduction from the price paid for it. Do you not think it would be better for me to wait?

We certainly do. It is too soon as yet to tell definitely just what the final outcome of the receivership for this company is going to be, but at the moment the situation appears hopeful. The action in having receivers appointed for the American Water Works & Guarantee Company was taken largely to keep the interests of the company separate from the interests of the failed banking institution, which was controlled by the same people. It seems to us that if the regular financial statements which the company has been issuing for a long time mean anything at all, there is justification for the belief that there is substantial equity back of the company's preferred stock. It is just possible that the situation can be worked out in such a way as to prevent stockholders from suffering anything more than a temporary suspension of income; but, as we have already suggested, this cannot be predicted definitely.

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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December, 1913

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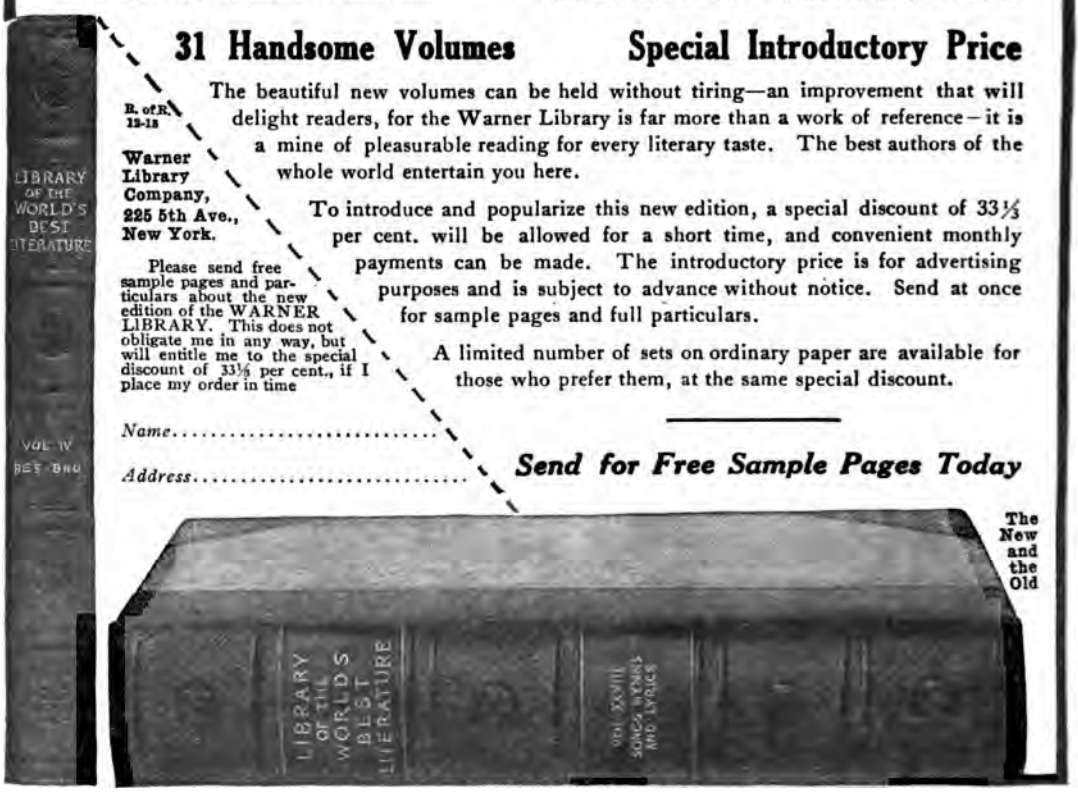
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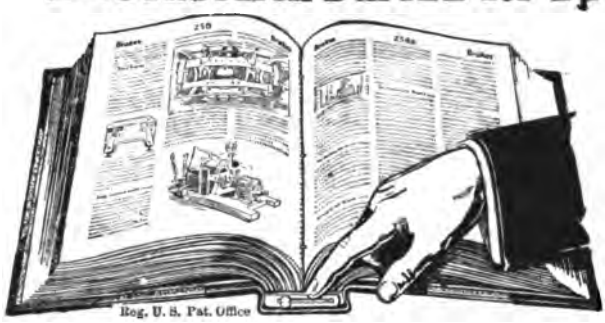
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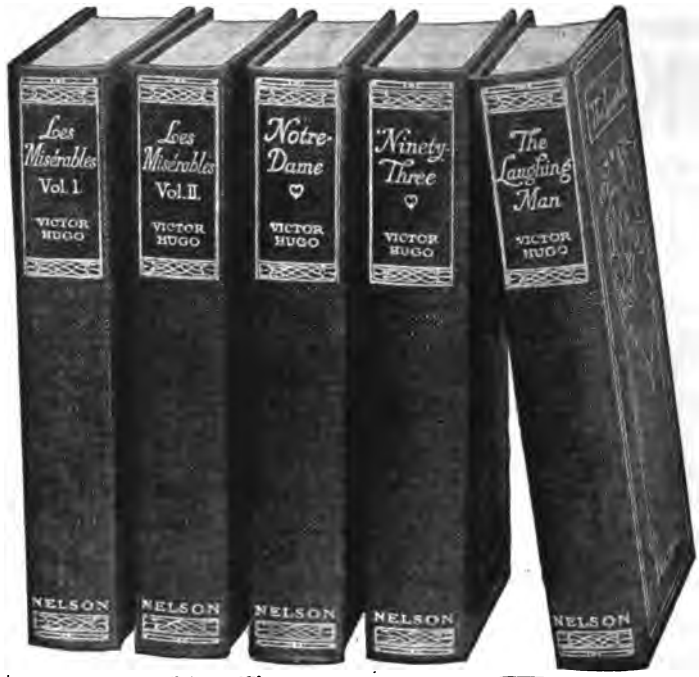
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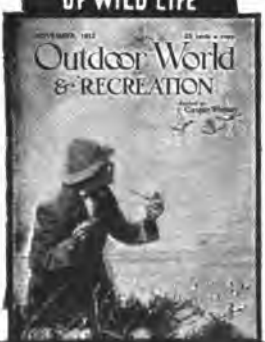
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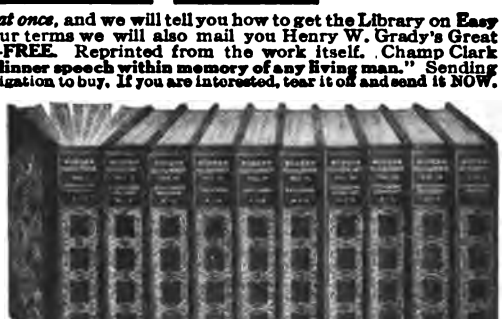
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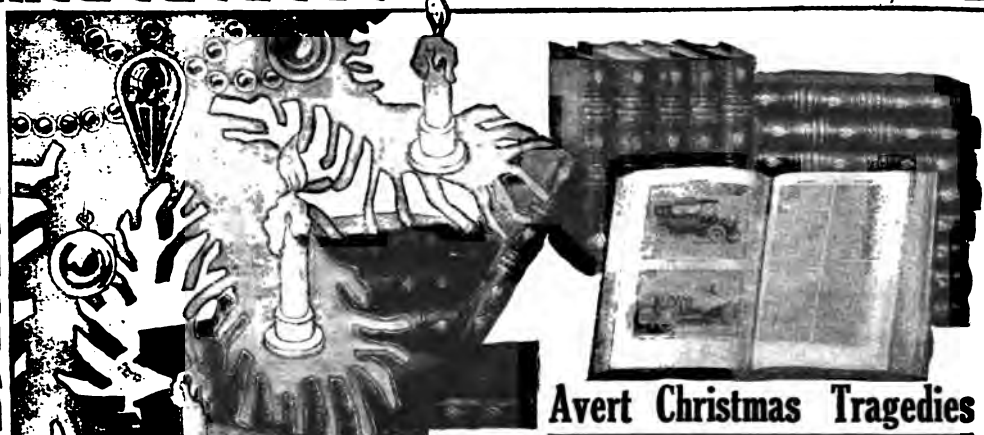
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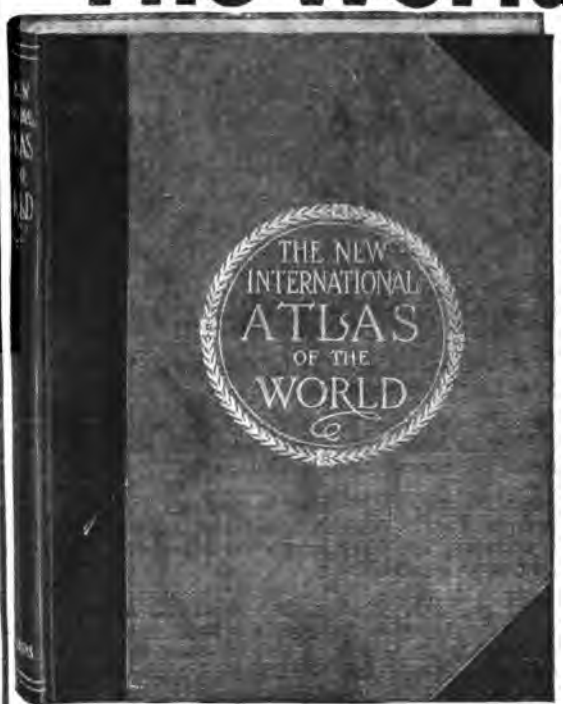
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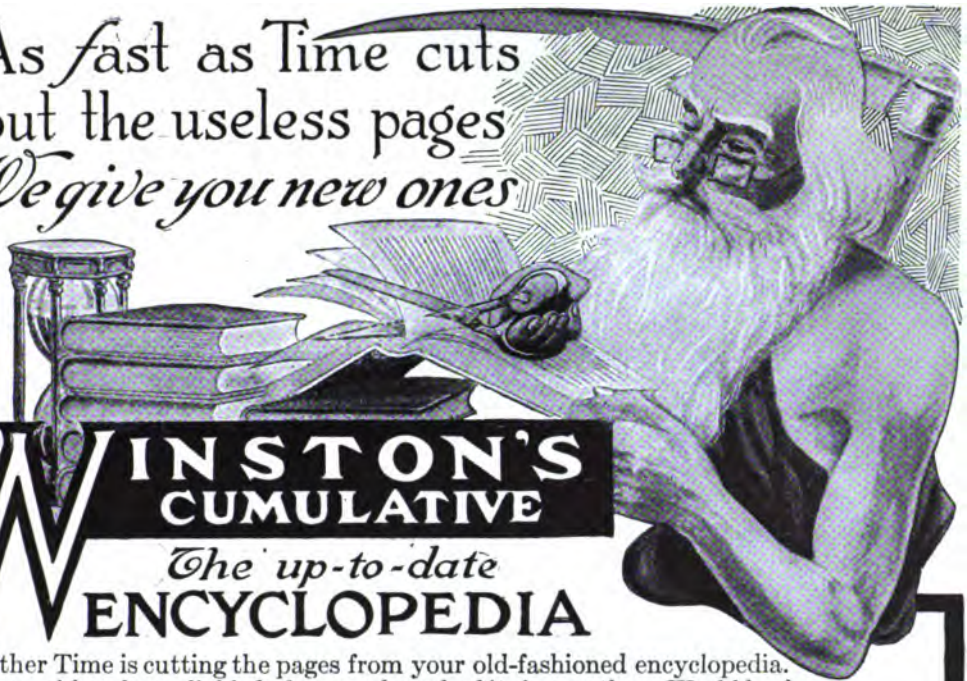
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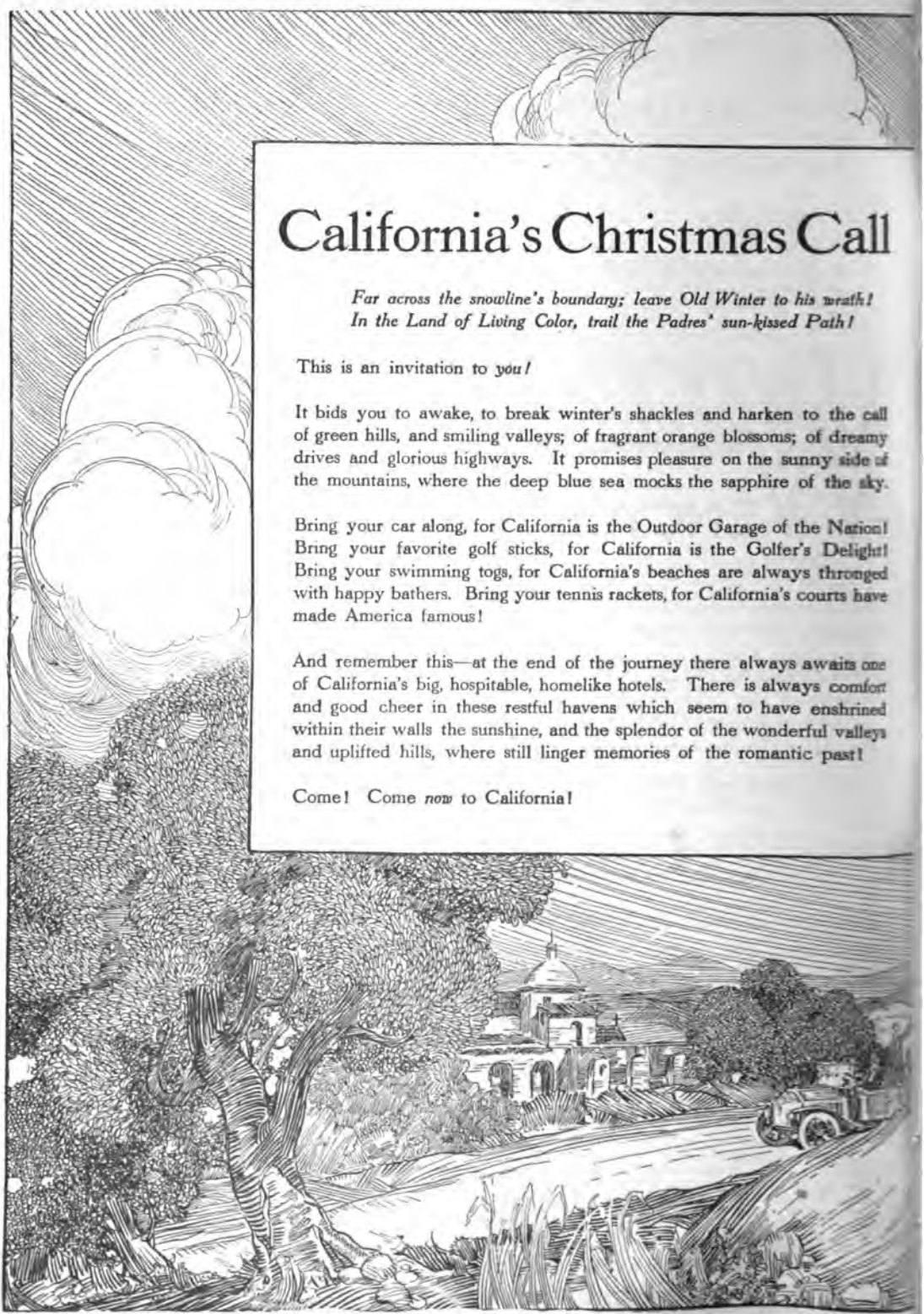
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of green hills, and smiling valleys; of
drives and glorious highways. It pro
the mountains, where the deep blue s

Bring your car along, for California is t
Bring your favorite golf sticks, for C
Bring your swimming togs, for Californ
with happy bathers. Bring your tennis
made America famous!

And remember this—at the end of the
of California's big, hospitable, homelike
and good cheer in these restful havens
within their walls the sunshine, and the
and uplifted hills, where still linger me

Come! *Come now* to California!


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Bring your car along, for California is the Outdoor Garage of the Nation! Bring your favorite golf sticks, for California is the Golfer's Delight! Bring your swimming togs, for California's beaches are always thronged with happy bathers. Bring your tennis rackets, for California's courts have made America famous!

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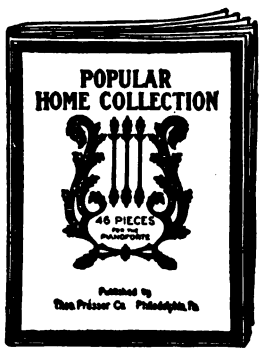
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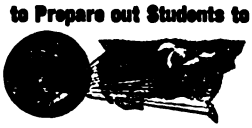
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No. 507. MUNICIPAL BONDS AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

The city of San Francisco has lately been selling bonds directly to investors through the city treasurer's office. I have some money to invest in a thoroughly safe security, and have been inclined to buy these bonds. But before doing so, I would like to know what their standing is, when regarded from the distance at which you stand. I understand that the present is a good time to buy bonds. Is par a price for the bonds in question that is advantageous to an investor? Or is it above the general average for similar securities? The fact that the San Francisco bonds are not being sold through bankers makes me wonder if they are going principally to people whose means of getting information are somewhat limited.

Our understanding is that there has been some disposition on the part of municipal bond authorities to look askance at the particular securities which San Francisco has been selling lately "over its own counter," as the saying goes. The reason for this seems partly a sentimental one, however, based upon the fact that the municipal railways project for which the bonds were authorized is regarded in many quarters as an ill-advised piece of business. For instance, the attitude of the investment banker toward municipal ownership, as a general proposition, was thus expressed by President George B. Caldwell, of the Investment Bankers' Association of America, in an address before a convention of the Association in Chicago late in October: "Certain sections of our country are growing rapidly, and in some localities in California, Oregon, and elsewhere there is at present a dangerous tendency toward municipal ownership. Whether such localities are socialistic or not is not the important question. They are frequently impatient, jealous of other cities, and quite willing to saddle a heavy debt upon themselves and their posterity to satisfy their immediate wants and excel their neighbors. . . . Municipal ownership of street cars, gas, electric light borders too much on making private business public business, with an increase in the business risk, for in ninety per cent. of the cases tried it is a failure. Toronto, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle may be cited as cities leading in this movement, whose acts will be carefully watched by every banker and by every investor." However, it is to be remembered that the bonds about which you have inquired are themselves the direct obligations of the city supported by its general taxing power, and as such we do not believe much of a question can be raised as to the ultimate safety of their principal and interest. Par for a bond of this character, bearing interest at 5 per cent. is, in our judgment, a fair price. Other obligations of San Francisco are quoted on a lower basis of net income, which means, of course, that they are in demand at higher prices relatively.

No. 508. PERTINENT QUESTIONS FROM A WESTERN INVESTOR

Allowing 4½ per cent. interest on highly secured, readily marketable corporation bonds, and paying a commission to a broker to buy, what is the advantage to the man of moderate income and small savings, to buy and own such bonds, over having his money in a first-class savings bank at 4 per cent. interest? I have noted many advertisements of securities, all headed with a glaring 6 per cent., as if this rate was entirely possible with the highest degree of safety. Do not most of these investments represent high-class mortgages; and even so, is it safe for investors to deal at long range with the offering houses, relying entirely upon the representations contained in the printed matter received from them? Then again, does not the purchaser pay a commission which reduces the 6 per cent. income? In buying local mortgages, would you advise an investor to try to obtain them through the help of the bank in which he keeps his savings, or would you advise him to employ an entirely different channel.

Assuming that the holder of the 4½ per cent. bond reinvests at 4½ per cent. the money he receives semi-annually as his coupons fall due, there is a decided advantage in such investment over investment in a savings bank paying 4 per cent. interest compounded semi-annually. Invested in the former way, $1000 would in five years' time amount to $1249.16, whereas invested in the latter way it would amount to but $1218.96, showing a difference of approximately $30 in favor of the bond investment. But in many cases investors in bonds either find difficulty in reinvesting the money received as their coupons are paid in such a manner as to compound their interest, or yield to the temptation to spend the money as it passes through their hands. In such cases the advantage of the bond investment is obviously more apparent than real. There are undoubtedly a good many people who

Continued on page 50

The Income Tax

affects the investments of Institutions, Trustees and Individuals.

Investors may secure information as to whether their bond interest coupons are payable without deduction for income tax by furnishing us with a list of their holdings. Give full title of such security and date of maturity.

To investors contemplating investments we shall be pleased to suggest securities where the provisions of the mortgages entitle the investor to the full face value of each interest coupon, the corporation paying the normal income tax.

All holders of securities must comply with government regulations. Income Tax Booklet containing text of the law and an analysis by our attorneys furnished upon request.

Address Dept. R-9

N. W. Halsey & Co.

NEW YORK
49 Wall St.

PHILADELPHIA
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CHICAGO
La Salle and Adams Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO
424 California St.

BOSTON
Halsey & Co., Inc.

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INVESTING IN THE

FIFTIES

The promise of an excessive return does not tempt the man in his fifties. He has reached the age where he is anxious to conserve the fruits of his labors—to avoid taking uncalled-for chances. Before he makes an investment he insists upon evidence of strong security value and prompt interest payment. Every man should always take this same attitude toward investment—it pays best in the long run.

PROVIDE FOR

Your Son

While it is true that hard work and a reasonable display of tact will ordinarily open the door of opportunity for young men, it is likewise true that they are sometimes greatly handicapped by lack of financial means to take advantage of opportunities early in business life. You do not want your son handicapped in this way. You want to provide means for giving him a good start—either in his business or professional field. So why not begin now to invest some money for him? NOW, when sound investment bonds yield such good returns.

Ask us to send you Circular No. 991 describing Canadian and American municipal bonds, public utility bonds, equipment bonds and railroad terminal bonds.

Spencer Trask & Co.

Investment Bankers

43 Exchange Place, New York

State and James Sts., Albany
50 Congress St., Boston
72 West Adams St., Chicago

Members New York Stock Exchange

do better to employ the savings bank, where the income accumulates silently, and is kept somewhat farther removed from the temptation to spend. Yes, it is probably safe to say that the majority of the 6 per cent. securities now being called to the attention of investors through various advertising mediums are of the mortgage type. Many of them are high class in all respects, being handled by dealers of good repute and long experience in loaning money on farm and city property. In cases where they are advertised to yield 6 per cent. that is net to the investor. The dealer usually makes his profit in handling this class of securities, not through charging the investor a commission for buying, as in the case of general market bonds, but through charging the borrower a higher annual rate of interest on the loan. In buying local mortgages we should consider it desirable to have the advice of a local banker in all cases where such advice is found to be obtainable.

No. 509 MUNICIPAL BONDS AND THE INCOME TAX

Would you give me a list of municipal and state bonds, yielding about 4 per cent. or better, which would be advisable for a woman to invest in for income. Since such bonds are not included in the income tax, I believe the would be preferable.

For a comprehensive list of current offerings of bonds of this character we believe it would be advisable for you to communicate directly with some of the reputable and experienced municipal bond specialists. It would be necessary for us to go about making up a list in that way, and by the time we had one compiled and placed in your hands it is not at all unlikely that many of the offerings might have disappeared from the market, inasmuch as the demand for municipals appears to have been unusually strong of late. It seems pertinent for us to suggest, however, that it will be necessary for you to choose bonds yielding considerably more than 4 per cent. if you are to gain any particular advantage because of their income not being taxed under the new law. You know, of course, that incomes up to $3000 are exempted, or in cases of married men incomes up to $4000. For illustration, assume an investment in 5 per cent. securities—of which there are a great many, offering a high degree of safety of principal and interest—to a sufficient amount to yield a gross income of $5000. On the basis of the maximum deduction, the holder would have to pay the so-called "normal" tax of 1 per cent. on $1000, or $10 per annum, which, deducted from the gross income, would leave $4990 per annum. The investment of an equal amount of money in municipals at, say, 4½ per cent., would give a gross income of but $4500, indicating a sacrifice of $490 per annum, in order to save $10 from the Government. On the other hand, it is not at all impossible under present market conditions to find sound municipals yielding as much as 5 per cent., or even better than that, although in buying issues of the higher yields somewhat more careful discrimination would seem to be called for. There is another advantage in investment in municipal issues, which, however, will doubtless be given more weight by large investors, who, for one reason or another, are averse to making knowledge of their holdings public property. This is that the income from such securities is not only non-taxable, but apparently does not need to be included in the tax return required by the new law.

There Are 106 Cents In Every Dollar

—to the man or woman who understands the advantages of safe investment. By the purchase of sound bonds bearing 6% interest, one may realize the truth of this statement and experience the satisfaction, profit and freedom from care with which a carefully chosen bond investment endows its owner.

¶ Every dollar invested at 6% interest amounts to $1.06 at the end of a year, and if the interest is re-invested regularly, one's funds increase in amount with surprising rapidity.

¶ Thoroughly safeguarded First Mortgage Bonds yielding 6% interest, which we have purchased outright with our own funds, are available in denominations of $100, $500, $1,000 and $5,000, placing them within the reach of almost every purse.

¶ The value of our recommendation of these securities is attested by the fact that no investor has ever lost a dollar of principal or interest on any security purchased of this House in the 31 years of our business life.

¶ Forehanded investors, planning January purchases, should send for our January list early. Call or write today for our latest investment offerings and The Investors Magazine. In writing specify Investment Circular No. 130M



S.W. STRAUS & CO.

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MORTGAGE BANKERS

ESTABLISHED 1882

116

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IT is the business of an Investment Banker to give correct advice regarding investments. Why should you hazard a guess or take a chance? Why not consult those who know how to judiciously invest your funds.

The aim of this institution is to give every investor reliable service and dependable information, and no effort is spared to serve our clients in this respect.

We invite correspondence in regard to investment problems whether you have much or little to invest for a long or short period of time

BOND DEPARTMENT

Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank

CHICAGO

CAPITAL $3,000,000 RESOURCES $26,299,560

The capital stock of this Bank is owned by the Stockholders of the Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, which has resources of over $200,000,000

Income Tax Record

For the convenience of investors we have devised a simple form of pocket memorandum book in which may be kept a complete record of your income tax deductions or exemptions on bond interest.

With this record at hand certificates of ownership, which under the law must accompany all coupons presented for payment, may be filled out at any convenient time or place without reference to the bonds themselves.

The booklet also contains clear instructions for filling out certificates of ownership and other helpful information regarding the new Income Tax Law.

We shall be glad to send copies of this booklet K-37 on request and in every possible way to assist investors in complying with all the complex features of the law.

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For Distribution to Investors

Anticipating many inquiries regarding the Income Tax Law, we have prepared a handbook on this subject. It contains an analysis of the practical operation of the law and a résumé and history of income taxation in this country and abroad; also the full text of the law and the regulations issued by the United States Treasury Department. Later rulings by the Treasury Department and decisions by the Courts will necessarily affect the law's interpretation and application. The analysis has accordingly been expressed in general terms and it is presented to the investing public in the belief that it will prove of interest and help.

A copy of the Handbook (No. 3) will be sent upon request.

Harris, Forbes & Co
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New York

Harris Trust & Savings Bank
Bond Department
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The new banking and currency bill known as the Federal Reserve Act, now under consideration in Congress, is of vital interest to every American citizen.

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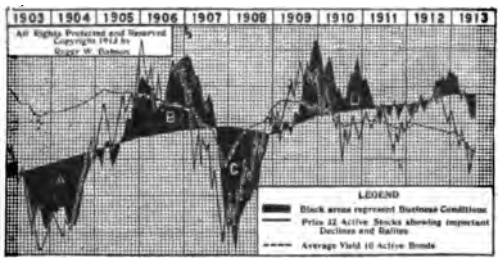
Guaranty Trust Company of New York

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Capital and Surplus	$30,000,000
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Increase the Earning Power of your Savings—This Company offers you

6 PER CENT Certificates

running for two years and issued in amounts of $100. These certificates are amply secured by first mortgages on improved real estate deposited in trust with one of the strongest trust companies in Baltimore.

They bear 6 per cent interest and they are issued by a company that in the 18 years of its existence—even in times of financial depression has never been a day late in the mailing of interest checks, or repayment of principal.

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The 6 per cent book tells all about them. Let us send it to you.

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Is Your Money Earning 6%?

If not write for particulars of our 6% First Mortgage Real Estate Gold Bonds—secured by new Chicago business and apartment buildings.

$100—Denomination—$500

Send for descriptive circular 512-R

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(Established 1865)

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6%

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In a few months many millions of this year's holiday offerings will be worn out, lost or forgotten. Then why not consider the elements of permanence and actual merit when selecting gifts for your wife, your son, or your daughter?

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American Real Estate Company

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6%

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SUBJECT to prior sale we offer 6% investment-bonds that are doubly secured—once by improved real estate appraised at more than double the bond-issue, and again by The Guarantee Title and Trust Company of Cleveland.

The latter company, with a capital and surplus of $690,000, unconditionally guarantees the payment of both principal and interest.

The total bond-issue is but $100,000—really too small to advertise, but—

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Write today for full particulars of this issue and for our list of income-tax-free municipals.

T&W

THE

Tillotson & Wolcott Co.

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Floor 10, Guardian Building

Cleveland



Large or Small Amounts Invested for Long or Short Periods

Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations are issued for amounts and maturities optional with investors.

Amounts—

Over a minimum of $50, you can purchase *Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations* for any amount. This does not mean multiples of $50, $100, etc., but any odd sum that you may wish to invest.

Maturities—

You have the privilege of designating any month between two months and five years, on which you wish *Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations* to mature—2 months, 5 months, 17 months—whenever you wish your principal available.

Yield—

Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations yield up to 5%, with the interest remitted or compounded at your option, and are part ownerships in first mortgages on improved St. Louis real estate.

Write Dept. B for further detailed information and explanatory booklet.

MORTGAGE TRUST COMPANY
4TH & PINE STREETS, ST. LOUIS MO.

6% BONDS Doubly Secured

First, by direct mortgage, being a first lien on Real Estate worth from two to three times the total amount of the loan thereon.

Second, by the entire assets of this Company, which endorses its absolute guarantee on each Bond.

These loans are made on both Farm and City property and for the convenience of investors are divided into Bonds of $100 and $500 denominations, some of which are payable each year, enabling investors to place funds for any desired time, and as none of the land is released, rapidly increasing the margin of physical security.

Interest and principal may be collected through any Bank without charge or we will remit direct in New York or Chicago Exchange. Taxes, insurance and every other detail necessary for the protection of the investor receive our careful attention.

The South is now the most attractive investment field and it will pay you to become familiar with its opportunities without delay.

Send for our Investment Bulletin B containing the certified financial statement of the Company.

New York, Chicago and Boston Bank References

Mortgage Securities Co.

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WHITNEY-CENTRAL BUILDING

New Orleans

F. B. SAUNDERS, President. LEVERING MOORE, Active Vice Pres.

5% FARM MORTGAGES 6%

on rich, producing, well located farms netting you 5 and 6 per cent. Steadily increasing land values. Security readily salable at two and one-half to three times the mortgage. 55 years in this business and not a cent lost to investors.

Our new List No. 51 will be sent upon request.

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invested in First Mortgages on Oklahoma City improved real estate. We have never had a loss. Interest paid promptly. Value of property three times amount of loan. Write for free booklet describing our business and list of loans. We have loans of $150.00 to $10,000.00.

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When your money is invested in high grade First Farm Mortgages you need have no worry either as to your principal or your interest. The improved farm cannot be affected by business depressions, fire or other accidents. I sell my loans to insurance companies, trustees of estates and individuals. *Write today for my interesting booklet R.*

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Safe Loans at 6 and 7%

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Carefully selected property. Appraised very low, and made by experts. We look first to safety always. The hazard, if any, you take is very small on these loans. Write for our Dept. I lists.

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Yielding 6% to 7% Net

Secured by improved farms in the Willamette, Wallowa, and Grande Ronde Valleys in Oregon. Our loans represent the highest type of farm mortgage security and return a very attractive income yield. Mortgage Lists, Pamphlets and References upon request.

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Our First Farm Mortgages are substantial investments returning a liberal income. They do not shrink in value. 30 years' experience without the loss of a dollar. Send for descriptive pamphlet "H" and list of offerings. Highest references furnished.

E. J. Lander & Co. Grand Forks, N.D.

6% NET

For 36 years we have been paying our customers the highest returns consistent with conservative methods. First mortgage loans of $200 and up which we can recommend after the most thorough personal investigation. Please ask for Loan List No. 712. $25 Certificate of Deposit also for saving investors.

PERKINS & CO. Lawrence, Kans.

6%

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Busy bankers give personal attention to inquiries they know to be serious





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IT has been said that a regiment is simply a multiplication of its Colonel. The same thing is true of any kind of management. To multiply himself—to duplicate his own efficiency in every unit of his force—that is the manager's ideal.

So that a manager who is looking for 100% of efficiency in his force must first find it in himself. And to be fair to his force he must first be fair to himself. He must give himself all the chances of generating the fullest man-power.

The head of a sales division in a big western Indiana plant got hold of this idea and applied it with what he at first thought was some success. But he found himself working harder than ever and the strain began to tell.

It was then that one of the directors happened to introduce a visiting electrical engineer who spent several days in company with the sales chief. By this time the engineer felt free to talk plainly.

"Mr. Blank," he said. "You're a splendid example of energy but you're not giving yourself a square deal. You're not giving yourself the right help."

"The right help!" cried the manager. "Haven't I got a fine force here?"

"You're people are all right, and you've made them imitate your energy, but neither they nor you have the right help. You're all working, so to speak, with old fashioned tools. The help you all want is electricity. Yes, I know you've got electric lights—old fashioned ones in the wrong places. But there are at least twenty ways in which electricity could help you that you're not using—twenty more people would not help you so much and would only be an additional burden to you. Some day they're going to cut out all that overhead belting and shafting over there in the factory and use motor drive for each machine. Meanwhile you could apply that electric drive principle to the people in your office here. You could apply it to yourself. With the help of electricity you could do the same thing for this office that cutting out the overhead belting and shafting will do for the factory—make the general conditions better for all, and the particular conditions better for each.

"Let me show you what I mean—and your own case is most important because if you are slowed down your force is likely to reflect you. Take your lighting. You yourself have poor light. You go after people or send after them, when a button in your desk would do the thing better and save hours of your high-priced time every week. A moment ago you got up and opened your window. A little electrical help here would purify that air fuel your human engines are stoking up on. You're not using electricity for any of the mailing or adding machines—and that clerk who is mounting photographs, for instance, could do it in one-quarter of the time with an electric flatiron. I venture to say that you could accomplish 80% more work here with half the wear and tear if you made use of electricity in even a fraction of the ways in which it can be used."

This plain talk fitted in so well with the sales manager's first thought on the efficiency question that he promptly acted on the detailed advice secured from the engineer, and supplemented by the local electric light and power company. As a result, within a year he was able to compute that without increasing his office charges by a single dollar he was doing much more work and found himself in a position to shorten his own too heavy hours.

The Guarantee of Excellence on Goods Electrical

Perhaps you who read this have a man-power problem in your own person. Take up the matter today with your electric power and light company or any General Electric Co. agent in your vicinity. You will find them more than glad to co-operate with you, and no matter how complex your problem may be they have at their command the service of any part of our organization that may be most helpful to them and to you.

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Largest Electrical Manufacturer in the World

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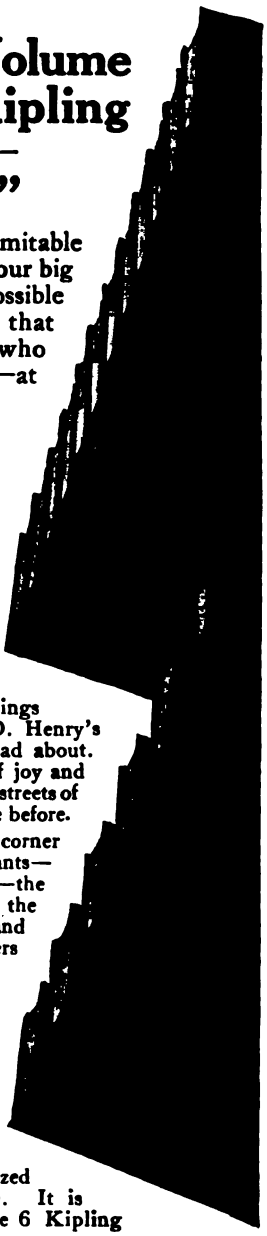
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To make sure that as many sets of O. Henry as possible are distributed before our big advertising campaign starts—to make O. Henry more and more popular—to make him ever more talked about—and to get quick attention and prompt action, we will give a set of Kipling, bound in red silk cloth, FREE to everyone who accepts this offer at once.

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R. R. 12-13

Review of Reviews,
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Send me, on approval, charges paid by you, the set of O. Henry's works in 12 volumes, gold tops, full cloth binding; also the 6 volume set of Kipling, bound in cloth. If I keep the books, I will remit $1.00 a month for 15 months for the O. Henry set, and retain the Kipling set FREE. Otherwise, I will, within ten days, return both sets at your expense.

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The beautiful three-quarter leather edition of O. Henry costs only a few cents more a volume and has proved a favorite binding. For a set in this luxurious binding, change 15 months above to 18 months.

Closing of the Subscription Lists

YOU WILL PAY $29.00 LESS for the new Encyclopaedia Britannica if you subscribe at once than you will have to pay if you delay.

THE DIRECT SALE to the public is about to be terminated, the price raised, the monthly payment system abolished, and the work will then be sold only through agents and booksellers for cash.

THE DIFFERENCE to you will be an increase in price of $29.00 to $50.00 a set, according to binding, and an immediate outlay of the full cash price instead of only $5.00.

No more monthly payments. Increase in price of $29.00.

The End of a Great Offer

The Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, published by the Cambridge University Press, of England, has now been widely distributed in all parts of the world, 54,725 sets having been sold to October 25.

The original plan, as announced from the first, was to give widespread publicity to the offer of the work at very low prices and on exceptionally easy terms when it was fresh from editors and contributors. A rapid sale under these conditions was regarded as the best way to popularise the great library of universal reference and to establish its reputation firmly.

Now that this has been done, a continuous but slower sale at the higher prices, for cash, through agents and booksellers only, will be more profitable and less troublesome, from every point of view.

Formal announcement is therefore made of the termination of the sale at the present low prices and under present conditions. In England the sale will be closed on December 20, and in the United States and Canada very shortly thereafter.

WHY THE PRICE MUST BE RAISED

You may think that it would suit you better to take your own time about subscribing for the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and may wonder why the sale at the present prices should not be continued indefinitely.

Do not forget that, from the first, every advertisement of the new edition has stated that the current prices were "temporary," and that the book would ultimately be sold at $7.50 per volume, the standard price at which previous editions were published.

The increase from $4.75 to $5.75 a volume now announced will be followed by a further increase to $7.50. You cannot, therefore, think that you have a legitimate grievance because you have looked upon $4.75 a volume as a permanent price.

Furthermore, you never would have had the *chance you now have to get the book at $4.75 if it had not been that the sale, from the beginning, was based upon the theory of a low price and convenient terms to early buyers and a substantial profit from later buyers at a higher price.*

THE PRESENT PRICE COULD NOT BE PERMANENT

Look at the figures in the case as you would look at any figures in connection with your own business. The preparation of the 11th edition cost $1,500,000 before a copy of it was printed for sale. Fourteen or fifteen years of continuous sale is as much as can be counted upon in the case of any one edition; and during that time the purchasers of the book must share among them the payment of that $1,500,000 in addition to paying the manufacturing and selling costs and a profit fairly commensurate with the risk of such a large capital.

AN ORDER FORM WITH PRESENT LOW PRICES WILL BE FOUND ON THE LAST PAGE OF THIS NOTICE

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Christmas Bookcase Event

Your Christmas shopping is to be enlivened this season by a special Display and Demonstration of Globe-Wernicke Sectional Bookcases at your local Globe-Wernicke dealer's.

It will be *more than a mere display* of merchandise en masse—it will comprise an artistic arrangement of attractive library effects, showing the wonderful Globe-Wernicke utility.

Moreover, it will include a careful demonstration of Globe-Wernicke *construction,* showing *why* this is "the Gift to earn a lifetime's gratitude."

Whatever you do, do not miss the Globe-Wernicke Bookcase Event. The time is Dec. 1 to Dec. 13, and it will probably be advertised in your home papers. Watch your Globe-Wernicke dealer's windows.

The Globe-Wernicke Co.

Mfrs. of Sectional Bookcases, Filing Cabinets, Stationers' Goods

Local Agents and Branch Stores almost everywhere.
Where not represented, we ship freight prepaid.

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AN ORDER FORM WITH PRESENT LOW PRICES WILL BE FOUND ON THE LAST PAGE OF THIS NOTICE

NO MORE MONTHLY PAYMENTS. A RADICAL CHANGE

It would be absolutely impossible to make such a book and get back the plant cost from a sale at $4.75 a volume. Library editions of non-copyright standard authors, on which there is no plant cost at all for manuscript, are invariably sold for more than that, and are printed on much cheaper paper, are much less richly bound, and are much less costly in every way to manufacture. Each volume of the Encyclopaedia Britannica contains more matter and more illustrations than 15 books of ordinary size. And it is, by universal consent, the "handsomest book in the world," the "acme of perfection in book-making," apart from the value of its contents.

PRE-ARRANGED "PERIODS" OF SALE

On the other hand, to have fixed the price at $7.50 a volume from the beginning, while it would have paid a good profit, yet it would have meant a comparatively slow sale for the book. Its value to readers in general would not have been as fully recognised as it is to-day for at least five or six years to come, and therefore the object of the publishers—to make the work widely known and constantly used by a great many people—would have been defeated.

The plan of sale that was adopted—the plan by which you can to-day get the Encyclopaedia Britannica at less than a fair price for such a book—was to divide the distribution of the book into two distinct periods: first, a rapid sale at a low price direct to the public, then a slow but steady sale at a higher price through agents and booksellers.

The first of these periods, now nearly at an end, has already justified the expectation that the new edition would have a large sale, which would firmly establish its reputation as the greatest work of reference and practical information.

It may seem to you that there is one weakness in such a plan of sale: that the public would be shrewd enough and alert enough to do all the buying before the change came, and that afterwards there would be no demand.

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Perhaps you will sign the order form to-day, or you may continue to put the matter off, and you may finally purchase under less favorable conditions. If you had made your purchase last summer, you would have had the use of the work during the last three or four months, so that you have already lost something by your failure to act. And ***thousands of people will fail to act,*** until the low prices have ceased to exist.

WILL YOU DELAY—OR WILL YOU ACT?

This description of the plan of sale has enabled you to see that the present offer could not be made if all those who are sure to buy the book ultimately were to accept the offer now. This very advertisement is printed with the expectation that the warning it gives will be ***neglected by thousands of those to whom it is addressed. Otherwise it would forestall the sale of the book for some time to come.*** But an essential part of the plan of sale is the belief that while these closing advertisements will induce many thousands to buy, it will move many more thousands ***only half-way*** towards the point of buying the book.

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Before it is too late to buy it on the present terms, you can ascertain, by actual experiment, ***how useful it will be to you.***

It may be that the question in your mind, as you consider the purchase of the new Encyclopaedia Britannica, is a question ***about yourself,*** rather than about the work. You may say: "I know that it is ***an admirable book,*** but ***shall I really use it*** if I buy it?"

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It has been arranged that a limited number of copies may be "conditionally" purchased.

A LIMITED OFFER

The subscriber under this arrangement will be ***at liberty to return the volumes and the bookcase after 10 days' use, and to claim a refund of $3.75 from the $5.00 sent with his order,*** the difference to be applied to return freight charges.

This special privilege can be secured only for the present, and only by endorsing the order form with the words "Conditional Purchase." To this rule no exception can be made, as it is essential that the copies supplied on these terms should be carefully noted, and should bear but a small proportion to the total number of copies now ready for immediate delivery. Those who have already made up their minds cannot be kept waiting in order that a special facility should be accorded to those who are still hesitating.

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"I bought two copies for the benefit of my two sets of grandchildren" wrote Dr. C. W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard. "I find them altogether admirable, and my grandchildren, who are at the most inquisitive ages, are of the same opinion."

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FOR A SHORT TIME, The present offer: per volume, $4.75. The Complete Set—29 volumes, delivered for a first payment of only $5.00. **Sold Direct to the Public.**

AFTER THIS SALE, $5.75 a volume. Full payment in cash. No more Monthly Payments. **Through Agents and Booksellers only.**

INDIA PAPER AND ORDINARY PAPER The extraordinary compactness, flexibility, and lightness of the India paper edition, in its various bindings (occupying a cubic space of but 2 feet), immediately appealed to the general public. Of the 54,725 sets already bought, 91½% have been on India paper and only 8½% (these being chiefly for public institutions) on ordinary paper, the same as that used for the old 9th Edition.

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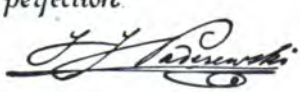
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MR. PADEREWSKI'S opinion on matters pertaining to the art of piano-playing is authoritative. He has long been a warm admirer of the Pianola and has written several enthusiastic letters concerning it. These are summed up in his statement, "The Pianola is perfection" —Mr. Paderewski has never given a testimonial to any other instrument of the Pianola's type. Hence the above statement represents the finality of his judgment.

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Moreover, it will include a careful demonstration of Globe-Wernicke *construction,* showing *why* this is "the Gift to earn a lifetime's gratitude."

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Local Agents and Branch Stores almost everywhere.
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Coleman Gow, and many others have not hesitated to hail it as the most wonderful musical educator the world has ever seen.

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YOU will find real help in Sanatogen if you are toiling upward while your strength and resisting power are being constantly sapped.

You are offered in Sanatogen, not a spur or goad, but a health and strength giving food and tonic composed of those very elements which make cell and tissue grow.

Sanatogen is a scientific preparation of the purest albumen and phosphorus; substances craved by exhausted nerves, their own proper food, without which they cannot work.

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Conceived by scientists for the wants of the weak and nervous, Sanatogen has gloriously fulfilled its mission and has been hailed with enthusiasm by thousands of exhausted men, women and children.

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Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly play any music you wish to hear and demonstrate to you the wonderful Victor-Victrola.



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Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles—*the combination*. There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

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The healthy heart beats about 72 times each minute. Disturb its regularity and the penalty is to shorten life and lessen one's comfort.

Many persons unconsciously "whip" their hearts into unnatural action by use of coffee, which contains a drug, caffeine. Its effects are subtle, but sure.

If you find an irregularity in your own heart-beat and value future health and comfort

Stop Coffee

And try

POSTUM

The breakfast cup will be just as hot and satisfying, and you will have a rebuilder at work in place of a destroyer.

Postum is made of choice wheat; contains genuine nourishment; and has a rich Java-like flavour; but is absolutely free from the coffee drug, caffeine.

Postum comes in two forms:

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Very early Christmas morning, as soon as the gray light begins to steal into your room, we suggest that you tiptoe softly down stairs and see for yourself whether Santa Claus has been so kind and discerning as to give you a

Waltham Watch

May we also suggest to the many thousand helpers of Santa Claus that a Waltham Watch will excite in the recipient a unique thrill of pleasure which will be made good by many years of accurate service and the satisfaction of possessing the best of its kind.

The greater number of watch buyers will do well to favor the Riverside series of Waltham Watches. There are styles at varying prices for men, women and youths. They are to be had at good jewelry stores generally. We will gladly send you free on request our Riverside booklet.

Waltham Watch Company, Waltham, Mass.

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THE Steinway is the preferred piano of today. It is a mechanical and an artistic triumph—the master work of four generations of the world's greatest piano makers.

The fame of the Steinway has been won through merit alone. Why not let this well-won fame decide *your* choice in the purchase of a piano?



The name of the Steinway dealer nearest you, together with illustrated literature, will be sent upon request and mention of this magazine.

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STEINWAY HALL
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Subway Express Station at the Door

Your photograph—nothing will add more to the Christmas pleasure of the friends and kinsfolk at home.



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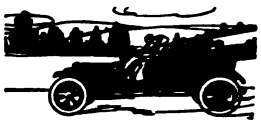
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My name, business address and occupation are written below.



ASK OUR MOTOR DEPARTMENT



Write to this department about your motor problems, whether they concern pleasure cars or commercial vehicles; technical or otherwise.

Write when considering the purchase of any kind of a motor or automobile accessory, and we will gladly lend our co-operation in giving you the latest information which will help solve your problem.

Address, Motor Service Bureau, The Review of Reviews Co., New York City

CORRESPONDENCE FROM MOTOR SERVICE BUREAU

CONDUCTED BY ALBERT L. CLOUGH

No. 1407.—Why do aluminum and paper give more friction and better results than any other materials when used as facings for the disks and friction wheels of friction-driven cars? I am told that aluminum is an abrasive and that it will polish hard steel. As aluminum is a soft metal, how can this be possible?—*Mansfield, Ohio.*

We do not think that any reason can be assigned why these two materials are so well adapted for use as frictional surfaces. It is merely an experimental result, and while the reason is doubtless to be found in the nature of the materials, we do not think that anyone knows it exactly. We never knew that aluminum acted as an abrasive, and do not think it is a fact. The polishing of hard steel resulting from its running in contact with aluminum is probably due to the fact that the aluminum becomes spun or planished down to a very true surface, and this, together with its soft character, prevents the cutting of the steel and ultimately leads to a very smooth surface.

No. 1427.—There is a small storage battery on my car that operates my electric lights and starter, but I do not drive fast enough to keep this battery properly charged, and hence am compelled to take it to a charging station at intervals. This involves considerable expense and bother, and I should like to have some way of charging the battery at home. Can you tell me how I may perform this charging on the common 110-volt, alternating current that is installed in my garage?—*Sedalia, Mo.*

The best apparatus for charging storage batteries from alternating current circuits is the vibrating armature rectifier. There are several makes of these now on the market, and they can be obtained for about $20 up to $35 or $40. It is only necessary to connect one of these rectifiers to a lamp circuit and to connect the direct current circuit which it supplies to the storage battery.

With most of these instruments it makes no difference which way the battery is connected, as the polarity is automatically taken care of, and in the event of the failure of the alternating current supply the battery is automatically disconnected from the line, so that it cannot discharge harmfully.

These rectifiers are quite economical in the use of current, and are readily portable, so that they may be used wherever suitable alternating current is available. They require no attention during the charging operation, and are furnished equipped with measuring instruments which show the rate of charge, and also with means for controlling it.

You speak of driving your car too slowly to keep your battery properly charged, and we understand this is quite a common complaint with some of the lighting and starting systems that are now in use. We have no doubt that you could keep your battery charged and still run slowly if you would drive for a portion of the time on second speed instead of on high gear. This would cause the motor and dynamo to operate at such speeds that we think charging would go on at a satisfactory rate, and at the same time you would not be running at a higher speed than you have been accustomed to.

No. 1429.—Please refer me to a manufacturer who builds an automobile seating three persons and not weighing over 1000 pounds. Do you consider that weight too small for a safe, serviceable machine?—*Presque Isle, Me.*

There are very few cars built to accommodate three persons, and we do not know of any three-passenger car built which does not weigh over 1000 pounds with the exception of some of the buggy type of automobiles, of which there are several makes upon the market. There are one or two makes of standard motor cars that do not weigh more than 1200 or 1300 pounds, and in our opinion it is quite possible that if there were an urgent demand for cars of the standard type weighing not over 1000 pounds they would be produced, but they would have to be so designed as to be capable of operation only at very low speeds.

There are cycle cars coming into the market which weigh much less than 1000 pounds, but these are only two-passenger vehicles, and are of such narrow tread that they do not fit in rutted roads.

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The MOTOR SERVICE BUREAU of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will gladly mail, free of charge, an eight-page pamphlet, entitled "Efficiency in Buying and Operating Motor Trucks," to prospective buyers of trucks or users. It is a common-sense guide for anybody interested in the Motor Truck.



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Thousands of satisfied owners endorse that statement—the numerous imitators prove it.

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Such unusual performances are proof positive that the Electric of today has speed and mileage enough for any city or suburban service—*at the lowest cost for upkeep.*

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ELECTRIC VEHICLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Boston 124 W. 42nd Street, New York Chicago

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Your delivery system is one of the most expensive elements in your business. But, you must have some means of delivering to your customers. Why not the most economical?

An equipment of DART delivery vehicles will save you fifty—perhaps sixty per cent.

The size of your business doesn't matter, whether you use a team and a single truck, whether you operate a fleet of a hundred teams; DART delivery Trucks will help you cut your delivery cost in half, or better.

The law of economy is behind

Dart Trucks

Take our Model B with express body. Its standard capacity rating is 1500 pounds, but give it a load of 3000 pounds and it will still give you efficient, continuous service. The high factor of safety built into DART Trucks is what makes this possible.

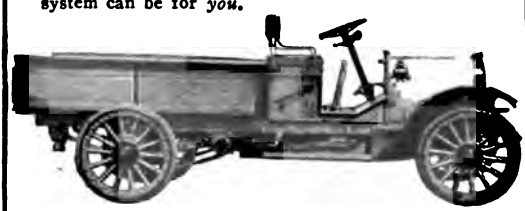
It is designed right and built right.

Its chassis has the strength to carry the load. Its motor has power enough to carry a one-hundred per cent overload. Its simplicity of construction and operation makes it easy for your ex-teamster to operate.

Ask the Associated Merchants Delivery Company of Boston—they know that DART Trucks more than prove up to every claim made for them.—46 DART Trucks in use and another order from them is proof.

The DART Preferred Payment Plan

is the most practical and helpful plan of truck selling that has been devised. It will enable you *at once* to realize how profitable a DART delivery system can be for *you*.



DART Model B with Express Body $1350, Chassis in lead, $1300.

MODEL C DART—3000 to 4000 pounds capacity. Chassis in lead $1775. This is a big, powerful truck for heavier work.

DART MANUFACTURING CO., Dept. R. Waterloo, Iowa

Please send me details of the Dart Deferred Payment Plan and suggest to me how I can cut my present delivery costs. Send me "Delivery Data Blank."

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Address_____

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In coldest weather a Clark Heater will always keep you warm. It is neat, compact, attractive and unbreakable; supplies the heat without flame, smoke or smell. We make twenty styles of these heaters from **90c to $10** each. Most of them have attractive carpet covers with asbestos lining. They have been on the market nearly twelve years and have pleased every purchaser. We guarantee that you will be well satisfied or money refunded. They fit in at the feet, occupy little space and are just the thing for real comfort.

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and keep warm, cozy and comfortable on every business or pleasure trip in cold weather. Ask your dealer for a **Clark Heater**—the only kind that will last indefinitely, never get out of order, and heat as much or as little as you want. Insist on the **Clark.**



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The Auto Cushion Fender is a complete departure from the old style of bumper. In fact, it is not a bumper at all. The ordinary bumper is so damaged in a collision that the necessary repairs are about as expensive as they would have been without any bumper—while the Auto Cushion Fender is so mild as to receive the severest jolts without harm. It is mechanically correct in both design and construction. It is made of the best spring steel and can be solidly attached to any make car without interfering or weakening any part.

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Write today.

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The "Ironclad-Exide" Battery

THERE recently sailed from New York an Arctic Expedition of great historic and geographical importance. It was sent out under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, the American Geographical Society, the University of Illinois, and other institutions of learning to explore the North Polar regions, with particular work in Crocker Land, a vast territory beyond the Arctic Circle regarding which little is known.

Among the many modern appliances with which this expedition is furnished, none is more interesting than the electric lighting plant that is to be installed in a portable house, to be occupied by the explorers during the long Arctic nights, at about 80° North Latitude.

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The "Ironclad-Exide" Battery

one of the four famous "Exide" Batteries manufactured by The Electric Storage Battery Company of Philadelphia, the oldest and largest maker of storage batteries in this country.

The engineers who have the electrical apparatus of the expedition under charge selected the "Ironclad-Exide" because of its reliability, light weight and ability to give good service at very low temperatures. This is the battery that is used

For Electric Vehicle Service

with such remarkable success. The identical qualities that made it suited above all other batteries for the Crocker Land Expedition make it the logical battery for your electric car, whether pleasure or commercial.

Our Book No. 881 gives details. A postal request to our nearest Sales Office brings it to you

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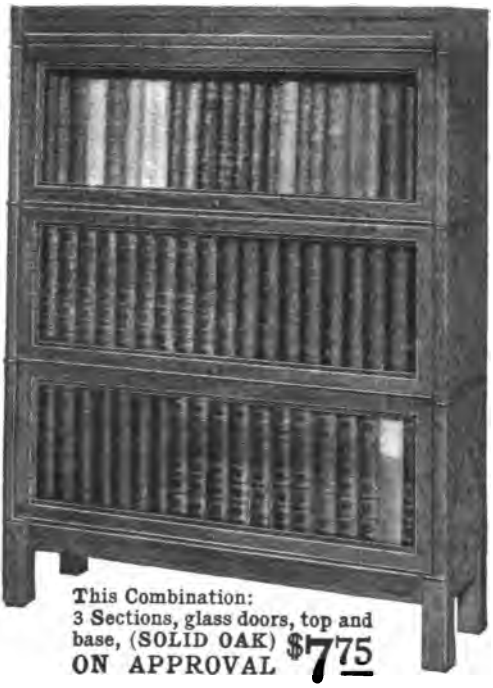
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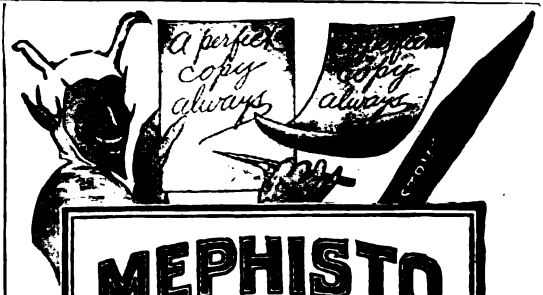
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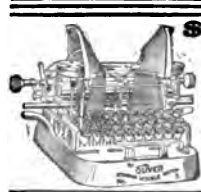
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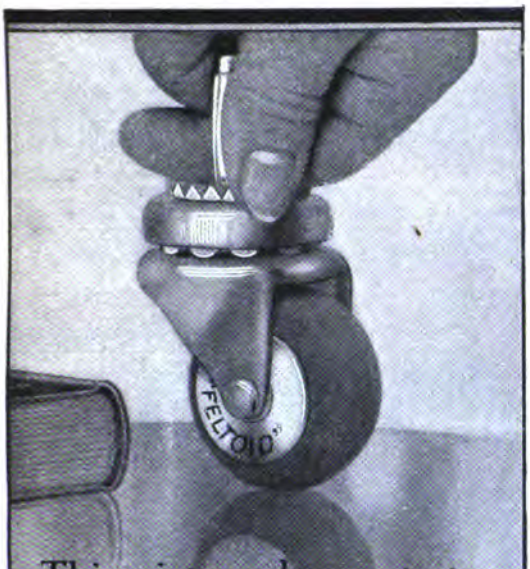


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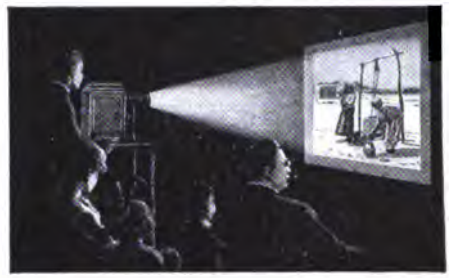
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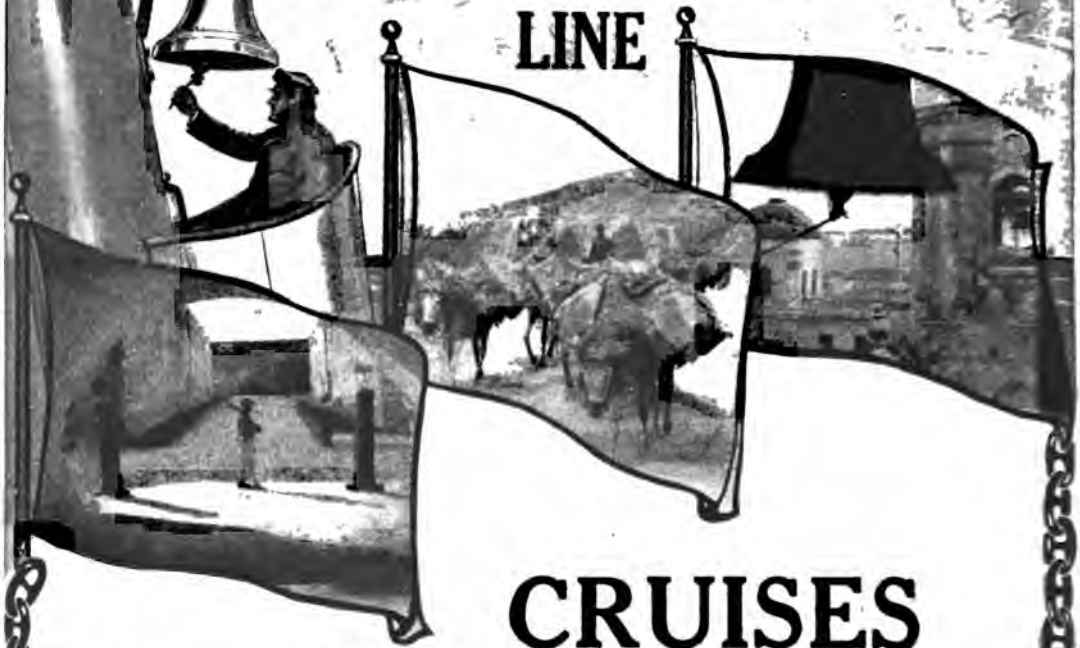
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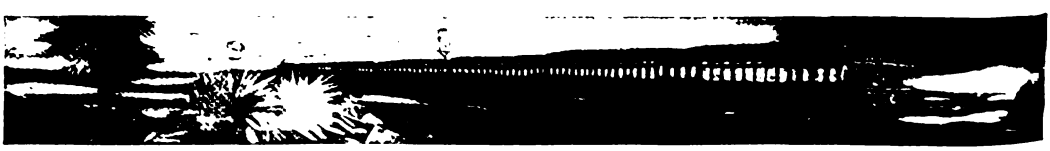
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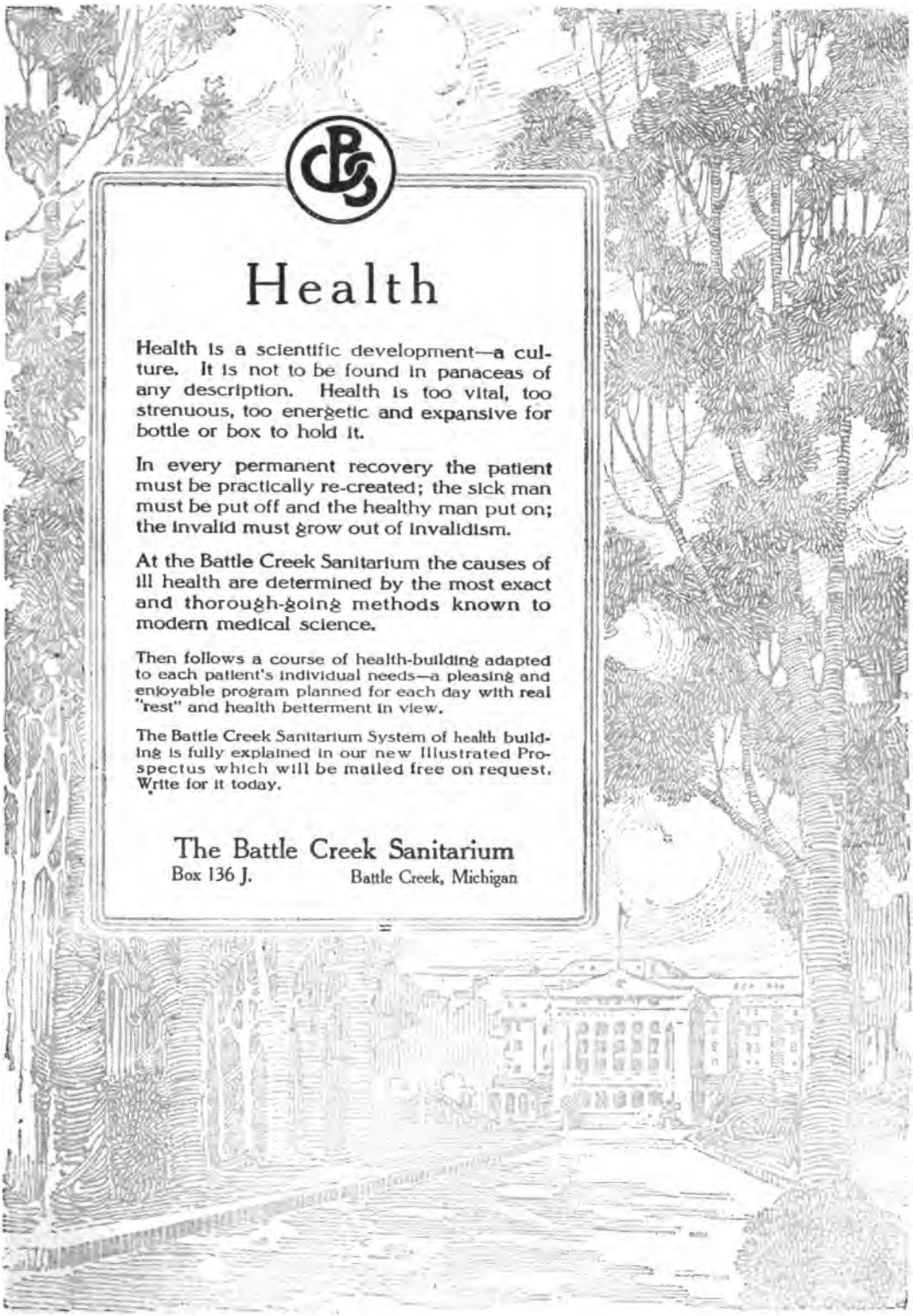
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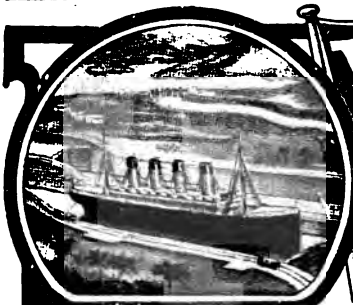
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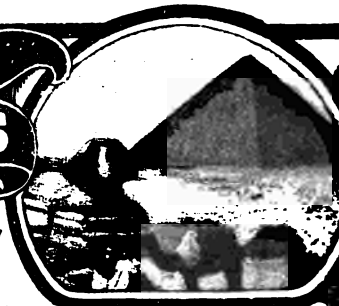
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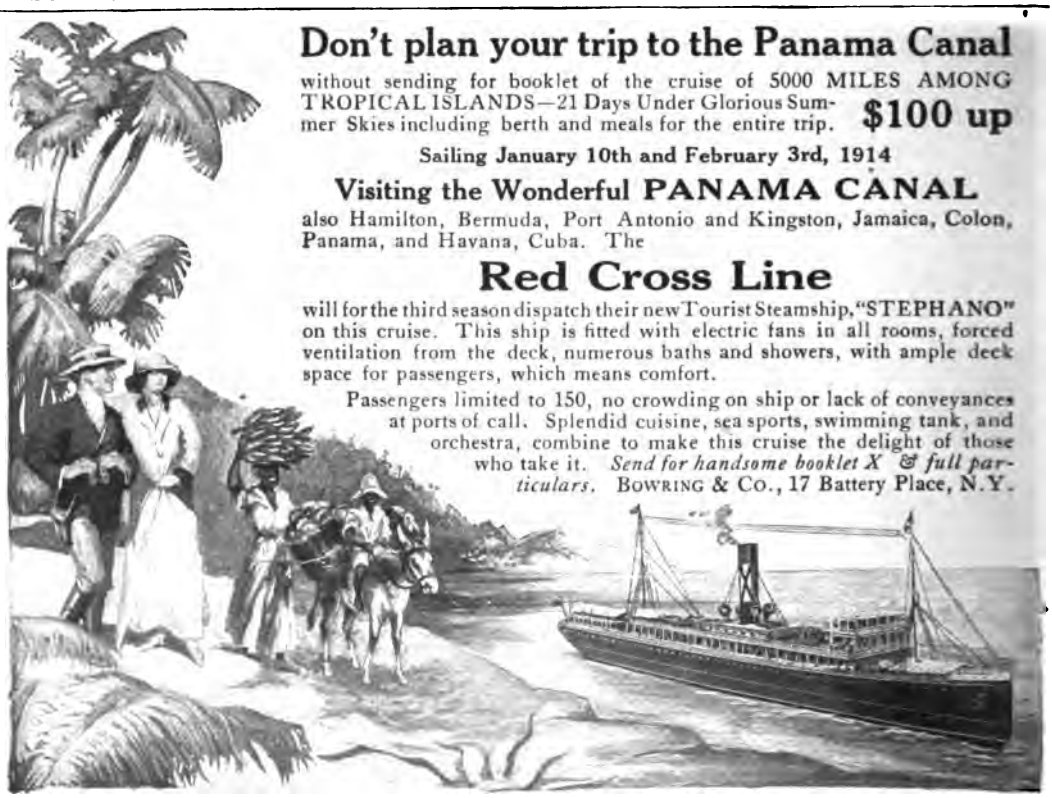
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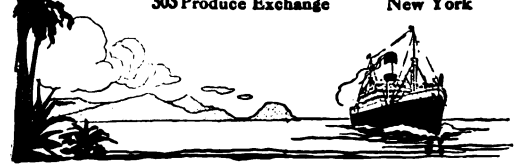
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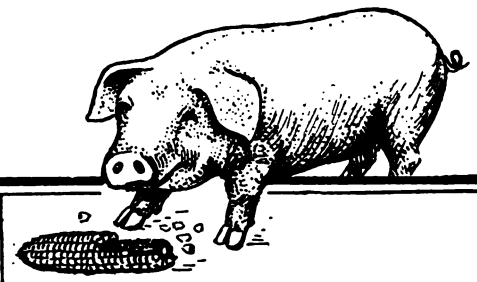
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These hams are from yearling pigs, grown on our own farm, fed on milk and corn and allowed free range in the woods and fields.

They are cured by an old Virginia process which occupies a full year. This gives them a tenderness and tastiness impossible by the modern quick methods of curing used by the packing houses.

The meat is firm and deliciously savory, and this thorough method of curing enables them to keep indefinitely —age only improves them. They run from 8 to 16 lbs.

Price 30c a pound

Freight paid on orders of 100 lbs. or over.

Forest Home Farm

PURCELLVILLE VA.

PERSONAL BUSINESS OFFERS INCLUDING REAL ESTATE



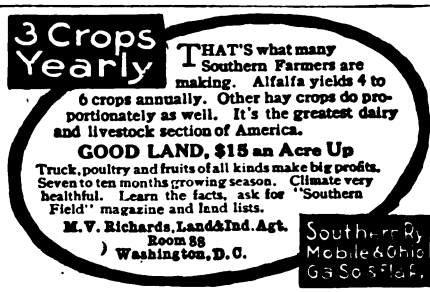


The following pages contain offers concerning which the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has gathered information indicating that they are worthy of personal investigation on the part of interested readers.

Thus the reader who wishes to purchase a home in the West or the South or some other section, to obtain employment or to buy any of the different classes listed, may find these pages a time-saving guide to the exercise of his judgment regarding suitable opportunities. Pictures and other "display" will not be permitted except in the cases of offerings of real estate, in connection with which views of the property, maps, etc., are, of course, not only appropriate, but often necessary.

We reserve the right to refuse any advertisement.

REAL ESTATE



SOUTH ATLANTIC AREA, an empire of fertile lands along SEABOARD AIR LINE RAILWAY in states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida. Outdoor pursuits possible year 'round. Combination of soil and climate affords opportunity for succession of good money crops. Rich fruit and truck lands at low prices within easy reach of large markets. Splendid opportunities for stockraising, dairying and poultry. Write for descriptive literature. J. A. Pride, General Industrial Agent, Suite No. 365, Norfolk, Va.

IRRIGATION FARMING can't be beat, where conditions are right. New Mexico Valleys, under Elephant Butte Project, have most healthful climate in America, rich soil, fine towns, etc. Land sold by association of farmers O. K.'d by U. S. Government. Men, expert in irrigation farming, help you free. Write today! Water Users' Association, Box 68, Las Cruces, N. M.

You can get an irrigated farm in Northwest Texas on very favorable terms. Climate, soil, living conditions fine. We are paying for this ad to get a chance to send you our new book, "The Shallow Water Country," telling the story. Your address on a postal will bring it. C. L. SEAGRAVES, Colonization Agent, A., T. & S. F. Ry., 1937 Ry. Exch., Chicago.

VIRGINIA ORCHARD LANDS $15 an acre up. Easy payments. Send names of two friends interested in Virginia and receive our beautiful magazine one year free. F. H. La BAUME, Agrl. Agt. Norfolk & Western Ry., Room 242, N. W. Building, Roanoke, Va.

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BY A MAN WHO KNOWS THE GRAMMAR
and geography and arithmetic of
MAGAZINE CIRCULATION

Story Magazine

Subscription Census of One Hundred actual average buyers of a popular story magazine bought on the monthly installment plan at fifteen cents a month.

27	Salesgirls in Shops
15	High School Students
8	College Students
5	Stenographers
12	Young Men in Offices
2	Treasurers of Corporations
2	Officers of Banks
1	Manufacturer
1	Merchant
1	Clergyman
3	Teachers
1	Engineer
2	Lawyers
1	Doctor
4	Artists
7	Commercial Travelers
1	Real Estate Agent
1	Man in Political Life
2	Railway Employees
4	Unemployed
100	

Serious Magazine

Subscription Census of One Hundred actual average buyers of a weekly journal paid for in advance at Three Dollars a year and mailed direct to the homes.

12	Merchants
10	Manufacturers
8	Bankers
6	Lawyers
4	Doctors
16	Members of Women's Clubs
4	Clergymen
3	Insurance Officials
5	Railway Officials
3	College Professors
2	Architects
2	Engineers
3	Theatrical Managers
6	Men in Political Life
3	Social Betterment Workers
2	Artists
3	Authors and Editors
4	General Managers
3	Farmers
1	Mine Operator
100	

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THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York



are cool in summer and warm in winter, offering all the advantages of stone or masonry, at the cost of wood.

The old-fashioned wooden house, with its constant fire risk and the frequent repairs required to keep it looking well, is no longer considered by those who know the advantages of the modern way of building.

A stucco house built with Herringbone Lath is now a possibility for any home-builder. It has been proven the most economical as well as the most artistic and permanent type.

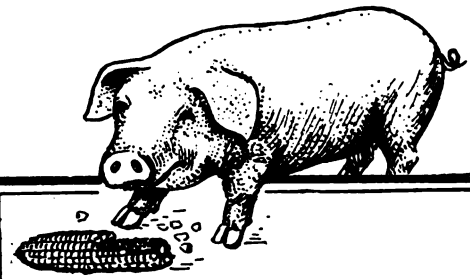
Its first cost is almost as low as that of an inflammable wooden house; its final cost is very much lower.

If you are about to build, send for our handsomely illustrated booklet showing many types of the popular Herringbone Houses. Mailed free on request. Write for it today.

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Trade Mark



Country Sausage

direct from

Forest Home Farm

This sausage is very different from the kind you buy at your meat market. Instead of being made from scraps and the poorest parts of ordinary hogs, it is made from the choicest cuts of tender yearling pigs and flavored with home-grown herbs and purest spices.

It is made right on the farm after an old Southern recipe and is unequaled for tastiness. No "fillers" adulterants or preservatives of any sort are used and it is absolutely pure and clean.

No more delicious breakfast dish can be imagined than Forest Home Farm Sausage.

Wrapped in 1 lb. parchment packages and shipped in 5, 10, 20 and 50 lb. boxes.

Price 30c a pound

DELIVERED AT YOUR DOOR.

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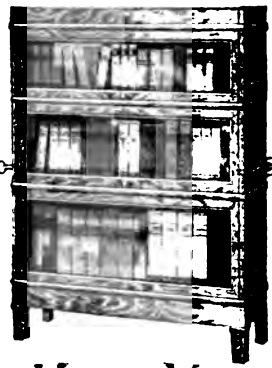
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Story Magazine	**Serious Magazine**
Subscription Census of One Hundred actual average buyers of a popular story magazine bought on the monthly installment plan at fifteen cents a month.	*Subscription Census of One Hundred actual average buyers of a weekly journal paid for in advance at Three Dollars a year and mailed direct to the homes.*
27 Salesgirls in Shops	**12** Merchants
15 High School Students	**10** Manufacturers
8 College Students	**8** Bankers
5 Stenographers	**6** Lawyers
12 Young Men in Offices	**4** Doctors
2 Treasurers of Corporations	**16** Members of Women's Clubs
2 Officers of Banks	**4** Clergymen
1 Manufacturer	**3** Insurance Officials
1 Merchant	**5** Railway Officials
1 Clergyman	**3** College Professors
3 Teachers	**2** Architects
1 Engineer	**2** Engineers
2 Lawyers	**3** Theatrical Managers
1 Doctor	**6** Men in Political Life
4 Artists	**3** Social Betterment Workers
7 Commercial Travelers	**2** Artists
1 Real Estate Agent	**3** Authors and Editors
1 Man in Political Life	**4** General Managers
2 Railway Employees	**3** Farmers
4 Unemployed	**1** Mine Operator
100	**100**

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The old-fashioned wooden house, with its constant fire risk and the frequent repairs required to keep it looking well, is no longer considered by those who know the advantages of the modern way of building.

A stucco house built with Herringbone Lath is now a possibility for any home-builder. It has been proven the most economical as well as the most artistic and permanent type.

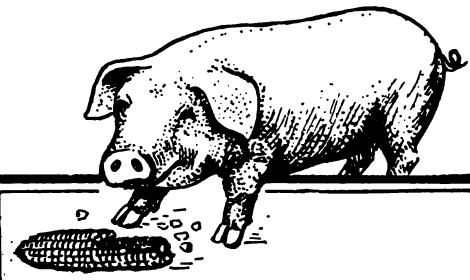
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"In all cases where there is the 'uric acid diathesis' you will see an immediate improvement following the use of grape fruit."

A well-known physician writes:

"I prescribe grape fruit for all my patients, and tell them to be sure and get ATWOOD GRAPE FRUIT, as other grape fruit to the Atwood is *as cider apples to pippins.*"

If you desire, your grocer or fruit dealer will furnish the ATWOOD Brand in either bright or bronze. It may be procured at first-class hotels, restaurants and clubs. Ask for ATWOOD Brand. For home use buy it by the box; it will keep for weeks and improve.

ATWOOD Grape Fruit is always sold in the trade-mark wrapper of the Atwood Grape Fruit Company.

THE ATWOOD GRAPE FRUIT COMPANY. MANAVISTA, FLA.

THE ATWOOD GRAPE FRUIT CO., 80 Maiden Lane, New York

MOTT'S PLUMBING



DO you realize the possibilities for comfort and luxury to be had in the modern bathroom?

For instance, here is a new shower which utilizes an odd bathroom corner. When the shower is in use the water is kept within bounds by a plate glass door, and the temperature of the water is quickly tested by an entirely new device.

Hundreds of other bathroom comforts and utilities are made by us.

To show you what can be done, read our 80-page book, "Modern Plumbing," before committing yourself on bathroom equipment. Sent on receipt of 4c. to cover postage.

Our special shower bath catalog will be sent free on request.

THE J. L. MOTT IRON WORKS

1928 EIGHTY-FIVE YEARS OF SUPREMACY 1913

Fifth Avenue & 17th Street, New York Works at Trenton, N. J.

BRANCHES:

Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Seattle, Detroit, Atlanta, Portland (Ore.), Denver, Washington, San Francisco, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Indianapolis, Kansas City

CANADA: Mott Company, Limited, 134 Bleury Street, Montreal, Que.



These Buildings with Equipment Valued at Half a Million Dollars Saved by Pyrene

The University Press Buildings and the Auto Wind Shield Company, Cambridge, Mass., recently the scene of a reeking gasoline blaze. It happened this way:—

"A man was walking along the street and stopped inside the doorway to light his pipe. Lighting his pipe, he threw the match on the floor. Upon the floor of the building there was a man who was working on parts of the automobile which he was cleaning with gasoline and a brush. He had to work with a large pail of gasoline.

"The whole floor became enveloped in flames, running up the stairway and elevator shaft, causing great fright to the people in the upper floors of the building.

"Two of the men grabbed Pyrene Extinguishers from where they hung on the wall and got the spreading flames under control almost immediately and the fire was out in a few minutes.

"In replacing liquid in the Extinguishers after the fire was subdued, we discovered less than a quart was used.

"It was such a great piece of work for Pyrene, our treasurer immediately supplied his house, bungalow and boats with these Extinguishers.

"With five minutes more headway, the fire would have had the upper hand on a half a million dollars in buildings and equipment."

FRANK THORSEN, Pres.,
Auto Wind Shield Company

Brass and Nickel-Plated Pyrene Fire Extinguishers are the only one-quart fire extinguishers included in the lists of Approved Fire Appliances issued by the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

WRITE FOR INTERESTING BOOKLET, "THE VITAL FIVE MINUTES"

PYRENE MANUFACTURING CO. 1358 Broadway, New York City

Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton, Denver, Louisville, Memphis, Norfolk, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Antonio, York, Neb.

Pacific Coast Distributors: GORHAM ENGINEERING CO., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle

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Make it ELECTRICAL and Have it PRACTICAL

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Mr. Edison *Announces* The Final Perfection of the Disc Phonograph *as a Real Musical Instrument of the Highest Type*

THIS new instrument is the result of many years of experiment and investigation by Mr. Edison. All mechanical timbre is eliminated. All sounds are recorded and reproduced with absolute fidelity to the original, and every shade of volume and overtone is preserved. The tone is superb. This instrument opens to music lovers for the first time the great store of fine music which heretofore has been impossible of reproduction.

The Diamond and the Disc

Changeable needles or points are not used. The reproducing point which traverses the record is a genuine diamond, permanently mounted; it is never changed and never wears.

The records are in a disc form, of a material which is new in chemistry and of so great hardness as to permit the reproduction of the myriad of faint overtones which alone give quality to music. These records are truly indestructible.

The method of recording these new Edison records is also new, and the processes of manufacture are unique and new in every detail.



Special Motor

The mechanism of this new instrument is powerful, and is governed as accurately as a chronometer in order that the pitch shall at all times be accurately reproduced.

Several thousands of these new Edison Diamond Disc instruments have already been shipped from the factory to music dealers throughout the United States and Canada. Go and hear the records—you will be surprised.

Write for booklet illustrating and describing the different models

Thomas A Edison
INCORPORATED

24 Lakeside Avenue **Orange, New Jersey**

The new principles and methods embodied in the Edison Diamond Disc have also been applied to the well known Edison Cylinder Phonograph, and the new Cylinder instruments are now on exhibition by Edison Dealers.



NABISCO
Sugar Wafers

A tempting dessert confection, loved by all who have ever tasted them. Suitable for every occasion where a dessert sweet is desired. In ten-cent tins; also in twenty-five-cent tins.



ADORA

Another charming confection—a filled sugar wafer with a bountiful center of rich, smooth cream.



FESTINO

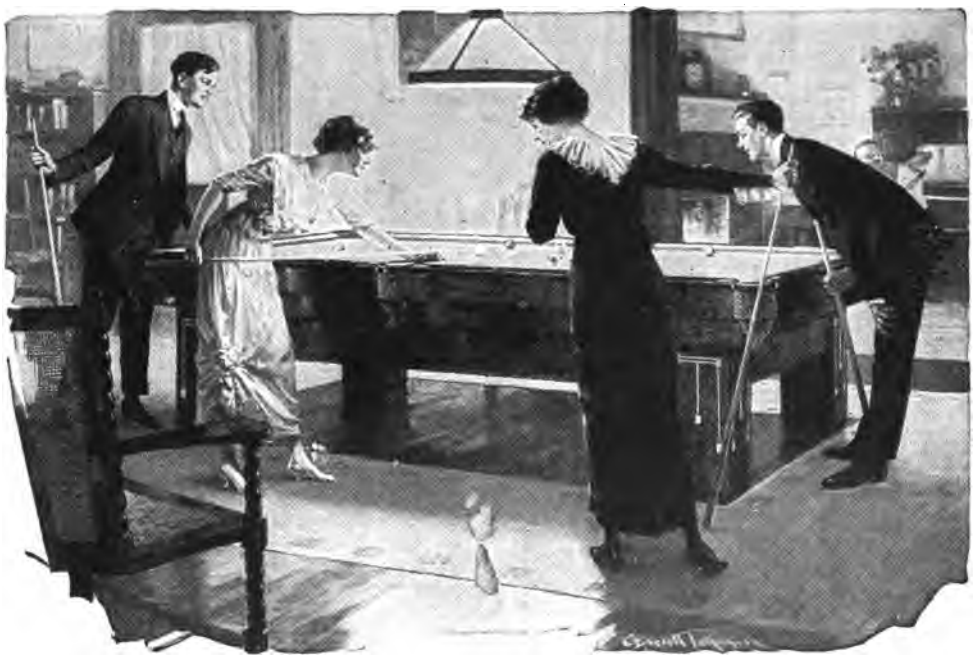
An ever-popular delight. An almond-shaped dessert confection with a kernel of almond-flavored cream.



CHOCOLATE TOKENS

Still another example of the perfect dessert confection. Enchanting wafers with a most delightful creamy filling—entirely covered by the richest of sweet chocolate.

NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY



Golden Hours With Billiards

The "Baby Grand" turns dull winter evenings into golden hours of delight.

The joy of life, the spirit of play, make the time pass all too quickly. "No place like *home*" to fully *enjoy* the royal game of *billiards.*

When mother "shoos" the players off to bed, someone is sure to exclaim—"*Who turned the clock ahead!*"

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The price of each table includes complete, high grade Playing Outfit—Cues, Balls, Bridge, Rack, Chalk, Markers, Cover, Rules, Book on "How to Play," etc., etc.

A Handsome Book for You

Send the coupon or a postal card for richly illustrated book "Billiards—The Home Magnet" containing pictures, descriptions, Factory Prices and details of Easy Purchase Plan. This book will help solve the Xmas gift problem.

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Please send me the free color-illustrated book—

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The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co., Dept. L.W., 623-633 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago

40c *Eastern Basis*





Delicious

Eastern Basis **35c**



Less Than a Cent a Cup

IF you are not already a user of our coffee, permit us to send you a trial package. Then you can see for yourself that it is not only better and purer, but that it costs less per cup than ordinary coffee, as it makes more cups to the pound.

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At first Barrington Hall was sold whole or ground as ordinary coffee is today, then steel-cut with the bitter chaff removed, and finally Bakerized. In it we have retained the good points of our older methods and adopted new features (explained in booklet) that make it economy without economizing. A luxury not at the expense of health, but one that is an aid to correct living.

Baker's Steel-Cut Coffee

Steel-Cut Coffee lacks a little in quality and in evenness of granulation when compared with Baker-ized Barrington Hall, but the chaff with its objectionable taste is removed from it also. It is far superior to the so-called cut coffees that are offered in imitation of Baker-ized Coffee.

Our Coffee is for sale by grocers in all cities and most towns. Write for grocer near you who can supply it.

BAKER IMPORTING COMPANY

112 Hudson St., New York. N. Y.
218 No. Second St., Minneapolis, Minn.

Barrington Hall

The Baker-ized Coffee



The Telephone Doors of the Nation

WHEN you lift the Bell Telephone receiver from the hook, the doors of the nation open for you.

Wherever you may be, a multitude is within reach of your voice. As easily as you talk across the room, you can send your thoughts and words, through the open doors of Bell Service, into near-by and far-off states and communities.

At any hour of the day or night, you can talk instantly, directly with whom you choose, one mile, or a hundred, or two thousand miles away.

This is possible because 7,500,000 telephones, in every part of our country, are connected and work together in the Bell System to promote the interests of the people within the community and beyond its limits.

It is the duty of the Bell System to make its service universal, giving to everyone the same privilege of talking anywhere at any time.

Because as the facilities for direct communication are extended, the people of our country are drawn closer together, and national welfare and contentment are promoted.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy ***One System*** ***Universal Service***

Barrett Specification Roofs

No Maintenance Cost

AN investigation into net roofing costs will promptly disclose the superiority of Barrett Specification Roofs. Their first cost is lower than that of any other permanent roof, and, as they require no painting or other care for upwards of twenty years, their maintenance cost is nil.

The Bush Terminal Company, with a total roof area of more than 70 acres (3,100,000 square feet) on their 181 buildings in Brooklyn, illustrated below, studied the subject of roofing costs and adopted this type of roofs. The Vice-President of the Bush Terminal Company writes:

> We use this kind of roofing because our experience has shown it to be the best and cheapest. Our analysis of first cost of application and cost of maintenance entitles us to speak with some measure of authority.

The roofing contractor states that the expense for maintenance of this entire roof area has been less than $10 and estimates that if metal or ready-made roofings had been used it would have been impossible to keep the buildings free from leaks, and that the painting bill alone up to date would probably have amounted to at least $50,000.

It is on such evidence as this that we base the statement that the maintenance cost of Barrett Specification Roofs is *nothing per year*—and the $10 exception "proves the rule".

A copy of The Barrett Specification free on request. Address our nearest office.

BARRETT MANUFACTURING COMPANY

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The Paterson Mfg. Co., Ltd.—Montreal Toronto Winnipeg Vancouver St. John, N.B. Halifax, N.S. Sydney, N.S.





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